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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XXVII.

JULY—DECEMBER 1856.

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"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

SERAMPORE:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETOR,

AND SOLD BY HIM AT SERAMPORE,

AND BY MESSRS. W. H. ALLEN AND CO., 7, LEADENHALL STREET,

LONDON.

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5. *Tables of Mortality in Bombay for six years.*

IN medicine as in morals, prevention is better than cure. The utmost skill of the most skilful physician can at times do little more than mitigate disease, whereas science may often altogether prevent it. The last published of the Indian Annals of Medical Science, an admirable number, affords many instances in point, as do various numbers of our *Review*, from one of which we quote a few of our own words:—

"Among H. M.'s Regiments at Hong-Kong in—

1842	there died 19 per cent.	or 190 per thousand.
1843	22	220
1844	13½	135
1845	8½	85
1848	2½	25

Now during the first three years, the troops were exposed to the malarious influence of the paddy fields, and were very badly housed. In 1845 their accommodation and position were much improved; and since that time, excellent barracks having been built, and great attention paid to drainage and ventilation, the sickness is not greater than at a healthy station."

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In this case the sanitary regulations effected far more than any medical treatment could have done. During the first period, the circumstances in which the regiments were placed, totally prevented the recovery of those attacked, or in other words, the constitutions of the patients were so much debilitated, deteriorated, and poisoned, that medical aid could be of little service.

Though late in the day, hygiene or the preservation of health is now allowed to be one of the most important subjects that can engage the attention of the philanthropist. For many years on the continent of Europe, Hygiene has formed a special branch of medical education. Attention to public health has been a part of the ordinary duty of the Government of the country. Comparatively lately in Great Britain a Board of Health has been appointed with a special medical office attached. Up to the present time, the only instruction on this subject for medical men, was the scanty portion of the lectures on medico-legal medicine, in which this wide and important branch could be cursorily discussed. It has been discovered, that it would be well for *all youths* to be made acquainted, with the first principles of public health. At a meeting of the Governors of George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, it was proposed in February, 1855, "That a Committee be appointed to consider the propriety and practicability, of instructing the boys in the Hospital and the scholars in the Foundation School, in physiology, and the laws of health, and other matters connected with the physical well-being of the community." This was supported by certificates from most eminent medical and scientific men, and the Committee was appointed. The same course has been adopted in some parts of the United States.

Within the present century in England, mortality has decreased, and consequently life is lengthened. In France, almost year by year, the duration of life is increasing; but still in every country the mortality in towns is greater than in country districts. In towns the constant tendency of mortality is to increase. In the country districts round London, Birmingham, and Manchester, the mortality is little more than half what it is in those towns. In the various Metropolitan districts, the mortality varies from 17 *to* 33 per 1000 per annum;—the average being about 25 per 1000. Seventeen deaths in 1000 is about the normal rate, hence all above that proportion must be classed among the preventible deaths. Were we to calculate minutely the number of the deaths occurring from preventible causes, the loss of life, and, as a necessary consequence, the pecuniary loss both to individuals and to the state, would appear almost incredible. In addition to this the general constitution and bodily health of the masses of people, living in non-sanitary districts, is much deteriorated. Every recruiting Serjeant knows that re-

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cruits from the country are much more likely to make effective soldiers than those enlisted in towns.

On the approach or rather the advent of an epidemic into any district or town, sanitary measures are discussed and put in practice. Whitewashing, drainage, ventilation and cleansing of close streets and houses, and district visiting, are resorted to, and continued with great energy till the unwelcome visitant leaves the town, to attack some other place as dirty, and as well prepared to receive any noisome pestilence, and there puts the municipal authorities into a ferment, and induces for the time unwonted activity, till the danger has passed, when generally every thing sinks into its former state. We would fain hope, however, that in Britain these matters are now at least improving.

But to return to India, and the book the title of which is placed at the head of this article. It cannot be denied, that if England is decimated by deaths from preventible diseases, India is doubly so; for the disease, which was in former times the chief scourge of England, and is now almost unknown, is at the present day the chief cause of death among the natives of India. We refer to fevers of the intermittent and remittent type. That these are more virulent in India than they have been for several generations in England cannot be denied, but their marked decrease in many places, where sanitary measures have been adopted, proves that fevers and agues are scarcely more obstinate here, than history tells us they were a few generations ago in Britain.

The earlier of these lectures on the laws of public health gives a short, but vivid account of the sanitary or rather the non-sanitary history of England from the earliest date, and such as is well calculated to prove what has been done and also how much remains to be done. This is told in such a way that it must have been understood by Dr. Chever's hearers, and this abstract of our sanitary state ought to have fully impressed them with the vital importance of the subject. It is however the second portion, or "the leading desiderata in a system of public hygiene as applicable to the necessities, and to the opinions of this great country" that must occupy our attention. Perfectly agreeing with our author in the restrictions as to the general way in which sanitary measures must be applied in this country, so as not to offend the religious prejudices of either Hindoo or Mussulman, committed doubtless for a wise purpose to our rule, "the other and wiser and more humane plan has been gradually, and by the force of reason and example to disabuse the subjects of our teaching of those errors, which evidently militate against their spiritual and physical well-being, and that without in any way attempting to intermeddle with those of their customs, which upon close investigation, are found to be either useful or harmless." None can doubt that

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such should be our aim, and that in accordance with such a spirit, we should attempt the increased civilization of those whose country we inhabit. It is a glorious object that we have in view, that of increasing their "spiritual and physical well-being;" how much is contained in it? The lecturer then goes on to quote the rules for sanitary measures contained in the Koran and Shastras, "They embody in fact a system of public hygiene, which, if strictly adhered to and carried out to its fullest extent, would alone be barely sufficient to meet the requirements of the most exacting sanitary reformers of the present day." Here the small word "*if*" intervenes, and for all practical ends of sanitary reform, these Shastras and the Koran might never have been written. Still it is of great importance, that we have both the word and spirit of the religious tenets of those over whom we propose to exercise sanitary rule for our support in the matter, for this will doubtless conduce to our success, and facilitate our proceedings. The chief topics which are discussed in the concluding pages are—

The prevention of famine and pestilence.
Water supply.
Household and town drainage.
Disposal of the dead.
Personal habits.

In their abstract form, these include almost the whole of what is necessary for the well-being of a community, but do not go quite so far as a clerical lecturer in Edinburgh who stated that "the chief essentials to secure health among the working classes, were good food, cleanliness, comfortable clothing, dry and well aired houses, frugality, sobriety, and rational amusement." If he had added pure air, he would we think have said everything that could be included under the word hygiene, or public health; what he did say, though undoubtedly coming under that head in a very wide sense, comprises most of the political and social relations as well as those strictly coming under the term sanitary.

The 1st point named above, the "prevention of famine and pestilence." The first of these comes so much more under the political than under the purely sanitary aspect that we shall say but a few words on it. Pestilence always follows famine, hence a beneficent Government, in providing facilities for feeding the people, does much to prevent pestilence. The mode in which famine is prevented, viz., by bringing under cultivation marsh, waste, and jungly ground, is indirectly one of our best safeguards—with an abundance of food the human frame is made more capable of resisting pestilence when it approaches—and some of the great disease-promoting tracts of country done away with. We are also much more likely to succeed, in attempting to instil the principles of sanitary reform into a people, who

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have an abundance of the necessaries of life, than a people among whom the aim to exist must absorb the whole thought, care, and labour of the man.

With the prevention of pestilence we have much more to do, and how much has really been done? In addition to what we have alluded, as indirectly preventing pestilence, we shall find that vaccination has done much to confine the ravages of small-pox, but how much more remains to be done? Let us look again at Great Britain, while cultivation, drainage, and the vaccination have almost done away with the deadly and formerly endemic diseases, ague and small-pox, utter carelessness in the construction and cleansing of towns, and comparative apathy about the habits and dwellings of the poor, have rendered endemic in almost every large town typhus fever, and given a typhoid* tendency to many other diseases. At present in many large towns, as Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, cum multis aliis, typhus fever walks almost as rampant as ever it did, and carries off month, by month, and year by year, its quota of victims. In many places, it is almost endemic; and is so common that it is not regarded as a pestilence; but any increased scarcity of provisions, a more than ordinarily severe winter, or even comparatively slight atmospheric changes convert it at once into an epidemic, and one generally destroying a vast number of lives, and yet this fever is regarded almost as a matter of course; an additional ward in a Hospital is set apart; ten or fifteen admissions in a day are thought little of; but if cholera, whose location depends on the same predisposing causes, or those which weaken the system and depress the vital powers, attacks half a dozen in a day, great are the fears, and at once for the time torpor is cast aside. So much does familiarity lessen our sense of danger. We shall find, that the vast majority of deaths in India among natives are due especially to diseases, the mortality of which is aggravated by the bad state of health of those who are attacked. Intermittent fevers induced by ordinary miasma, in natives in good health is generally easily subdued, and is of comparatively slight importance; but if it attacks the weak or debilitated it becomes of serious import, as by repeated recurrences it is specially liable to cause diseases of the stomach and bowels, and these latter are peculiarly fatal.

We consider every form of disease which has a tendency to become epidemic, a pestilence, and should adopt every means in our power to root it out and destroy every thing which fosters or disseminates it. The prevention of pestilence, will be best considered as a resumé, after touching upon the several points set forth to which Dr. Chevers proposed to direct attention.

* Or a condition attended with great prostration of vital power.

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Water supply is another most important element, appertaining rather to municipal powers than to the medical. It is however the duty of the medical jurist to see that water used for drinking contains, no "strange fish." Taste and appearance will usually indicate if water is fit for human use. If from wells, the strata from which it is drawn will generally give an accurate idea of the mineral substances which may be expected to be found in it. If any peculiarity in appearance or effect is noticed in drinking water, an accurate analysis should be obtained. The remarks made by Dr. Chevers on the necessity not only of digging wells and tanks, but also of keeping them pure, are valuable, and are worthy of far more attention than the subject usually receives. All large tanks should have trees planted round them, more especially on the side leeward to the prevailing winds. Fish should be placed in them as it is well known that by this means the salubrity of the water is preserved.

Next as to household and town drainage. In respect to these, Calcutta seems positively worse off than Bombay, and Bombay is in a very bad state indeed. Dr. Chevers very properly says, that bad drains are worse than none, for if a mass of decomposing filth is thrown into a badly constructed drain, which has not fall sufficient to induce its fluid contents to move on, there the filth remains and accumulates, unheeded by the sweeper or the resident, whose nose by custom has lost its aversion to foul air, and thus does not warn its possessor of the danger of the place. Custom, however, does not do away the danger, but as surely as any one lives for a long time in a noxious atmosphere, *so certainly is his health undermined, his constitution weakened, and he himself rendered specially susceptible to epidemic influences.* If there are no drains, it is possible that the solid parts of the filth may be carried away, and the fluid sink into the ground to some little distance, but drains which do not act, it is quite certain, form foci of disease, and assuredly help to localise any epidemic influence which may pass over the place. It is to the Civil Engineer that we must look for plans for draining—but drains should be as small as is consistent with the amount of fluid that they have to carry—the transverse section of the drain should be in the form of an egg with the small end downward, as this seems the best calculated to prevent deposition of solid matters. We protest most strongly against having, in any town any permanent cesspools. If these are allowed to be filled with the solid deposit from drainage, and then built up, we pity the inhabitants of the town, who may happen to live near this unmitigated scourge—for be the cesspool constructed in the most approved manner, and built up most carefully, mephitic gases will still permeate its walls and spread disease, and death around

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its margin. In Paris, the sudden deaths among the men who cleaned these horrible receptacles were years ago by no means infrequent. It must be our aim as much as possible, to separate the solid from the fluid portions of drainage. The former should never be permitted to be placed in a drain, but should be restored to the land, as the most proper of all nutriment for the crops, from the decomposition of which it is produced. The greatest chemist of the day remarked, when in England, that the English were a clean people, that they imported vast quantities of guano each year, and washed away in their rivers what was of far more value. The time undoubtedly will come, when science and mechanical chemistry shall have adapted some means successfully for making available the debris of large towns, rendering it easy of transport, without odour, and also quite harmless to the health of inhabitants. In China every particle of debris is made available for the purposes of cultivation, and why should it not be the same in Hindostan? Utopian as it may appear, we hope to see the day when every village and town in India will be rendered clean and wholesome, by taking some care to give to the land that which usually remains, almost at their very doors, and is a most intolerable nuisance, besides rendering every village liable to a pestilence.* District officers ought to have no difficulty in persuading the cultivators how absolutely it would be for their pecuniary advantage to use for their crops what is now only hurtful to their own and their children's health. For the crops of corn no manure could be more proper, and on light soils it would most probably enable the ryot to grow cotton; which requires a soil in many respects similar to the crops with which it is usually alternated.

In building new villages, bazaars, cantonments, jails, &c., and Oude might furnish a place for trying this advantageously. Great attention should be paid to the following :—

1st. That the site selected should admit of easy drainage.

2nd. That good water should be easily procurable.

3rd. That the village should be constructed in such a way that the wind which usually blows, should pass along the directions of the main streets.

4th. That the floors of the houses should be considerably raised above the level of the ground.

5th. And that the houses should either be built adjoining each other, or a space of eight or ten feet *at least* left between them.

The necessity of the first four of these points, no one can for a moment question—as to the fifth we hold that it also is of very great importance, for if between village houses small spaces are

* *We are quite aware that a suburb of London is now proposing to pay nearly a million of money to get rid of what might enrich its neighbourhood.*

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left, they become filled with every species of dirt, they prevent the free circulation of air, and thus produce foci for engendering disease. It will be difficult, perhaps, to persuade mofussilites how much it is for their advantage, that their houses should not only adjoin, but be under the same roof as that of their neighbours, as by this means only two sets of drains are required, houses are much drier in the rains, and more cheaply built. Were villages built on some such plan as this, ventilation and drainage would both be comparatively easy. Bad drainage is doubtless a cause both of dysentery and fever, and has also been proved in England to assist in propagating cholera.

As to the two last points alluded to, viz. personal cleanliness and the burial of the dead. The first must be accomplished by increase of general intelligence and moral causes—personal filth is by no means a characteristic of the natives of Hindostan—generally the lowest and those who are sunk in extreme poverty are the only people among natives who are essentially dirty.

For the removal of the dead we much prefer incremation under proper care to any other mode of disposal for India. Where burial must be practised, it should be at a distance from cities, and it should be made indispensable that charcoal should be placed in considerable quantities around the corpse, as experience has fully proved its efficacy in absorbing deleterious gases, to an extent almost inconceivable, and graves should also be required to be deep at least five or six feet. We shall conclude our slight notice of these lectures with a quotation, and one or two remarks upon it.

"I would only say a few words, in conclusion, to encourage you to believe that the adoption of a sanitary system throughout India must originate with the people themselves, and is neither beyond their means nor entirely apart from their inclinations: a great mercantile people like the Hindoos, cannot require a demonstration of the fixed principle in political economy—that *whenever an individual or a people is desirous to acquire certain personal or national advantages, those advantages must be fully paid for out of that individual's or that nation's purse.* Nothing in this world that requires the study or the manual labour of others can be obtained without a price. The question for our consideration therefore is, will the people of this country become convinced that it is as necessary to the salubrity and decency of a city, that its streets and its drains and its aqueducts should be carefully and cleanly preserved, as it is to the health of a man that his body should undergo daily purification? This being admitted will not many be willing to pay for the water and brushes? It has been alleged, I think rashly and unkindly, that the rich natives of India give only out of ostentation and for a name. Among mankind few virtues can be found untainted with selfishness; let us welcome and honor the good, where we find it, without searching too deeply for

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the venial weaknesses which leaven it; while the love of power is allowed to the honest statesman; while the thirst of glory is not denied to the humane general; while fame is given to the devotee of science; while the honors of temporal dignity are accorded to the holiest and most learned in the ranks of the servants of the church; let not due respect be denied to those citizens whose generosity shall first bestow the blessing of *health* upon this land."

Now while fully agreeing with the principle, that whatever we have must be paid for, and "fully paid for," we are certain that in a pecuniary point of view health will be found much more for the advantage of the pocket, than we should from this quotation be led to expect. In one large town in Scotland the street sweepings sell for more than the whole expense of collecting them. But though it should be somewhat costly at first, are life and health to be outweighed by the petty sum that it would be necessary to collect, to make Calcutta or Bombay or any other large town, healthy? It is simply selling the general health for a small addition to each person's purse. We most decidedly disagree with our author when he implies that it is to private generosity we must look for the accomplishment of sanitary reform in this land. In England we find Parliament making laws for sanitary matters. In every civilized country, where sanitary reform is in progress, we find that it is the Government of the country, or the municipal authorities who bear the charge and carry out, as far as it *is* carried out, sanitary reform. How then, can we expect that in this country, where nothing has hitherto been done except by Government, private generosity should carry out great measures of reform? Government has provided law officers and Courts of Justice to see that violence is not done, and if murder is committed on a single individual, every effort is made to find out the perpetrator, and he is punished as a warning. Is it too much to expect or insist, that our rulers should be as much interested in saving the lives of those who are yearly sacrificed by the demons of filth and pestilence as in tracing out one who has poisoned a fellow creature? It is from the power which rules throughout the length and breadth of the land, that we ought to expect some attempts at sanitary reform, which shall as much embrace the dirtiest and most foul-smelling villages of the country generally, as the seat of Government in each Presidency. We hold that, circumstanced as is the British Government in India, with full access to the experience of Europe and America, and having, where it chooses to exert its influence, more than the powers of Mogul or Russian despotism, it is our *sacred duty* to originate sanitary measures; to point out what is most urgently required, and to carry into effect measures which are quite as much for the well-being of the State, as of

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individuals. The cost compared to the benefits will be as nothing. Whatever they may be they must be borne, as a general rule, by localities where these sanitary measures are put in force. Economy will thus be secured, or at least lavish expenditure checked.

The statistics for determining the average duration of life among the native population are very limited; so that we are quite unable to determine accurately, the comparative state of town and country, and to see what forms of disease are specially fatal in each. Opinions of medical men differ as to the native, compared with the European constitution. We think that natives generally bear up better under severe operations and injuries than do our own countrymen. The professor of Surgery in the Grant College, Bombay, has stated it as his opinion, that natives do not bear up so well under operations as Europeans; this is stated with the reservation, that it is founded on the experience of the Jamsetjee Hospital, Bombay. The reservation is very important, as the majority of cases at that Hospital are generally taken from the most indigent classes in Bombay, and Bombay itself is more unhealthy than any other station of the army in the Western Presidency. This is proved by a reference to the abstract by the Bombay Medical Board the title of which is placed in the list, for we find that, with the exception of Kurrachee, Bombay is the most unhealthy station for the army. Kurrachee presents a high rate of mortality chiefly on two accounts; one the epidemic of cholera of 1846, and the other that it has invariably been found that newly settled stations are more unhealthy, for the first few years than afterwards. The mortality in Kurrachee for the 12 years in the tables is 26·81 per 1,000 men per annum inclusive of 1846. If that year is excluded, the mortality is not more than about 18 per 1,000. The average mortality of the last 5 years up to the end of 1851 at Kurrachee among the native troops did not exceed 14·2 per 1,000. If we subject Bombay to the same test we find a similar result, but one that still stamps Bombay as more unhealthy than any other military station in that Presidency. But let us subject Dr. Peet's assertion to the test of well known statistics, and they will prove that his opinion, if correct, only shows that the Hindoo or Mussulman living in towns is more unhealthy than the European. Applying statistics to compare the healthiness of Europeans and natives, we find that in one of the well known operations in Surgery, the mortality averages, for all ages, one in 6·93 in England, one in 5·7 in France, and one in 5·14 in Europe generally.* In India the mortality is some-

* Article Lithotomy, Erichsen's Surgery.

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what less than one in twenty.* This alone speaks volumes in favor of the powers of natives in bearing well the depressing effects of operations—and this operation in all countries is generally performed on persons scattered widely through the country. Thus it will be evident from the opinion above quoted that the inhabitants of Bombay are much less healthy than natives of Hindostan generally.

The duration of life in Bombay† averages about 23½ years as deduced from Dr. Leith's Mortuary reports for six years. For the years 1848-49, and '50 it was 23·5 and for the years 1851-52, and 53 it was 23·3. This age does not however correctly express the value of life in Bombay, for the immigration is much greater than the emigration from it. And by far the largest portion of immigrants have escaped the dangers of infancy, hence this number 23·5 represents the average as too favorable for those born in Bombay. Even taking 23·5 years as the average duration of life it is much less than might be expected. Referring to the causes of death, we find that cholera, small-pox, measles, fevers and some diseases of the alimentary canal cause upwards of 9000 out of the 13,000 annual deaths in Bombay. From the returns for 12 years of the native army of Bombay, it appears that the average deaths per 1000 throughout the Presidency are 11·9, whereas in Bombay they reach 24·66 or rather more than double. This is most melancholy. That Bombay should be the most unhealthy place in Western India,—being as it is the oldest settlement, and the seat of Government—and having a large, wealthy, and intelligent body of European inhabitants—must be matter for deep regret, and the feeling must arise that all has not been done that could be done, for its sanitary state. During this period, there does not appear to have been much improvement, as the last three years record of deaths reaches nearly 20 per 1000 per annum. It may be urged that the extra duties that have to be performed by the sepoys in Bombay may account for some extra mortality. Certainly, but not for the whole. What is the cause? Innate badness of site, or epidemics produced by miasma and general impurity of air. These miasmas and general impurity exist in spite of police, Board of Conservancy, and all other municipal arrangements. Does not the unhealthy state of Bombay come under the term preventible? Most assuredly: but the difficulty is how to apply the remedy.

* We have carefully examined *all* of the fully reported cases of operators at our disposal, and in upwards of 400 cases reported they give the small mortality quoted above.

† We have taken the statistics of Bombay for quotation as they extend over a greater period of years than any of Calcutta or Madras to which we have access. Doubtless the statistics of other large towns, more especially the Presidency towns, will furnish data of very similar import.

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It is not alone in Bombay that this state obtains—Calcutta is as bad or worse. Cholera prevails almost as extensively as in Bombay, and remittent fever of a far worse type is endemic along the whole Valley of the Ganges. The plague or Mahamurree fastens itself in the dirtiest and closest spots of the dirtiest villages—as it did in 1665-66 in "the close and tortuous lanes, in which poisonous exhalations had gathered, and concentrated for centuries," and in old London before the great fire, which was the great sanitary reformer of that day.

What has been done, and is now being done to increase the sanitary state of our Jails in every part of Hindostan, is as absolutely required, and would be as worthily bestowed on the poor, but honest ryot, and on those who dwell in the immense and almost numberless towns of India.

As yet, it is only in the prevention of small-pox, that the Government of India has directly taken a decided part in the attempt to extirpate pestilence. Different methods for spreading vaccination prevail in each of the Presidencies, but in Bombay it is far more systematically carried out, and though at the same time more money is expended, such expenditure is real economy even of money, as assuredly it is of human life.

The Medical Board of Bombay has published the results of the operations of the seven Superintendents of vaccination for the official year 1854-55, and these show in the most favorable light when we find 1st that the number vaccinated in the various divisions, and by the Civil Surgeons, &c. is 2,33,368, and of these, 2,05,455 successfully.

2nd. That the total number of cases of small-pox treated in ALL THE HOSPITALS for that year was 234, and the mortality only 48. Only 2 cases of small-pox occurred among 5756 prisoners.

3rd. That the opposition to vaccination is gradually decreasing.

4th. That although it is impossible to state with certainty to what extent small-pox has prevailed in the various divisions, only in two are epidemics spoken of as being at all severe, and in those two, epidemics of small-pox have been almost of annual occurrence.

Nothing can however be more satisfactory than the fact, that the total number of cases of small-pox treated is so small, and that the deaths are much below the average number that would have occurred in the absence of vaccination. The resolution of the Government to whom this Report was addressed evinces a highly creditable interest in the matter.

Para. 4 of that Resolution is as follows :—"Government hope that the approaching census will enable the Medical Board to show, in future vaccination Reports, what proportion the num-

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ber of persons vaccinated in each district bears to the total population, and number of births, and that it will be possible to define more accurately the area and population of each Superintendent's charge. In future reports also it would be well, if possible, to show the age of persons vaccinated, so far at least as to distinguish those under and above one year of age, and those vaccinated as children and adults." The *total* cost of vaccinating to the State, only counting successful cases, is Rs. 32-0-5 for every hundred persons. In England the cost is Rs. 50-0-0 per 100 cases exclusive of the cost of the Central Board in London.

By what means can sanitory reform be most successfully introduced? In our opinion, the first step to be taken is to ascertain, as correctly as possible, the average duration of life in India; next, to find out the causes which shorten life in one place, and lengthen it in another; then to find out the cause of, and weave our meshes round epidemics, wherever they may arise, and prevent their spread; to root out endemics, when they are influenced by causes under our control; and lastly, to endeavour to strengthen the human frame, so that it may resist the epidemic influence, which may, at any time, be abroad.

We are quite aware that even to attempt these objects at present, throughout the country, will be most difficult, and certainly to carry them out successfully a very different system must obtain, for the presidency town with its numerous staff and European inhabitants, for the cantonment, and for the purely native city and village. Sanitary measures are usually more attended to in cantonments and more practically useful than in other place. A new cantonment is always more unhealthy than one which has been for several years established. Cantonments, though often badly selected, generally have advantages over other localities. Military discipline has also greatly assisted to effect something in this way. The sepoys' huts and lines are far more cleanly than those of the class from which the regiments derive their strength.

Then bearing in mind the objects set forth, as those to which special attention must be paid, we would give the outlines of an improved system of sanitary measures 1st for presidency towns—2nd for cantonments, and 3rd for the Mofussil generally.

Within the last 18 months, the Secretary of the Bombay Medical and Physical Society has compiled from the records of the Bombay Medical Board, a monthly epitome of the state of health, admissions to Hospitals and deaths with a few remarks on each division of the army. This has generally been published in the third or fourth month afterwards. This though a considerable stride in the right direction, is not all that is wanted. And thus much has not as yet been done in Bengal. We are not aware whether anything similar has appeared in Madras. In No. VI. of the In-

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dian Annals of Medicine is a most carefully drawn up statistical paper of the sickness and death among the troops in the Bombay Presidency for a period of 51 years. No one can glance at this table without perceiving its immense value. As far as it goes, it is perfect, but a table of this kind should be published monthly or quarterly. For past periods the materials are now ready, and only require collation in the office of each Superintending Surgeon. In place of the year as it now stands in that table we would insert the station and give the particulars of each corps as follows: Strength; Number of sick remaining from last month; Number admitted; Discharged; Died, and those at present in Hospital. The causes of deaths should be stated next, and then the daily average number of sick per cent. This should be done, not only for European corps, but for native corps, police prisoners, &c. with a notice of vaccination. This would entail little or no trouble as all the particulars are now regularly furnished to Superintending Surgeons. It would be of use not only with reference to India generally, but would give a full and particular topographical sanitary report. In Scotland, monthly mortuary returns are published with remarks by the Medical Superintendent of Statistics, and a quotation from remarks accompanying his Report for August last, will shew that even now an immense number of human beings are hurried out of the world by preventible or zymotic diseases. "Of the various classes of disease, the zymotic class (epidemic and contagious diseases) usually cuts off the greatest number of victims. In healthy seasons, about 22 per cent. of the total mortality is caused by this class of diseases in towns; but during the autumn this proportion is often exceeded from the prevalence of autumnal diarrhœa and bowel complaints. In Edinburgh, the zymotic diseases constituted 16 per cent. of the total mortality; in Leith 23 per cent.; in Aberdeen 24; in Perth 27; in Glasgow 33; in Paisley 33; and in Dundee and Greenock 87 per cent. of the total mortality." Now such a Superintendent is precisely what we want. The cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras would surely each furnish work for such a Superintendent of Public Health; but we would give him a more extended and at the same time a more defined object for his labour.

An Officer of Public Health should be appointed for each of the five Presidency towns. Means of tracing out disease somewhat like the following should be placed at their disposal: Weekly, or even oftener in times when epidemics are rife, *every* medical practitioner should be required to state, in a short written form, what diseases prevail in the district in which he practises, and what quarters or streets have furnished the greatest number of patients; he should also state if he is aware of any cause for their prevalence. The Superintendent of Health should as early as possible visit these places, and always within 48 hours those places

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which might seem most urgently to demand it. He should then furnish an emergent requisition on the Executive Engineer to *enforce* attention to any matters which seem urgently demanded, to mitigate or prevent the spread of the disease.

The duties of this Officer of Health should also extend to a surveillance of the places in which new houses are being built. It should be imperative that every house should be numbered, and every street also numbered, or named, and the town should be mapped out into quarters so as to facilitate reference. The municipal authorities, where such exist, should be made responsible that all removable dirt and filth is removed: if no municipal authorities exist, it should be peremptory that every householder be responsible for the effectual cleansing of the portion of street appertaining to his house. Public latrines should be established and kept clean at the expense of the quarter in which they are placed. These should be purified by a quantity of chloride of lime, or by the cheapest materials that can be procured, which answer the purpose; of these are lime, charcoal, charred saw dust, burnt gypsum, &c., which are of more or less benefit for the same purpose. Small quantities of sulphur burnt in these receptacles would also assist in the decomposition of gases producing effluvia, and carrying infection. The contents of each of these receptacles should be removed during the night, and the deodorising and disinfecting materials should then be freely used. Facts recorded lately in England by Dr. Budd, and others, seem completely to prove that cholera has been in many instances propagated from the latrines used by those affected, and nothing can excuse the culpability of those who allow any probable means of disseminating disease to remain in operation, after it has been proved distinctly, that cholera has been spread by means of causes, so completely under our control.

Places where animals are kept should also be subjected to visits and should be in such a state of cleanliness, as is requisite for health, or their removal enforced. As far as consistent with Hindoo prejudices no animals should be allowed to remain in dwelling houses. Such are the additional matters to those which are universally allowed as causes of disease to which attention should be specially directed. Those causes of disease which all allow to be such, as insufficient drainage, stagnant water, and filth, should not be tolerated for an hour.

The surveillance of these matters in each Presidency town should be specially entrusted to a medical officer to be called the Superintendent of Public Health. He should also be required to lecture on the subject to the students of educational establishments, where the scholars are sufficiently advanced in English to comprehend the scope of such a subject.

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The public health of cantonments and towns adjoining should be made a matter of duty for a selected medical officer at each station, and Monthly Reports, embracing the topics previously alluded to, should be required. Regimental bazars should be made, as much as possible, patterns for surrounding villages and towns.

In the mofussil generally, a far harder task awaits our attempts to systematize sanitary reform. It would seem that the Civil powers in the various districts are the channels through whom such attempts should be made. What is chiefly required is information on the following points—Population of the various Collectorates, whether increasing or decreasing, migratory or settled. A monthly return should be required from the head of each village, of births and deaths, with the causes assigned for the latter, and the age of each inhabitant who has died.

Collectors, Vaccinators, and Police Officers should be directed, while on their tours, to inspect and furnish short reports on the state of the various villages in their districts. Plain instructions in the vernacular, should be distributed to the headman in every village, and these instructions should urge upon every cultivator of the soil the benefit he would derive from restoring to the land which he cultivates the debris of the village. Upon the villagers it should be urged how much themselves and their families would benefit by the removal of every nuisance, and the obstacles to a pure atmosphere.

These are the chief present desiderata. None are very costly. What is chiefly wanted to enable a good system to be devised is knowledge of the vital statistics of the land, as then plans might be arranged which should have special reference to these requirements. If the difficulties in the way of our scheme are great, the benefits are greater. The object is grand and philanthropic, and will amply repay all the time, trouble, and expense, that can be expended on it. But in this, as in all other reforms, what is wanted more than information, system or ought else, is a man of energy, and purpose, with Dictator's powers to root out mischief, and carry out his own views. Many fitting men are in the ranks of the Indian Medical Service. What Walker and Hansbrow have done for the Agra Jail, Hathaway for the Punjab prisons, and Mouat is now doing for Bengal may be done for the country at large. They have more than earned their salaries. A Sanitary Inspector would soon save his a hundred times over.

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Art. II.—*Report of the Inspector General of Prisons, N. W. Provinces for the year* 1854.

Many are the devices which have been adopted by various nations, creeds, and governments, in different ages, for the treatment and management of their criminal population, and it has been and is still a vexed question in England, what is the best way in which to deal with our convicts. Not many years ago, sheep stealing was deemed a crime only to be expiated on the gallows; now it is considered doubtful whether any advantage is gained by capital punishments, even in the case of murderers; transportation is looked upon with no favourable eye, and the only means of punishment left to us, is an increased discipline in our Jails. To effect this, many plans have been proposed. Sometimes all the convicts have been promiscuously herded together, the hardened robber with the poor wretch whom sheer hunger had driven to steal a piece of bread, and the deliberate murderer with him, who, under the most exasperating provocations, had dealt a blow resulting in death; whilst in other cases each convict has been consigned to a separate cell with no one, not even his keeper, with whom to converse, and no occupation with which to employ his mind, and divert his thoughts, till a few short months have left him a drivelling idiot or raging maniac.

The period has not long elapsed since our Home Prisons were simple hells on earth, dens full of every iniquity, whose walls rang to blasphemous and indecent songs, whose chambers witnessed daily and nightly scenes of debauchery, where decency was mocked, and religion scoffed at, where the practised villain instructed the novice in crime, and women cast aside what modesty their former criminal life had left to them; in short, so far from acting to society as preservatives from crime, her Jails were rather hotbeds, in which the seeds of villainy and iniquity of every kind were sedulously forced, and cultivated, ready, on being planted out in society, to bear a double abundance of their bitter fruits. On this dark scene, philanthropy entered, and proceeded at once, though at first with feeble and single efforts, to do battle for right and justice, and by introducing order, and arrangement into the Jails, to gain alike some amelioration for their inmates, and security for society. John Howard was the first to withdraw the veil from these dark scenes of iniquity, and since that time England surprized and horrified at the disclosure, has roused herself to action. Much attention has, of late years, been given to the subject of Jail discipline and management, Committees have been formed, investigations and researches have

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been made, experiments entered upon, and various systems discussed. Reports have also been issued full of valuable information, and essayists and reviewers have taken up the theme, upholding various systems, and propounding new ideas of their own, all which shows that the public mind has been roused to a thorough consideration of the importance of the subject under review.

In this country, too, the subject of Jail discipline and management has lately been receiving the attention which is due to so important a subject. Experiments have been carefully made, many of the principles sanctioned by the authorities at home have been adopted, others have been rejected as useless in themselves, or impracticable from the difference in the people with whom we have to deal, and the climate in which we have to work, nor have the warnings given by the failures at home been neglected. To the Jails of the N. W. Provinces Mr. Woodcock has been the great benefactor. To him we owe the first steps towards improvement, the grand principles on which Jails are now to be established in these Provinces, and the first attempts to break through the existing system by carrying his theories into practice. No hasty steps have been taken, gradually and slowly the new system has been developing itself, and the old one crumbling away. Year after year has seen some fresh additions, some new improvements, and the experiment has been found practically to answer so well, that the system, the leading principles of which Mr. Woodcock laid down, is now to be carried out to its fullest extent. On Mr. Woodcock's steps Mr. Thornhill has followed, and has matured and carried out his predecessor's plans to the fullest extent, seconded and supported as he has been by the Local Government.

We have before us the Report on the Jails of the North West Provinces for the year 1854. It contains an excellent defence of the system of establishing large Central Jails, with intramural labour and partial separation. The theories propounded in the body of the Report are shown to be practicable by the results shown in the tables and Appendices, which contain much valuable information. The grand experiment attempted on this system at Agra has been pronounced eminently successful, and it has been resolved to carry it out to its full extent in other Jails. The system has already begun to work. Out of the thirty-four Jails under the charge of the Inspector General of the North West Provinces, six are to be established as large Central Jails, namely, those of Agra, Allahabad, Bareilly, Benares, Jubbulpoor, and Meerut. In these six vast repositories of crime all the long-term prisoners, (*i. e.* whose terms of imprisonment exceed six months) are to be concentrated from the neighbouring districts.

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The building of the additions and alterations in these Jails, necessary from the great influx of prisoners, has been begun, and already they have begun to absorb convicts from the smaller Jails. Statement No. I. shows us that the Jails of Allygurh, Muttra, and Hummeerpoor have been broken up, and since the date of the report Budaon and other districts have suffered the same fate.

At this change many Magistrates rejoice, as it removes an onerous, and, to some, a disagreeable charge from their shoulders. Others again repel the withdrawal of their prisoners, as of so much capital available for roads and other public works. It is true that compensation is granted to district officers for the prisoners of which they are thus deprived, but we very much doubt whether the grants at present made fully compensate for the loss occasioned. The calculation is, we believe, made at the rate of a rupee a month for each prisoner. Now, little as we believe in the efficiency of out-door convict labour, we do not feel inclined to rate it, on the average, at considerably less than half that of a common coolie. Even taking their earnings to be at the rate of nine pie per diem, (Vide para. 44 of Report) each man will be found to have earned a good deal more than a rupee at the end of the month, so that, when it comes to be a question of three or 400 men, the deduction of two or three annas from each man's monthly earnings entails a considerable loss at the end of the year on the local authorities. Thus, three annas a man per month, less compensation than is due, will make the Magistrate a loser at the rate of 225 per hundred men in the year, which is scarcely a fair arrangement. We do hope that Government will reconsider these grants, and make them more liberal, especially when by this new arrangement the expenses of the establishment are vastly curtailed, and a great saving is obtained for Government. This however we look upon as a mere error in detail, and in no way affecting the general principles of the system, nor must it be considered as an argument against it ; on the other hand indeed, the mere fact, that different Magistrates do look upon their convicts with different eyes, and treat them in different ways, is in itself a strong argument for the establishment of large Jails under special supervision, and upon fixed principles.

It is not our purpose now to enter into a minute examination of the tables, and statements furnished in the Report before us, regarding the comparative healthiness or otherwise of the Jails of the N. W. Provinces, or the manner in which expenses have been curtailed, (and certainly the expenses of the establishment have been most wonderfully cut down since the appointment of the Inspector General) but we propose considering the system of Central Jails with intramural labour and partial separation, as laid down by Mr. Thornhill with the view of ascertaining whe-

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ther it contains those principles, which are, in our opinion, essential to the success of our Jails and the security of society.

There are two principles which we consider necessary to the usefulness of our Jails, and without which, we think, the imprisonment of our convicts is worse than useless: 1st "That the Jail be a place of real punishment to offenders, so as to make them unwilling to do anything which will lead to their being again incarcerated," and also to deter others from the commission of crimes; and 2ndly. That an attempt should be made to reform the convicts. In short, our two principles are deterring punishment, and reformation.

We will not stop here to discuss these two points, for they are generally allowed on all hands to be the main objects of imprisonment, and by the attainment or non-attainment of which our judgment regarding any system of Jail management must be guided. On the first object no one will, we venture to think, raise a doubt, whatever may be said to the second; but, if means be not taken to attempt the reform of convicts, if some endeavour be not made to give them tastes superior to those with which they enter Jail, and also if some means of earning an honest livelihood when they leave its walls be not placed at their disposal, in short, if they be not given at least the chance of reformation, we maintain that Government falls short of its duty to society. Convicts under a non-reformatory system are returned to society in as bad, if not in a worse, state than when they left it, whereas their time might be employed in learning useful handicrafts, and receiving instruction in reading and writing, so that they might have at least the chance of making themselves useful members of, instead of burdens to society. Punishment is excellent as a deterring influence from crime, but if some means be not placed at the disposal of the convict, by which he may earn an honest livelihood on his release, we fear much that the consequence will be a return to crime. The ground may be prepared to receive the good seed, but if the good seed be not sown, what is the use of the prepared ground? But we must not delay longer in discussing points, the advantages of which must be so patent to all, but will proceed at once to bring Mr. Thornhill's system to the prescribed tests, and see whether the two great objects of imprisonment are attained thereby.

First, if the system of Central Jails, with intramural labour, and partial separation, provides such punishment as shall be a terror to evil doers; will it act influentially in deterring others from the commission of crime; and will it inspire the convict himself with such disgust, as to make him avoid any act, when he returns to society, which will render him liable to be again incarcerated?

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Under the present system, where prisoners are employed on the roads and on large public works beyond the limits of the Jail walls, this great object is not, and cannot be attained. It is simply impossible for the Magistrate, be he ever so zealous and interested in the subject, to visit all the gangs of convicts which are scattered over the station, and in many cases even over the District. How can any one, with the load of work on his shoulders, which a Magistrate and Collector of the N. W. Provinces has to bear, pretend to be able to visit, even once a month, gangs situated 30 or 40 miles from the Sudder Station? The native Jail Darogah has his own special duties to perform at home, and is no more gifted with omnipresence than his superior, even had he leisure to make frequent descents upon outlying gangs. The convicts are thus, necessarily, left in many places exclusively to the care of underpaid Burkundazes under an illpaid Jemadar. By any one, who knows the light in which natives regard bribery, the result may be imagined. Any convict who can afford to give a rupee (the scale is, we presume, graduated according to the victim's means) sees his friends as often as he pleases, and receives all kinds of forbidden luxuries, such as tobacco, sweetmeats, &c., and we doubt not, that often might a wealthy convict and his faithful keeper be seen squatting together, during work hours, under some shady-tree, indulging in a friendly gossip, and taking alternate whiffs from the same "CHILLUM" whilst another favourite holds happy intercourse with various members of his own family, from whom he has been supposed, in a legal point of view, to have been exiled perhaps for many a long year.

Nor are those who labour outside the walls the only convicts, who profit by this open-handed leniency on the part of the guards. Those few who never leave the Jail, have their share of the luxuries thus clandestinely introduced, and we have very little doubt that, could some energetic Magistrate suddenly transport himself to a ward of his Jail about 8 or 9 o'clock at night, he would find that there are more things done therein than were ever dreamt of in his philosophy. With a strict supervision, and supposing the native Darogah, and his immediate subordinates in charge of the Jail itself to be above corruption (though of how few could this be truly said) such a breach of Jail discipline within the walls might be avoided, but we take it, that nothing save far higher pay will ever keep a native Burkundaz from allowing the convicts under his charge to see their friends, and obtain what forbidden luxuries they may desire, provided the request be accompanied with an ample donation, to say nothing of his not exacting the same amount of labour from those whose hands are most freely opened to him, as he does from the unfortunate wretch who has not the wherewithal to win his fa-

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vour. This readiness to receive douceurs is no ways diminished by the knowledge that the chances of detection are ninety-nine to one in his favour.

This is one of the many causes which render arguments, which hold good at home, valueless out here. In England, we fancy, it could scarcely be affirmed, as a general rule, that every guard, in charge of working convicts, takes bribes. There the exceptions are those who do so; in this country, alas! where could a single Jail Burkundaz be found, who has not taken money from men under his charge at some time or another, at home we may depend upon the honesty of the employees, here the honesty of men on four rupees a month is but a broken reed to lean upon.

It is a well known fact that prisoners working on the roads never get through nearly the same amount of work as an equal number of common workmen. Their earnings are set down by the Inspector General at nine pie a day, whilst the day labourers get two and sometimes three annas. Why should this be so? The fault does not lie in the thews and sinews of the convicts themselves, for many of them are fine powerful men. The fault lies in the system. Setting aside the matter of bribery, and supposing the Burkundazes to be above taking money, their very laziness would prevent them from taking the necessary trouble to urge on the work in the same way as an interested agent, or overseer. They have no interest in the work, no pride in seeing it quickly finished, no object in short in getting more work out of their gangs. The consequence is they lay themselves down in the shade, which may, or may not, be close to the spot where the prisoners are at work, and half, and sometimes quite asleep, they let events take their course with calm indifference as to all other results, provided they can bring in their gang complete at night to the Jail. How escapes from outlying gangs are not of more frequent occurrence, we confess that we are somewhat puzzled to say. There must, we are sure, be some understanding between the guards and convicts, that the former are not to drive the latter to do a large amount of work, and that the latter in return are not to attempt to escape. If escapes were made in proportion to the opportunities given for effecting them, we fancy they would be of almost daily occurrence, and again were the guards more honest and more exacting we have little doubt that the number of escapes would be vastly increased. Give us better paid, and consequently more trustworthy and efficient guards, and the objections to extramural labour would, in a great measure fall to the ground, though at an enormous additional outlay. Still, could no better arrangement be desired, the additional expense ought not to be

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grudged when the weal of society is so deeply concerned. But even granting that our Jail Burkundaz was a very Cerberus, a perfect Egyptian task-master, still we would maintain that the extramural is not nearly so punitive a system as the intramural for the following reasons. As we before observed, we consider that were the guards more exacting and honest, the prisoners would oftener effect their escape. As it is, they have every thing they wish for, and so have no inducement to attempt to escape, but were these privileges curtailed, we suspect the convicts would much oftener prefer the chance of recapture, and longer imprisonment to their present discomfort, and drudgery, and one guard to every five convicts would not be sufficient for resistance, were the gang suddenly to rise "en masse," and free themselves. This very chance of escape by raising the convict's hopes, lightens his punishment, and further, we look upon the prisoner shut up within the Jail walls, with no hope of escape, and no expectation of seeing the outer world again, till the day when his term of imprisonment shall elapse, is much more to be pitied than he, who daily leaves the prison walls behind him and sees and hears what is going on in the outer world. The latter must feel the freer man, and thus the punitive effect of his imprisonment is decreased. Ask a convict which he prefers, and we have little doubt that he would give his vote unreservedly for extramural labour.

Again, the utter impossibility for the local authorities to exercise a thorough supervision over the Jails under their charge, is, in itself a strong argument against the small district jails. Where a sufficient European control is not kept up, disorders of every kind are sure to creep in. The distribution of the prisoners to the different kinds of labour, and numerous other points of great importance, are left entirely to the discretion of the native officials, and the amount of punishment is thus rendered uncertain, and dependent on bribery. Small though these things may seem, they ought all to be carefully looked into and decided upon by the European superior. Nor is this all; granting that the Magistrates had the leisure to spare to examine into all the details, yet the different opinions held by the different Magistrates on the subject of Jail discipline also renders the punishment uncertain, and thus takes away from its punitive effects. Mr. Thornhill's remarks on this subject are excellent. (Vide Report, paras. 71, &c.)

"Even among those officers, who take a lively interest in the subject, wide differences of opinion prevail, which necessarily influence their management upon points, which must be left to the discretion of each. In one district, for example, the sentence of imprisonment may be carried out in the strictest sense, no convict being allowed to

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leave the precincts during the term of his punishment. The inmates of the jail are classified according to the nature of their offences, and engaged in a variety of productive labours, which, while they relieve the state from some portion of the expense incurred on their account, enable the Magistrate to assign to the several classes such employment, as may involve a degree of physical exertion proportionate to their criminality, or to the bodily strength of each individual. In the adjoining district, on the other hand, the Magistrate may regard the prisoners committed to his custody, as so many labourers to assist in the execution of public works. The walls of the Jail are consequently abandoned, and the convicts are scattered all over the country in detached gangs, herded indiscriminately together, and their conduct little regarded on other points, if they accomplish a certain amount of daily work. Now it requires but little reflection to admit that the former of these systems inflicts a far greater degree of punishment, in a given time, than the latter. * * * * It needs no argument to prove that the deterring effect of punishment must be greatly diminished, where so much uncertainty as to its nature is permitted to exist, for it must be borne in mind that the prison in which the strictest discipline is now in force, may, by the removal of the present Magistrate, become an example of the least rigorous mode, in which sentence of imprisonment can be carried into execution."

These remarks show in a strong light some of the causes which render the local district Jails inefficient, and prove still more clearly how much the punitive principle is wanting in the old system of Jail management.

Seeing then that the old system fails in attaining, to a sufficient degree, the first object laid down before as necessary to the excellence of any system of Jail management, the question arises, can any other system be devised by which that object may be better attained, and at an equal cost? Looking at the old system even in its best (a theoretical) light, we find much wanting, but when we see how it is carried out in practice, it must need but a small amount of consideration to perceive how merely nominal, and entirely subject to the caprice of the native officials, its punishments are. We must now turn and see whether the punitive principle is more fully developed in the new system as laid down by Mr. Thornhill.

What then is Mr. Thornhill's system? It is simply this: all long term prisoners, (*i. e.* whose terms of imprisonment exceed six months), are sent in from the neighbouring districts to one of the Central Jails before mentioned. Here they suffer imprisonment in the true sense of the word—when they enter the prison gates, they are doomed to entire seclusion from the outer world for the period of their imprisonment, and, till the day of their release or death, they have no hope of again emerging from them, except under peculiar circumstances. Ample employment is

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given them during this period of seclusion. They are at once set to work to learn useful trades, suited, in the amount of labour they require, to the strength or criminality of the convicts. A graduated scale of punishments has been drawn up by Dr. Walker, Superintendent of the Agra Jail, showing the different kinds of labour to which convicts may be subjected under the three heads of hardest, medium, and light labour, and ranging in degrees of severity from oil pressing and corn grinding, to barber's work and sizing paper. A strict regularity in hours is enforced, certain hours are fixed and adhered to for rising, for meals, for labour, &c. When the physical labours of the day are completed, the convicts are all assembled for instruction, and lastly, when the system has been fully carried out, we may hope to see a separate sleeping cell assigned to each convict to which he shall retire for the night, but the expense and delay consequent on so extensive an improvement prevent it from being carried out at once. Last, but not least, the whole is to be under the direct supervision of European officials, appointed for the sole purpose of superintending all the arrangements, in general and also in detail, of discipline, economy and general management, so that, their minds not being distracted by other employments, they will be able to give themselves wholly to the improvement, each of his own Jail and department; and these officials being all guided by one set of rules and principles, the great discrepancy, which at present exists in the treatment of the convicts of two separate districts, will with all its disadvantages be done away with. It requires but little logic, we should think, to prove whether or no, such a system, as detailed above, contains more of the punitive principle than the old system, nor do we find from the statistics that the new system is, in any way, prejudicial to the health of the convicts.

We would not have it thought that we do advocate harsh and excessively severe treatment of the convicts, except in a few cases this is unnecessary. Still a Jail may be made a terrible place to a convict without the assistance of corporal punishment. Nor would we show them any tenderness, or be too gentle with them. At home the lenient and the excessively stringent systems have both been tried. The former drew down the satire of Sydney Smith in no measured terms.

"But" says he "if men can live idly and live luxuriously" in a clean, well aired, well warmed, spacious habitation, is it any wonder "that they set the law at defiance, and brave that Magistrate who restores them to their former luxury and ease." And again: "It is mere mockery of punishment to say that such a man shall spend his money on luxurious viands, and sit down to dinner with fetters on his feet, and fried pork in his stomach."

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The solitary, silent system is a specimen of a system where the punitive principle exists to too great a degree. Under such a system our prisons would simply be hotbeds in which to rear victims for Bedlam more numerous than even those which Chancery supplies. The system to be, for the future, in force in the North West Provinces, seems to us to fall between the two extremes, avoiding the excessive severity of the one by only separating the convicts for the night in distinct cells, and escaping the charge of over leniency by allowing the convicts no luxuries, and making them work hard, and keep to regular hours.

But we must now examine more in detail the manner in which the system under review, provides for the punishment of convicts. First then we have the removal of the convicts from a locality where they are known, and near which all their friends and relations reside. This remark applies only to those districts in which no Central Jail is established. The convicts are thus, in point of fact, nearly debarred from all communication with their friends. In the Jail of their own district they would be frequently visited, but, if removed to a distance of one hundred miles or more, their friends' visits would, we suspect, be much fewer. As the present practice stands, we must say, that we consider that permission to see their friends and relatives is granted a great deal too often to convicts. If a prisoner sees his mother, or brother, once a week he might just as well be at home. We think that such interviews ought not to be granted oftener than once a month at the very most, and that, for the first three months of their term, long term prisoners ought not to be granted permission to see any one, special and necessary occasions being of course excepted.

Secondly, the convicts are well worked. They spend the greater part of the day in some laborious occupation suited to their crime, age, and strength. The list of different kinds of labour before referred to, amply provide for every stage of strength, and every degree of criminality. None are tasked above their strength, else their health would fail, whilst at the same time care is taken not to demand an equal degree of labour from all shades of criminals. Those guilty of the most heinous crimes against society should suffer most, on the professional villain the punishment should fall heavier than on the accomplice in an affray. Whilst we would be glad to see the notorious BUDMASH expending his superfluous energies on the oil press, we think that for the man who has illegally stood up in defence of his rights, or who, under circumstances the most exasperating, under which a man can be laid, has imbrued his hands in blood, for him we think the Dhurree weaving and paper making would be adequate punishment. Be this as it may, all convicts are to be made to labour diligently and constantly. They have no relaxation from their daily toil, but day

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after day they have to engage in the same monotonous work, at the same hours, and with no prospect of any pecuniary advantage accruing to them therefrom. We think that it must be a no small aggravation to the punitive effects of the labour that it brings the labourer nothing in return. We see that a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* writing on the management and disposal of our criminal population, (E. R. No. 204. October, 1854), strongly advocates the plan of giving the prisoners a certain percentage on their earnings while under discipline. To this we must object. He advocates it on the plea that money thus accumulated for the convict, will enable him when released to carry out the reformation for himself which has been begun in Jail. In our opinion this is to sacrifice a sure means of punishment to the chance of reformation, and, much as we admire the latter, we think that ought in no way to be allowed to interfere with the more important object of punishment. The very idea that he is being fed and educated at the expense of the State, whilst besides there is a store of money being accumulated for him against his release must make the convict too comfortable, and, in this country would we think, put a premium on crime. Every pice which the convict produces ought to go to repay the State in part, for the vast expense she is put to by his villainy. We agree with the writer above referred to "that no man leading a life of honest though severe toil was ever yet tempted into crime by a belief that the position of the convict, in a model prison, was really more enviable, or less wretched than his own." Still to those, who do not lead an honest life, we fear that food, clothes, education and accumulated earnings on release, will not hold out so disagreeable a prospect as to induce him to quit his evil ways. In this point we tend to Sydney Smith's principles, where he recommends.

> "Some species of labour, where the labourer could not see the results of his toil,—where it was as monotonous, irksome and dull as possible—pulling and pushing, instead of reading and writing—no share of the profits—not a single shilling."

We object to the non-reading and writing clause, of which more hereafter. We have observed that the Punjaub authorities give rewards to well behaved and hard working convicts, but we trust this system will not hold good in the Jails of the North West Provinces, but the inmates will be compelled to work hard to order, not with the prospect of reward.

Thirdly—the watch and guard will be kept up very strictly. When once the prisoner enters the Jail gates, he must consider himself as doomed to be its constant inmate for the term of his imprisonment. Where two guards were formerly employed on the roads, one is sufficient within the Jail walls. Only one-half the number formerly employed will therefore now be requisite,

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and from the savings hereby effected, the new guards are to be better paid, and more carefully selected. This increase of pay, and the consequent increase of respectability, together with the hope of promotion, and the greater chance of detection within the Jail walls, will, we should think, combine to diminish the inducements to dishonesty. The lofty walls and iron bars of his prison, added to the honesty of his guards, may well cast a damp on the most daring spirit, and obliterate all hope of escape. Where the possibility of escape remains, the punishment must be less felt, where it is practically impossible the hope of effecting it cannot gild the monotony of the convict's life. With such an improved guard too, there will be less shirking of labour,—fewer payments to purchase leniency—no exaction of double work to pay off a grudge.

Fourthly—the amount of punishment will be much more certain. Formerly the caprice of the Magistrate, and the dishonesty of the officials rendered any such certainty out of the question. One Jail might be governed on lax principles, another on the very strictest, so that the prisoners who were incarcerated in the former would laugh at their punishment, whilst those in the latter would dread a repetition of theirs. Under the new system, no prisoner will be able to congratulate himself on escaping one Jail, and getting into another, for the punishments in all will be regulated by fixed rules, and no favour will be shown,—no interest will procure immunity from them. The certainty in the amount and quality of the punishment must act in no small degree influentially in creating a dislike to the Jail and its discipline, which will in its turn act as a deterring influence from crime.

Fifthly—the strict regularity of prison hours and diet must be distasteful and wearisome to men accustomed to loose and irregular methods of living. Almost all criminals live most irregular and disorderly lives, their passions and lusts being under no restraint. To them the regularity of Jail life will be, naturally, most noxious, and as they are the persons whom society most dreads, it is well that there should be this ingredient added to their cup of discomforts. To the less morally criminal it is probable that the restrictions to regular hours and diet will prove less irksome. The writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, before referred to, says well :—

> "Those acquainted with the habits, tastes, dispositions and desires of the criminal classes are well aware that the ensemble of prison regulations, and several even of those items, which Mr. Carlyle describes with such envious gusto, are far from being matters of enjoyment, or attraction to the prisoners themselves. They are benefits unquestionably, but as unquestionably no temptations. * * * * It is true they have a sufficiency of wholesome food, but they are debarred

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from what they value beyond everything—luxuries and stimulants. Accustomed for years to place their chief enjoyment in dainties and extravagancies, in exciting banquets, in smoking, chewing tobacco, and in drinking, in wasteful excess of every feverish, and unwholesome sort, they feel severely the confinement to a simple diet, and the rigid denial of tobacco, and intoxicating liquors. * * * * The mere system of restraint, the enforced regularity of a prison life is an hourly penalty to men to whom licence of every kind has become a passion, and almost a disease, and to be compelled to observe certain hours, to conform to certain rules, to do certain things at fixed times, is to them of itself a galling punishment, the hatefulness of which is scarcely conceivable to those brought up in habits of regular industry, and unceasing, though, perhaps, unconscious self-control."

Of these facts there can be no doubt, and the same remarks apply to criminals in this country. Sydney Smith says (page 323) :—

"The fact is, that a thief is a very dainty gentleman. '*Male parta cito dilabuntur.*' He does not rob to lead a life of mortification and self-denial. The difficulty of controlling his appetites, in all probability, first led him to expenses which made him a thief to support them. Having lost character, and become desperate, he orders crab, and lobster, and veal-cutlets at a public house, while a poor labourer is refreshing himself with bread and cheese. The most vulnerable part of a thief is his belly, and there is nothing he feels more bitterly in confinement than a long course of water-gruel, and flour puddings."

We have not the smallest doubt that the thieves in this country are equally vulnerable in their bellies, and feel a long course of restricted diet as much if not more than labour. It cannot but be that prisons in this country be more comfortable than the usual dwelling places of the natives, but even that comfort may be rendered distasteful by a strict conformity to regular hours, a simple but wholesome diet, and a strict embargo on tobacco and chillums. His hookah is to a Hindoo his inseparable friend and comforter, without which he is miserable. It is well then that it is prohibited. The prohibition of smoking is, we think, the greatest discomfort we can inflict on them, consistent with their health, and it ought to be rigorously enforced. This may be effected with ease under the intramural system, but is merely a nominal restriction where the convicts are employed outside the Jail walls. The introduction of the messing system is also viewed in no pleasing light by the natives. The outbreaks which followed in some places the prohibition of tobacco, and the introduction of the messing system are alone sufficient to show with what distaste these regulations were viewed by the convicts, and consequently ~~how~~ punitive their effects were likely to be on them.

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Sixthly—the almost entire separation of the convicts will act, we think, not only as a reformatory, but also as a punitive measure. Whilst it separates the bad from the worse, the scarcely criminal from the heinous offender it will prove a discomfort and an annoyance to all. It may be said that the convicts are brought together in the workshops, but it is not there that the conversation flows most freely—it is not when the hands are busy that the tongue finds most time for conversation. It is in the wards at night that the most evil is done, and we are convinced, that these nightly assemblies of choice spirits are anything but disagreeable and distasteful to the convicts. The moral advantages of solitary sleeping cells are incalculable, setting their punitive effects out of the question. We trust therefore that no consideration of expense will hinder Government from carrying out the plan fully, and assigning to each convict a separate sleeping cell. No plea of expense ought for a moment, to be urged, no consideration of the outlay ought to be made an excuse. Where the benefit and comfort of society is so much at stake, all such pleas should be set aside. By all means let us have solitary sleeping cells. We do not ask to have them all built at once, let it be done by degrees—let a few be built this year for the benefit of the worst characters, and a few more be added year by year until the required number have been built. The effect will be to produce a still greater dread of the prison discipline, and it will further act as a preventative to the spread of crime by contamination in the Jail, and whatever may be the outlay now made, it will, we are sure, be repaid with interest in a few years by the diminution in committals to Jail, and the consequent lightening of the expense; to say nothing of the additional comfort and security gained for society.

Lastly—we will have, what is of incalculable importance in this country,—a strict European supervision. To any one acquainted with natives, the advantages to be derived from such a supervision will be at once understood. Without it bribery from without, and promises from within, would speedily do away with many of the advantages enumerated above. Discipline would become lax, the wealthy would not get their fair quantum of labour, and luxuries and comforts would find their way in where they ought to be strictly prohibited. This may happen even now, but the chances of detection being raised 10 per cent., we may safely say the chances of any infringement of the rules will be reduced 50 per cent. We need hardly say that where a strict supervision by a covenanted officer exists, there bribery will find it difficult to effect an entrance. We trust that the officers who obtain charge of these Central Jails, will not merely look to general principles, but will satisfy themselves by a constant and searching supervision that the native officials under them do their duty faithfully.

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We have thus endeavoured to give a sketch of the working of the old and new—the extramural and the intramural—systems as regards the punitive principle, and we think no further commentary is required to prove which system contains to the greatest extent the means of inflicting regular and systematic punishment, or which convicts are likely to look upon with the greatest dislike, and dread. We will accordingly not delay longer to prove what is self evident, but, leaving the above facts to speak for themselves, we will proceed at once to consider which system contains the largest share of the Reformatory principle. And here as before we think there can be no comparison between the two systems. We are totally at a loss to discover any reformatory principle whatever in the old system. The gangs of out labourers cannot well be classified and selected, the nightly assemblies for at least twelve hours out of the twenty-four afford abundant opportunities for propagating the seeds of crime, a seed, which flourishes too readily, and bears fruit too abundantly in this world naturally, and which requires no hotbed to force it into full bloom. The convicts are given no chance of improving themselves either by learning some useful trade, or by being instructed in the common rudiments of literature, and thus they are not given the means whereby to raise themselves from their degraded position, when again let loose on society.

The new system, however, presents a far different picture, and, we think, a more pleasing one to our view. First of all we have it in our power effectually to classify the convicts, to separate those who have been guilty of '*mala in se*' from those who have only been guilty of '*mala prohibita*,' the criminal from the merely culpable, the novice from the adept. The moral advantages gained by this arrangement it is almost impossible to overestimate. The real villain cannot decoy the less morally guilty, nor by holding out prospects of gain induce him when released to enter on a career of crime similar to his own; nor has the adept at rascality now any opportunity of pouring his insidious stories into the too willing ear of the novice, and by gilded tales of his own exploits, and the number of times he has succeeded in eluding justice, to tempt him to continue to tread the path of crime on which he has just entered. These results will be still better attained when the solitary sleeping cells are established. As we remarked before, a workshop is not the place, where communication can be freely carried on, through of course to a certain extent it cannot be prevented, still the object of separation which is in our opinion so important cannot be gained unless each prisoner has a separate sleeping cell of his own, and though the evil effects of the assemblage of a number of convicts in one ward at night may be in part avoided by a careful

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classification, still all contamination will be more effectually provided against by entire separation at night, the assembling during the day being in a great measure unavoidable, and not attended with very bad results. Thus far the attempt is made, not to return our convicts into society, worse than when they came under our charge.

But can we not make them better? If evil is kept at a distance from them, can we not bring in good to fill up the blank? We think that this, too, may be effected even in this country, where we cannot bring the great engine of religious instruction to bear upon the minds and hearts of our convicts. We therefore would not say decidedly that we can make them better, but this much we affirm can be done,—we can place means at their disposal which will give them the chance of bettering themselves should they feel inclined so to do, we can give them a fair opportunity of raising themselves from the disgraceful position to which their crimes have brought them. We think that the trades which the prisoners are to be taught, and the education they are to receive, will prove a great means to this end. They enter the Jail ignorant, idle, dissipated, and often without a knowledge of any handicraft by which they might gain their livelihood. To dispel this ignorance, to arouse from the torpor of idleness, to overcome the dissipation, and supply the lacking knowledge are amongst the objects proposed in the new system, so that whilst they are compelled to labour as a punishment, aye, and made to labour hard too, they may all the while be learning some trade to which, on their release, they may turn their attention, and by means of which they may have the opportunity of gaining an honest livelihood. We contend earnestly that a mere dread of the punishment inflicted by six months' imprisonment will not be, in itself, sufficient to deter from crime those who know no trade but villainy; but if it be put in their power to live honestly, and the dread of the punishment, and distaste of the discipline of the Jail, be superadded, we think that end will be still better gained. Not that we would spare the convict from his labour, for punishment is the first object, and the reformation must follow as it can best be carried out, and we do hope that the punitive will never be sacrificed to the reformatory principle in these Jails.

Besides learning some handicraft which they may pursue with advantage to themselves and their neighbours, when released, the convicts will receive regular instruction in the rudiments of education, suited to their stations in life and periods of imprisonment. A certain number, principally life prisoners who have been for a long time in Jail, or weakly men who are unfit for hard labour, and have shown a turn for teaching, are employed as

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monitors. Every evening after the labours of the day are finished, all the convicts are assembled for instruction. The rules which have been laid down regarding the kind of instruction which is to be given to the convicts, appear to us to be excellent, because practical. (Page 72 of Report.)

"The character of the instruction imparted should be as far as possible, suited to the particular class of society to which the prisoner belongs. Those of the agricultural rank, possessing interests in the soil, who are under term sentences, should be made proficient in reading and writing, in village measurements, in the principles and details of village administration and in village accounts. Prisoners, under the like sentences, confined for the more ignominious classes of offences, should be taught to read and write, with the addition of such means as may be available for conducing to better habits, and to the practice of industrial arts, such as may aid in their procuring employment and subsistence when set free. Persons, confined for life after undergoing the necessary period of protracted, severe labour, should be so taught as to improve, as far as practicable, their moral sense, and to secure for them a capacity for the most useful employments, both as teachers, and artizans within the Jail."

These rules seem to us thoroughly practical. That class of offenders whose crime against society is less morally heinous, (only '*mala prohibita*'), will receive a good education, and one suited to their wants, and by means of which they will be able to look after their own interests, check the Putwaree's papers and accounts, and see that he does not impose on them; whilst those, guilty of the more heinous crimes, will receive such instruction, as shall, added to the handicrafts they may have learnt, give them a great chance of bettering themselves, and of mending their ways when they leave the Jail walls. In this country we cannot use the most powerful of all means for reforming our convicts. We allude of course to religious instruction: without which no reformation is sure. Expediency, and a thorough fear of and dislike to the Jail and its arrangements may drive the released convict to practise some trade which he has learnt within its walls, but we have no guarantee that he may not, after a short period, return to his evil ways. We must then, under the circumstances, make use of the means placed in our power, and by working on the prisoner's moral feelings as well as by exciting a hatred to the inside of the Jail walls, attempt to induce him to enter on an honester path in life. We have passed the age when prisoners were looked upon as scapegoats against whom the whole vengeance of society was to be launched; when they were treated brutally in Jail, and naturally returned to society brutalized, and more dangerous than before their imprisonment. Treat them as rational and moral creatures, and you will unbru-

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talize them, and render them, perhaps, useful, instead of burdensome, to society. We were rather surprized to find Sidney Smith decrying instruction in Jail. In remarking upon some work whose author upheld the system of instructing our convicts, he says, (Page 350,) :—

"We object to the reading and writing class. A poor man who is lucky enough to have his son committed for a felony, educates him under such a system for nothing; whilst the virtuous simpleton on the other side of the wall is paying by the quarter for these attainments. He sees clergymen and ladies busy with the larcenous pupil, while the poor lad, who respects the eighth commandment, is consigned in some dark alley to 'the frowns and blows of a ragged pedagogue."

These remarks do not apply to this country where Government are now endeavouring to establish village schools all over the country; when to cultivators of the soil instruction will be given gratis, to others at a very low rate. But it is against the principle that we would raise an objection. We maintain as before that no honest man, gaining an honest livelihood with hard and severe labour would ever take to dishonest ways merely because of the advantages and comforts of the Jail. For ourselves, we confess, the simpleton who respects the eighth commandment and gets kicks and cuffs from the ragged pedagogue is much more to be envied than the larcenous pupil, regarding whose instruction the clergyman and ladies take so much interest. The former, when released from the presence of his master may disport himself in the gutter, or where else he pleases, with his ragged companions, whereas the latter returns from the presence of his instructors to his solitary cell, or weary monotonous labour. The former if he indulge his natural propensity to mischief receives a few strokes from the birch, forgotten half an hour after infliction, whereas the latter, if he infringe on the Jail discipline, is doomed to solitary confinement, additional labour, or bread and water. There is a light side, and a dark side in each picture, but the dark side of the honest boy's picture is a perfect blaze of light compared with the dark side of the other. The one seems to us a perfect prince when compared with the other, and we have very little doubts that the virtuous simpleton, and the larcenous pupil too, would come to the same decision. A system of Jail discipline containing the punitive, but lacking the reformatory principle, would be like a plan for raising a scuttled vessel by machinery, without making any provision for stopping the leaks; so that when the machinery was withdrawn, the vessel would again sink to the bottom; so if we make the prison appear in the eyes of the convict a place full of terrors,

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discomforts, and troubles we raise the vessel to the surface, we give the convict the inclination to avoid reincarceration, but if we do not stop the leaks, if we not give him some means of following out his inclination by earning an honest livelihood, we shall have the vessel settle gradually down again to the bottom.

It seems pretty clearly to be the intention of Government not to sacrifice the punitive to the reformatory principle. The hours set apart for study are not to be deducted from their working hours, but from their leisure hours, from the time they used to spend in idleness and mischievous gossip, and thus the school by curtailing their idle hours enhances their punishment. The ignorant, dissipated vagabond is not likely to approve of his leisure there being curtailed in any way, and least of all that a large portion of it should be devoted to instruction. The very regularity of the hours, the monotonous study against the will is enough to disgust him with the whole affair. The writer in the *Edinburgh Review* before quoted says very truly—

"It is true they have their lessons and their schoolmaster; but it is not to men accustomed to the wild reckless life of a social outlaw, that education can ever be other than intolerably irksome."

To a certain class of convicts the labours of the schoolroom will prove highly advantageous. Those who have been guilty merely of *mala prohibita*, and whose general course of life has not been such as to deaden their moral perceptions, and give them depraved and ill regulated tastes, will not be sorry we should think to spend an hour or two a day in learning what may stand them in good stead on future occasions when released. Further, such instructions as this class of convicts will receive will tend, we should fancy, to do away in a great measure with the causes which lead to their imprisonment. If both parties could look for themselves into the village accounts, and thoroughly understand what their shares of the village were, and how the subject of dispute could be best settled, in Court, or by a jury of their neighbours, we think the affrays regarding land &c. would decrease. The hardened old dacoit and practised robber will, we should think, look forward with anything but pleasure to the school hours at the end of his day's toil, and will feel the irksomeness and tedium of the school room more than his less felon school fellows. Thus a sort of sliding scale, which rectifies itself, has been established—those whose crimes are not such as to call for extra punishment, are just the men who will value the instruction given, and to whom consequently the school room will be less a punishment, whilst the felon, whom society has more cause to fear, looks upon instruc-

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tion as an irksome punishment. In short, the educational system will be less punitive to those to whom it is reformatory, and less reformatory to those to whom it is punitive.

The plan appears to us to be eminently practical. Time only, of course, can show the result. One or two years must elapse ere the results of the reformatory principle can begin to show themselves. The convicts at present under instruction must be given time to return to their homes, and it will then remain to be seen, whether the instruction they may have received is productive of any good results. The attention of district officers will doubtless be soon drawn particularly to this point, and we shall look with curiosity and interest for any Report which may be published on the subject. (Page 71 of Report.) The Secretary to Government writing to Mr. Thornhill says :—

"The Lieutenant Governor remarks that it is an object of very great practical importance and interest to ascertain what degree of moral improvement may, subsequently, be the effect of the education imparted, as well to male as to female convicts, and, that this can but be known by observing the subsequent history, and conduct of some of the best educated, and most steadily conducted prisoners after their return to their homes. In the present early stage of prison education, it is probable that means do not yet exist for obtaining this information, but the Lieutenant Governor desires that you will keep your attention directed to the subject, and that you will take every opportunity for recording any particulars of the Jail training which may come to your knowledge, and that you will submit the result of such enquiries from time to time for the information of the Government."

The attention of District officers should also be drawn to the same subject. We are much afraid that where a moral reformation is most required, in cases of hardened villains, and veteran rascals, a mere secular education which is all that can be given in this country, will not avail much towards achieving that reformation; still we have the consolation left, that their education has given them a vast amount of discomfort and trouble, and has tended to make their prison anything but a pleasant and agreeable place of abode for them, a return to which will be hailed with pleasure. We must not however prejudge of the results of the system; they will show themselves in the course of a year or two, meanwhile we may repeat our conviction that the system of instruction to be introduced will prove highly reformatory and advantageous to many convicts.

The great difficulty to be overcome in laying down any system of Jail discipline and management, seems to us to lie in the proper balancing of the two principles, the punitive and the reformatory. The one should never be allowed in the least degree to usurp

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the place of the other, and we would rather see the reformatory suffer, in this country at least, to the advantage of the punitive, than that the punitive should suffer for the sake of the reformatory; for this reason, that the punitive is likely to affect much the greater number of our convicts, as a deterring influence, more especially in this country where we are so much more limited in the means placed at our disposal for effecting reformation, than they are at home. Owing to the absence of religious instruction in this country, the fear of punishment must be much more looked to as the foundations on which to build our hopes for reformation than in England. The convict feels the discomforts, the monotonous weariness of prison life, and he naturally would wish to shun exposing himself to such evils for the future. But how is he, a reprobate and an outcast, to hope to gain his livelihood honestly when he has no means or knowledge to enable him to do so. For this difficulty the reformatory principle provides, by not only giving the convict a good secular education, but also by teaching him various trades and handicrafts which they can, when released, follow. As far as we are able to judge from the working of Mr. Thornhill's system, we conceive that by care and attention both principles may be fully carried into practice without any collision.

It would be needless for us, we conceive, to advance more arguments to show what vast advantages this new system possesses over that which has hitherto been in vogue. In the latter the punishment was left to the caprice, of illpaid and untrustworthy Burkundazes, and the reformation of the convicts was totally neglected. In the former all means, not injurious to the health of the convicts, or which might deaden their moral senses, are used to add to the discomforts, the monotony, and the irksomeness of prison life; whilst at the same time all means, which do not diminish the deterring effects of the punitive principle, are adopted to effect the reformation of the convicts, and to place it in their power to elevate themselves, when restored to society, from the low estate to which their crimes have brought them.

But besides these advantages of the new over the old system, we have yet another to urge, and that is that the former is much the cheaper system. Under the old plan of out-door labour one Burkundaz was set over every five prisoners, and now that the chances of escape are so much diminished by constant confinement, one Burkundaz is considered sufficient to guard ten convicts. It is true that guards under the new system are better paid, but they do not receive double the pay of the former guards. Here there is one-fourth at least of one great item of expense swept away. Add to this the produce of prison labour, which will now form a very considerable item to the credit of Government,

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the cuttings from the pay of the Jail Darogahs and others in those Jails which have been broken up, and the sum saved will be found to be very large. We have heard it urged that it is not fair on the general market to introduce the produce of convict labour, which can, without loss to Government, be supplied at so much lower rates than that which is produced by private enterprize. If advantage be taken of this we admit it is not fair to general dealers, but if the articles are sold at the usual market rate, and fetch a readier sale from their superior manufacture, the fault, we maintain lies with the dealers, not with Government. Very frequently in this country certain trades are entirely monopolized by one or two individuals, whose selfish interests lead them to manufacture inferior articles, selling them at the prices properly demandable for good articles. Surely under such circumstances Government may step forward, and drive the rascally monopolists out of the field, not by under-selling them, but by selling good articles. A case of this kind occurred not long since at Alipore, where the bakers were half poisoning the residents with dear, but execrably bad, bread, till a bake-house was established in the Alipore Jail, and good bread supplied at moderate prices. The argument adduced by Mr. Thornhill in his Report, seems to us conclusive and unanswerable, by those who would argue that the sale of the produce of Jail labour injures the trade of the native producers. He says :—

"The most complete reply to this objection has been lately given by an able writer in one of the standard periodicals, who argues with great force that the wealth of a community must be increased when those who formerly existed by preying upon it are themselves converted into producers, and made to add to the common resources."

If the argument of such objectors were fully carried out, we would have our convicts lying idle on our hands, for if the sale of their produce injure the market, not less does their employment on the roads and public works prevent many common labourers from obtaining work. We certainly do not see any valid objection to Government, in part, repaying itself from the produce of convict labour for the immense expense to which those convicts put it. Perhaps the best plan would be for the Jails to take contracts either from Government or private concerns, for the supply of cloth, and other such articles which are generally manufactured in Jails, and are sure to meet with a large demand. We feel sure that any of the large tent manufacturers at Jubbulpore and Futtéhgurh would willingly give large contracts for the supply of ropes, and other materials, or, as is suggested in the Report, communications might be made with the Commissariat Department signifying the readiness of Government to

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enter upon contracts for the supply of the above or other similar articles.

Although we can scarcely venture to hope for so great a reduction in the duration of sentences as Mr. Thornhill holds out, still we have not the least doubt that the sentences will be greatly reduced in duration, and thus a saving to a considerable amount will be effected. This object will be effected by the severity of the punishment under the new system making a term of six months, equal, in the amount of discomfort and punishment inflicted, to one of nine months under the old system. This much we would venture to suggest, that, if, after one period of imprisonment, an offender again appears at the bar, no mercy be shown him, but that he be given a double share of punishment as well in quality as in quantity. We would also beg to call the particular attention of Government to the last paragraph of the Report. We fully concur in the propriety of Mr. Thornhill's suggestion. Were the ten lakhs saved or a portion of them at least laid out in the erection of separate sleeping cells, we could almost warrant the repayment of the sum disbursed, with interest, in a few years from the savings effected by the reduction of the duration of sentences, and other causes arising from the increased deterring effects of the punishment. The advantages -to society would be incalculable, by the greater security given to life and property. Looking at the new system in a financial point of view then, we submit, that it is a vast improvement upon the old system, and will, after a time, be the means of effecting a vast saving to Government.

In the sister Province of Bengal, the first step towards the improvement of the Jails has been taken by the appointment of an Inspector General of Prisons. Dr. Mouat's racy and sound good common sense fit him admirably for the post he holds. We do hope that a newspaper report is true that he proposes to introduce intramural labour into the Jails, and do away with the extramural *labour* (?) But equally do we hope that another newspaper report is not true, that Deputy Inspectors are to be appointed, each having under him three or four District Jails. The introduction of such an officer can, we are sure, do no good, and the amount expended in their salaries would suffice, after a few years, to build a number of Central Jails. We do not see of what use they could be. They could not be a sufficient check on the dishonesty of the native officials, and could scarcely be given any authority over the Magistrates, with whom there would be a great chance of their clashing. It would be alike more expedient and more economical to build Central Jails at once, and we do hope, now that an Inspector General has been appointed, to see the same system which is springing rapidly into existence in these

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Provinces, spread also over Bengal; we hope to see extramural labour abolished, and intermural employment substituted and we hope too, that the same care for the moral improvement of their convicts may mark the Bengal prison discipline, as appears in that of these provinces.

Before quitting this subject however, we would wish to make a few remarks on a matter closely allied to Jail management and discipline, we allude to the treatment of prisoners under trial, a subject which does not however seem to engage the attention in this country which it deserves. No regular system seems to be followed with regard to these individuals. Sometimes a building is erected close to the Cutcherry for their reception, which plan has the double advantage of keeping those under trial separate from those on whom sentence has been passed, and also of having them always close at hand and under shelter should their presence be required in Court. In some districts the unfortunate men have daily to walk some two or three miles to and from the Jail, chained together, in order to be ready at Cutcherry should their case be called for. Sometimes they are domiciled in the same ward with sentenced offenders. We may be mistaken, but we are not aware that any definite rules have ever been drawn up regarding the treatment of people under trial. We strongly object to their being kept within the Jail walls at all, and still more so to their being confined in the same ward with sentenced convicts. They have not been convicted of guilt, and are in a legal point of view innocent, and sometimes are so in reality; why then should they be herded with the guilty? To say the least of it, those who are innocent will not be improved by followship with convicted felons; and those who are really guilty are better kept apart from their compeers in iniquity. Again, in many districts the Jail is at some distance from the Magistrate's Court, and these unfortunates have accordingly to be dragged, innocent and guilty all together, from the Jail to the Cutcherry and back every day, and there sit under a tree in fine weather, or under what shelter they can find should rain fall.

Now these evils might be easily avoided by having a separate building erected close to every Cutcherry, capable of containing the average number of prisoners under trial in the district. The cost would not be very great, for the building might be made of unburnt bricks with a good high wall all round. Thus the great disadvantage of mixing with the convicts would be avoided, and the unfortunate men would be saved the weary trudge, in rain or sunshine, to and from the Cutcherry, to say nothing of avoiding the chances which are thus afforded them of effecting their escape in transit, or of meeting their friends, and making

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their own arrangements with them for getting up a defence. We do not see any objection to this plan, whilst the advantages to be gained seem to us of no small importance, and we trust that the attention of the authorities may be early drawn to the subject, and that the evils, above referred to, may be speedily remedied.

With this parting suggestion, we will take leave of the subject. We shall look anxiously for the results of the system during the next three or four years, when we have no doubts its good effects will begin to develop themselves, and we do earnestly hope that no consideration of expense may be allowed, for a moment, to stand in the way of real improvements, on the full carrying out and perfect organization of which the comfort and security of society so much depends. We hold out no Utopian schemes of perfect freedom from crime, but we cannot help thinking that it may be considerably reduced in amount, if a sufficient dread of the punishment inflicted, in the first place, be impressed upon the minds of evil doers; and, in the second place, if some means for raising themselves, in a way unknown to them before, be placed at their disposal. Meanwhile we must live in hope, and watch for the results, which we doubt not will appear in good season, and yield a plentiful return to Government, whose liberal and determined measures have been the means of bringing them about.

"The Calcutta

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ART. III.—1. *General Orders of the Bengal Army.*
2. *Beaufort's Digest of the Criminal Law.*
3. *The Indian Newspapers for* 1856.

THE hot season is nearly finished. We have by this time almost made an end of the long, dreary, weary days of languor, confinement, and suffering which so richly entitle those who can endure them to the comparatively high rate of Indian allowances. Perhaps in our joy that we have LIVED through another of those given periods we have a little lost sight of the fact that we are another year the nearer to the great ASSIZE. How have we spent the time? Has the silence of the house, only been broken by the chattering of the mynas over the water-pots in the verandah, the splashing of the tatty men, the whirr of the thermantidote, or the creak of the punkah press; has this stillness made audible been typical of an inner silence of the moral being; the silence not of growth, but of decay? Have we been merely playing the bird of passage; contributing indeed to the store of empty black bottles; otherwise leaving no traces in the desert to tell that we have passed another stage, and are still members of the caravan? *Mal de pays* is hard to bear; but man's mental well-being has of old been said to depend more on the soul than the sky: home is not our long home; as Sir Humphrey Gilbert said in the storm, "Heaven is as near from one place as another." If therefore we have been looking on this country *merely* in the light of a place where we are to spend certain painful years, and scrape together from the sweat of savages a miserable provision for a short period of retirement which may never come; or, coming, never satisfy; in such case, no wonder if the burthen of exile have been almost too much for us, if the undue light thrown over the distant view of our native land have been unduly taken out of our foreground, and if we, exemplifying the truth—

"Man never *is*, but always *to be*, blest,"

have sacrificed the available happiness of this country without being able to ensure the boon in any other.

The ordinary Anglo-Indian day perhaps passes in somewhat unedifying fashion. We will suppose that about half an hour before dawn, just as one's bed is becoming a little endurable, and just as we cease to notice with indignant remonstrance the sleep that has overtaken our punkah-puller (compensated for the monotonous flapping of that unsightly machine by the light breeze that belongs to the hour, and comes light but sweet through the open window); just at this calm period, custom, perhaps medical advice, forces us to rise and go forth to "eat the

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air." Our horse is at the door; he likewise enjoying the early freshness of the morning—too soon, as *we* know, to pass away. Returning from our ride, disappointed, streaming with perspiration, and not in the best of tempers, we proceed to lay the foundation of dyspepsia for the day, by a visit to "the Coffee-shop." Readers in Calcutta or in England may not be perfectly acquainted with the nature of this favorite institution of the Mofussil; those who are, will not perhaps object to being reminded of some of the pleasantest hours (such as they are) which the hot season has to yield. Drawn together by that true feeling of sociality and brotherhood, which is the cause of some of the best as of some of the worst characteristics of English society in India; at every Mess-house throughout the country, one is sure, on returning from the morning ride, to find a table spread with bread and fruit, tea, coffee, cigars, and the indispensable *ágdan*.* Here gradually present themselves the Civilian in his white jacket, the Soldier from parade, eager to throw off his uniform and follow the Civilian's cooler example; the letters and journals are distributed by the postman, the khidmutgars bustle about with the cups that 'cheer but not inebriate;' and sipping, smoke, and scandal succeed the previous silence of our lovely canter. Who was "pleasant" last night at Mess; what sort of a party there was at the Judge's; why the Collector's wife goes to the Hills; the prospect of the relief; these and the like innocent subjects of prattle occupy those honest fellows for the next hour or so. There is also the amused puzzlement over the letter in the "Dehli" from our station; who *can* be the correspondent, and what awful stuff he writes! Baggs, of the Cavalry would, pitch into him, "without mercy, by Jove, if he could find him out." And really, this excitement is, to a great extent, thrown away: the local correspondent *is* impertinent, but then, think, who reads his effusions—excepting always himself.

"SOORUJNUGGER, 12*th June*. No news stirring here. Every one off to the Hills. By the bye, Mr. Editor, can you tell me the reason why B—gs gets a month when more than the number are away from his corps; while others can't get it, when there is *no reason they shouldn't?* But, *vogue la galerè* as our French allies say—apropos des bottes I think Louis Napoleon is a *pukka eenth* — Our Judge gives a ball next week: I dare say it will be as dull an affair as the Collector's was the night before last. What *can* one expect from a man who wears shoe-strings? There was a murder, I hear, in the city last night; a *bunneea*, his wife and all the children (but a baby in arms,) found with their throats cut. *Kotwaljee* hurried to the spot as fast as his fat would let him. After being closeted for some time with

* A little stand, (often of elegant fancy,) for holding a fire-ball from which the cheroot is lighted.

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the actual murderer (a Mussulman gentleman) of great respectability (?) during which interview the clink of rupees was heard distinctly; he reported that suspicion attached to the baby, who had absconded; on which the Huzoor, with his heaven-born sagacity, issued a reward of 100 Rs. for his apprehension. Lots of sickness among the niggers. My *kit* fell down in a fit of apoplexy in bringing dinner across the compound. Very hot; rain much wanted. Nothing more from this at present, my dear Mr. Editor, but should I have, I will let you hear again.* So no more from your affectionate

FLICK."

Maddened by this tissue of inanity, conceit, bad feeling, worse taste, and disgraceful grammar, which we would fain hope was only admitted by the Editor under the sternest possible compulsion; we mount our Buggy (for the horse has long been sent to his stables on account of the sun), and hurry home. It is nearly eight in the morning, and it is already necessary to close the house! We have now ten or eleven hours before us of complete confinement how are they to be got through? In England at this time of the year we should have every Exhibition open, from the Vernon Gallery to the Crystal Palace; the thronging streets, the fragrant meadows, the river, the race course, the cricket-field; Rotten Row, Parliament, the Opera, *O, ubi Campi!* Look on the reverse. A couch is backed with matting, so as not to provoke undue perspiration; one room (that influenced by the thermantidote) is habitable, enjoying a temperature of 90° Fahrenheit. There we will lie extended, and read till breakfast time. If we are a military man we shall see the havildar of our Company and look over the order book; a careful housekeeper will perhaps order, in vague terms, the roughest possible sketch of a breakfast and dinner. The Civil officer, more fortunate, has his reports to hear from the Police and Revenue officials, the passing orders on which may save him from the tedium of the next two hours (indeed, so much is he saved from the vacuity of an Indian day that the succeeding description must be considered chiefly applicable to the military.) Dressing supervenes the cold bath, either plunge, shower, or with wholesale earthen vessels full dashed over the glowing frame, imparts at least a temporary vigor; the previous waste of the system and the present bracing combine to make us enjoy one's breakfast; and we prolong the meal by tea and cheroot as long as we possibly can—say till eleven. We shall probably now again undress; and, lying extended in some darkened room, one of Mr. Routledge's shilling volumes in hand, sleep till tiffin time. For that meal, fortunately perhaps for ourselves, we

* It is hardly necessary to say that no reflection is meant on this or that paper. The sort of correspondence adverted to is the part of all.

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have not much appetite; the iced-beer however is grateful, and we drink our *quantum sufficit*, which may vary from a pint to two quarts. Nothing now remains, from three to six, but more novels and more sleep; at the latter hour we dress again, and go forth in buggy for a languid drive through the evening air, hotter than we have yet felt it, even if we had been out during the day; for the radiation that has been going on all day seems to increase for some hours even after the sun has set. Those who have passed the day we have been describing under tatties and punkahs, feel it so much as to lose nearly all the pleasure of the drive; indeed some give up the practice in despair. Conceive the scene: Trees white with dust, bending before the tempest of furnace-wind that has ceased not blowing all day; barren, parched fields, miserable deserted looking bungalows, compounds surrounded with broken mud-walls, languid natives in bed out side their doors in the villages, used-up dogs sleeping in the street; and, as it grows darker, the skulking form of a wolf or jackal trotting across the road in search of prey in the form of a dead cow, or a native child. On our return once more to the hated bungalow or the scarcely less odious Mess-house, chairs are ordered into the verandah, or on to the *chubootra* in front; where, under the equivocal relief of a large hand-punka, we sit till summoned to dinner. Dinner ensues in due time, with its horrible steam and sparkle; a momentary excitement is perhaps created by the conversation and the wines; but even at best it is a wonder if some of the guests be not asleep before the removal of the cloth; and so more time is killed till nine o'clock. Cheroots are lighted the instant the cloth has been withdrawn, and an adjournment to the billiard-room shortly after follows for all those who can dispense with the eternal punkah. Now a feeble pool, a few mild bets, a conversation which in the total lack of topics is too likely to verge on the "idle word system," and is sometimes too ribald for description—prolong the weary evening for a few hours more, and we at length retire to our own house to spend a hot and probably sleepless night, and rise to a similar seventeen hours of dullness on the morrow. Those best acquainted with Mofussil life know best if we have exaggerated or set down in malice, any portion of this brief chronicle of sleep, meals, and novels, whether, on the contrary, we have not given the exile the benefit of a large European society and a good *hot wind*. Let us allow our imagination to dwell, if but for one second, on the condition of those who are secluded in a wilderness, perhaps without one companion to cheer the solitude, where the medical man and the clergyman come round four times in the year; and where the damp east wind blows for half the season, causing no evaporation on the tatties, and no kiln-drying,

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quasi-vigor to the frame. The hot winds' season, with all its miserable tedium and confinement, is not unhealthy; and such places as Agra and Meerut, are considered favorable to European life, as far as actual disease goes. But think of the waste of powers that must be going on, to speak only physically!

And yet physical exhaustion is not the worst; there have been instances of men who by imitating, in some degree, the more natural habits of the people of the country, have preserved their vigor to a great degree. A temperate diet; stimulating the system rather by spices than by alcohol;* regular habits; and all the air and exercise consistent with comfort, may carry a person of good constitution with comparative impunity, through his Indian career. Still the waste of life is great, and few who have gone through thirty years of this country, even *with* the advantages we have noticed; a good constitution which is a rare gift, regular habits, which are not pleasant, and an adoption of a native mode of life, which is agreeable neither to our pride, our prejudices or our previous training; even so, he is an old man at fifty, and neither likely to live very long, nor greatly enjoy life in his own country.

But it is the ENNUI, the horrible boredom of such an existence as we have been looking at which is the real evil. A man may give his strength or even his life to ambition, or to avarice; but the starving of the moral and intellectual nature, the withdrawal of light from the æsthetic side of the character,—this is a horrible injury. Let us see if it be a necessity, or only an accident of our exiled life in India. Let us devote a few minutes to the enquiry how far we have the remedy for this trial in our own hands.

Manager Serlo in Wilhelm Meister, states (we quote from memory) that "no man who would wish to cultivate his character, would willingly pass a day without seeing a fine picture, hearing a beautiful piece of music, or letting his gaze rest on the face, and his mind enjoy the conversation of a good and lovely woman."

All these things may be done in this country; we may get water-color pictures, we may accumulate prints, we may practise painting ourselves; we may decorate our interior with tasteful furniture; or if we are rich, with artistic statuary and graceful ornaments. Why should the Anglo-Indian save himself a few, a very few rupees, and a little, a very little, trouble to live—between bare walls, with a few angular chairs, and with couches of penitential shape and hard outline? Any one can command the taste of others and educate his own. There may be flowers under the tatties, or, the hardier sorts, in the verandah; for the great heats only last two months, and then when the rains have once begun, the flowers may safely be put out into the verandah altogether. The garden may

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be tended. Many annuals may be sown towards the end of the hot weather; hedges may meanwhile be kept in order; fruit-trees be looked to; the summer-house kept in repair and beautified; creepers grown; terraces of masonry with steps and rough vases erected, to break the monotony of the surface—one of the minor evils of many parts of India: all furnishing a pleasant, natural, innocent and healthful occupation, connecting us with home, and with the great men of the past; many of whom have loved a garden. Captain Richardson, our oldest and truest literary man—for he is literary *pur et simple*—gives us a just and elegant *resumé* of the influence of this pursuit on various distinguished Englishmen. Thus then, in one way or another, with the paper produce of the draughtsman or the natural painting of creation managed by the hand of taste, the culture spoken of by Goethe is practicable, as far as the eye is concerned, though not with such advantage, or to such an extent as in Europe; still is practicable.

And so of the ear. Any man with a taste for music can save up a couple of hundred Rupees from less worthy sources of expense, and invest them in the purchase of a *Seraphine* or *Harmonium*; or whatever other name be given to those simple little organs, which though in a deal case, and with a limited key-board, produce under the least skilled hand, if only guided by an elemental knowledge of harmony, a richness of chords strongly tending to raise pure and devotional feeling in the minds of those who hear it, a command of time and the power of playing from notes would of course come in time. So much for the ear.

And the third, the noblest source of culture? Our fair countrywomen in this trying climate may not always shew that exquisite soundness of face and form which would have so delighted the Greek-minded old German if he could have paid a visit to British shores; the divine beauty of the Englishwoman renders her a rival to the finest sculpture of antiquity, amid the healthful breezes of her own country; still, wherever she wander the charm of expression is never lost, and the refinement and trace of languor lent by this climate are not unfavourable to *that* source of beauty at any rate. Almost every man in this country may *marry*; may light up and render happy his home with that loveliness of feature and form, born of loveliness of mind, which shall add the final crown and capital to his moral culture.

But superadded to the moral culture of art, or of association with female goodness and sweetness, must be much of a more practical character. The exclusive follower of Goethe culminates in the kind of character so wonderfully drawn by the author of "Bleak House." And assuredly, Harold Skimpole himself would find some difficulty in pursuing an entirely æsthetic course in such a country as this. But there is no one of us who has not some

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profession ; the majority, it must be confessed, a not very engrossing calling ; but surely even the officers attached to infantry or cavalry regiments may find in their profession something worth studying ; may find in professional reading and writing some means of profitably passing a few of those spare half hours that are but too likely under ordinary circumstances to be spent in other and worse pursuits. Time and health are the stock in trade of the young Briton in India ; and we must see that it is but a poor economy which would throw away one's sole capital in a manner that can bring no possible return. It is a common complaint, since the British army has been brought into comparison with those of the continent that while the material is the best in the world ; while the soldiers who stood or fell through the deadly day of Inkermann, or the regimental officers who led on the desperate attack of the Redan, could nowhere be matched ; that the leaders are deficient in strategic power as well as in administrative capacity ; are little fitted either to manage an army in cantonments, or to handle it in the field. There is no reason, at any rate, why this reproach should attach to the army of India. Constantly assembled in brigades, often exposed to frontier fighting, sometimes exercised in difficult campaigns, with the posts of General and Regimental Staff, mostly thrown open to merit, (with the least little support of interest, but never to interest without merit), we think that there already exist considerable practical inducements to the young *militaire* to adopt our advice, and combat the enemy whose name heads this paper by studies and occupations which are not unlikely to have the farther advantage of yielding him professional advancement.

Think again of the temptations to useful employment that await the medical man. The "Lancet," the "Medico-Chirurgical Review," the numerous monographs that appear from time to time might be attentively studied; and keep the exiled doctor *au courant* with the theories of the day ; as a careful study of the symptoms and treatment of his native and European patients would maintain the freshness and merit of his practice. It is true that this class of persons have much less actual inducement in the way of self-interest, to distinguish themselves in professional knowledge than the corresponding class at home ; seeing that they belong to a strict seniority service, and that the number of their patients no more depends on their reputation than the general amount of their incomes depends on the number of their patients. A medical man is generally attached to a particular corps or civil station ; and the whole of the persons thereto belonging are given over to him without choice. But we cannot think so ill of the doctors of the Bengal army, or of the Indian army in general, as to suppose that the mitigation of suffering, and the

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prolongation of life are not sufficient inducements to rouse them, were their attention once turned to the fact that so much of their time might be thus nobly employed.

That there are not a few of them who are already shining instances of all that we have said, and more, we know from experience; and have seen no later than this very year,* how any serious visitation finds them ready to devote energy and thought without grudging to the sacred duties of their calling. Let such exertion be general and continuous, and Ennui is banished from the doctors too.

Of the Clergy and their duties it is not the place to say much. There is an impression abroad, whether right or wrong, that these gentlemen are not as universally zealous as they should be. Possibly we are a little hard upon them. Not originally selected for the work as carefully as might be wished, they come to this country with their English tastes and habits formed and set; they find themselves suddenly deprived of all the suppports they had in England, isolated amongst a rough military population not over disposed to yield, it may be, the respect they have been used to; with no hope of preferment beyond the gradual rise of seniority, or the prospect of two years in a Hill station; it is not singular if some of them should slacken in the sober earnestness of the Christian teacher. To these also Ennui, the organized and strenuous indolence of a prison-life that pretends to be free, is a fatal rust, corroding the moral powers, and only to be dispelled by vigorous professional studies. When the attendance on the European hospital is over, (when such exists,) and the two sermons are written for the Sunday, there must still be many hours that might be devoted to the examination of contemporary controversy, of antient philosophy, of modern metaphysics. Works on the mental pathology of heathen Asiatics or hardened nominal Christians might be as appropriately expected from our clerical friends as works on similar physical subjects are welcomed when they are issued by the doctors.

The Civil Service—has been previously glanced at as being saved perforce from the worst attacks of our common foe. However languid or self-indulgent a person he be by nature, still he has, when young, his examinations, and afterwards his enormously responsible duties to occupy the greater part of his day. A man who is employed for from six to sixteen hours a day, in administering police and revenue, looking after Treasuries and Jails, laying out roads and building bridges, is not likely to have much time or inclination to bestow upon professional studies.

* Especial reference is here made to the singular prevalence of small-pox and cholera in many parts of Upper India.

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The Uncovenanted and Commercial classes still remain, and in them also the honest discharge of duty probably suffices to produce occupation for the greater part of the day. But man does not live by bread alone, and there still remain many hours and many faculties which they, which all of us, might devote to better occupation than eating or sleep. The hours of the evening for instance, instead of engrossing them with heating food and liquor, how much more comfortable as well as rational would be, in large stations, some kind of literary and scientific place of meeting, where, over the less absorbing excitements of tea, coffee, and the like, we might add to the knowledge and happiness of one another by lectures, experiments, reading, conversation and music? Why should not a club on these principles be founded at each station like Benares, Cawnpore, Agra or Meerut? Whereas in a more solemn place of meeting—high and low, rich and poor, might come together without reference to professional, social, or other than mere human considerations. Surely the concert,—the lecture, the conversazione, the amateur play open to respectable individuals of all classes would be more enjoyable even, to say nothing of the after benefits, than the formal dinners where we meet to exchange platitudes with people we see every day, and over whose minds, in Goldsmith's phrase, we have well nigh travelled.*

Every man too, might, in addition to the studies or the practical duties of his profession, keep up a subsidiary subject, not too widely disconnected from that profession; and on which to have the eye constantly fixed, would remove a great deal of that desultory character from our reading which renders so much of it a mere pass-time, leaving neither impression on the imagination nor facts in the memory. Say that a Civil officer proposes to himself, as an extra-professional subject of reading, the progress of nations from barbarism to civilization; from conquest to freedom; is it not obvious that in studying Hallam's History of Plantagenet England, or Schiller's Revolt of the Netherlands, he will equally *assimilate* facts bearing on the present and future of this country? So the doctors might study photography, the chaplains archæology; &c. &c.

Farther, there is the case of health, physical health without which no blessing can be fairly or fully enjoyed; of spiritual health, the greatest blessing of all. Due exercise, copious ablutions, moderate and interesting amusements; all these may be pursued, and will take up some time which otherwise might hang heavy on the hands of the most studious. We have said nothing of field sports, because, important as they are to the due develop-

* People in India seldom seem to *eat* at this meal. The tiffin is the usual meal, and the great "saddle and turkey" dinners are *put* on only to be taken off the table.

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ment of the manly character, they are chiefly available during the winter; when, combined with the shortness of the days they cause our enemy almost utterly to disappear and, for the time, to perish. But there are many sports and amusements to be enjoyed during the hottest weather; riding, swimming, quoits, pistol-practise in the day, the rubber of picquet in the evening, all come in to alleviate the monotony of pursuits all sedentary. The health of the soul is perhaps best maintained (as a general rule) by the discharge of duty. Still some time will generally be requisite for religious discipline, study and contemplation.

And the natives of the country; our liberal paymasters; can their claims not win us from some of our apathy, rewarding us in turn for the sacrifice by another deadly wound to the foe? Cannot the officer of the native army interest himself, and defeat ENNUI as in old days, by sharing in the habits, hopes, and fears of the sepoys of his company, a race certainly not *less* interesting than the somewhat stolid peasantry of his own country, whom it is now (happily) so much the fashion to help and comfort? We have heard of officers who did not know by name a single man in their company; we know others who have their men to their Bungalows every morning and evening *(out of uniform)* to see them wrestle, and throw quoits, and to listen to their little stories, or answer their questions, sometimes innocent, sometimes shrewd as with childish wonder they examine a scientific toy, or a large, bold drawing, (which alone they seem able to appreciate). And so the Civil officer need by no means content himself with the perfunctory intercourse with Omlah or native visitors which is necessary to his official prosperity; nothing flatters or interests these men more than a patient kindness, not necessarily involving any surrender of dignity; explaining the wonders of European civilization, and directing their minds beyond the petty objects of the place and hour. Natives, it is often said, are like children; there are indeed many and grievous differences between them and children; but it is true to say so if we imply thereby a handy statement of the difference between the Asiatic and European. The European *is* more of a *man* (according, at least, to European ways of judging; perhaps it is the difference between the man painting and the lion), but at any rate there seems about the people of this country a teachableness and a reverence which makes it pleasant to communicate information to them, and offers us a considerable opening for influencing their future destiny. Formerly it is true, there might have been some doubt as to the amount of credence they might bestow on the Englishman who enlarged on the marvels of science, and the achievements of his own countrymen; but the steam-boats, the railways, and above all, the Electric

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Télegraph speak in a language that admits of no sceptical interpretation, and leaves the objector no alternative but that adopted by the Pharisees; to attribute the wonderful works to Satanic Agency! It is also more than possible that the close kindred between our own race and many of the races indigenous (we deny the pun) to this country, may qualify its people to appreciate and to imitate the social institutions they would see, and the political ones of which they would hear, if they mingled more freely with their conquerors. The fault seems not to be altogether with the latter, that this intercourse is not more frequent and more free; still the extension of European society will account, to a great extent, for the fact that, in the larger stations at any rate, we see less of the natives than did our predecessors of fifty years ago. In a place where there is no European society at all, or scarcely any, the solitary stranger will be naturally driven more and more to seek solace in that of the natives; and well for him, and for them that it should be so; provided always that, from education or from natural strength of mind, he possess sufficient originality to keep alive the honor and the energy which are the privileges as well as causes of his superiority. Hence it has been said, by a patient observer* of Anglo-Indian society:—

"They," (the officers at an out-station where the writer halted), "Complained sadly of the solitude to which they were condemned, but admitted that they should not be able to get through half so much business were they placed at a large station, and exposed to all the temptation and distractions of a gay and extensive circle, nor feel the same interest in their duties or sympathy with the people as they do when thrown among them in this manner. To give young men good feelings towards the natives, the only good way is to throw them among them at those out-stations in the early part of their career, when all their feelings are fresh about them. This holds good, as well with the Military as the Civil officer, but more especially with the latter. A young officer at an outpost with his corps, or part of it, for the first season or two, commonly lays in a good store of feeling towards his men that lasts him for life; and a young gentleman of the Civil Service lays in, in the same manner, a good store of sympathy and fellow feeling with the natives in general."

It is not an uncommon thing to hear a young Englishman in this country say that he "detests the niggers." Now, not to consider too curiously the fact that the natives of India do not happen to be negroes either in color or race, let us for an instant pause to ask if this sort of language be kind, be even honest, towards the people from whom those who use it are deriving the means of living like gentlemen, marrying, and providing

* Sleeman. Rambles and Recollections. Hubbard. 1844, vol. ii. p. 209.

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for their families? Surely if a man really *hate* the people who thus patiently submit to be heavily vexed that he may reign over them in splendor and happiness, it is not too much to ask that he should dissolve the compact, and make way for some one who will do their work better for the money. The natives have their faults, and very serious ones; but you are sent here, we would suggest, purposely to eradicate those faults, and put them in the way to acquire those virtues that make you the ornament of your own country as well as the delight of foreign nations. *Quæ regio nostri non plena laboris?* Where is the part of the world that knows not, that loves not

'The oath of British Commerce
And the accents of Cockaigne?'

Have *we* then no faults of our own to correct, no example to hold up, no talent to employ, which, as Milton says, 'tis death to hide?

Lastly, there is the duty of disseminating a knowledge of India amongst our friends and countrymen at home; and the shewing in our lives and actions that we are not, as Lord Albemarle wantonly and wickedly said, barely superior in morals and intellect to the ryots we torture. Exile, we have said, is hard to bear, and ennui doubles the burthen. An officer stationed at Halifax or Quebec, at Hobart Town or Mauritius, has an English climate and an English society; can be out-of-doors all day; and returns to England as strong and healthy as he left it. The Indian's way of life we have attempted to display. But harder than exile and ennui is the feeling that all this time that we are bearing them, to the embitterment and shortening of life, we are being continually misrepresented by malice, and misunderstood by ignorant indolence. Dr. Johnson said of men that they were like slaves, "Condemned in Hope's delusive mine" but the ennui ridden exile of India has not even hope to sustain him; and whatever respect surrounds his labors must be drawn from himself,—for his countrymen at home will yield him none. A few men of statesmanlike mind or of long Indian experience may occasionally be found who understand the matter better, and who endeavor to stem the torrent of prejudice, or rouse the nation from their torpor of apathy. Lord Ellenborough (a Saul among the prophets) in opposing Lord Albemarle's attack on the Civil salaries, pointed out clearly the principle on which the high salaries rested.* It is only by raising the price of English labor that you can get it in India at all: and the class of men who once served here on low pay, indemnified themselves by oppression and malversation. Since the salaries have been raised we have had a class of men who will be honorable, brave and faithful wherever courage, faith, and honor

* See debate in House of Lords, May 26th.

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can be expected,—the sons of the upper, middle, and professional classes of Great Britain.

The worse it may be, for India, and for England too, if ever that should cease to be the case; if ever a horde of low bred, low paid *doctrinaires* should take the places of the present Military and Civil services of India. A day may come when with the United States Navy at Calcutta and their Russian allies at Peshawur, the utmost address may be required to conciliate native society and preserve the fidelity of the army. It was when France was much in the same condition that India is shewing now, when finances were growing worse, and worse; the people living no one knew how, under the domination of an alien and unsympathising aristocracy, and with a middle class* bringing up in infidel *philosophism*, intellectual without moral culture; that the upheaving masses rose in indiscriminate fury and hurled to the four winds of heaven both friend and foe.

This, at the end of a paper, is not the place for discussions of the kind; it would otherwise be easy to shew that there are many points of difference between the two states of society in regard to which we have been suggesting a parallel. The noblesse of France, less alien from their subjects than we may seem, yet cared far less for their welfare; and, on the other hand, those subjects were exposed to an increasing amount of physical misery to which the growing material prosperity of the people of this country furnishes no likeness. It will be enough to remind the reader that a "paper-age" of hope, doctrine, and retrenchment preceded the Deluge in the one case, and to record our sincere hope that it may not do so in the other.

* Robespierre has quite the *Kayuth* character.

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ART. IV.—1. *The Geological Structure of part of the Khasia Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District.* By THOMAS OLDHAM, F. R. S., G. S. &c., *Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India.* Calcutta, 1854.

2. *An Introduction to the Khasia Language; comprising a Grammar, Selections for Reading, and a Vocabulary.* By the Rev. W. PRYSE. Calcutta, 1855.

THE Eastern portions of Bengal, though among the earliest acquisitions of the British in India, appear for a long time to have attracted but little public attention. The vast mountain regions that stretch along the frontier in that direction, formed a barrier that seemed a sufficient protection against the chances of any serious foreign invasions; while the occasional predatory incursions of the adjacent Hill tribes, produced effects of but limited interest, and were easily curbed by a few local troops retained chiefly for that purpose.

If Sylhet, therefore, and the adjacent districts, excited but little interest, it is no matter of surprise that the independent states in the neighbourhood were viewed with indifference. It was only after the Burmese had conquered Assam and Munnipore, that a wish seems to have arisen in the minds of our rulers for more accurate knowledge of the condition of the tribes on the North Eastern Frontier. But thirty years and more have passed away since then,—our boundary lines have been extended to include not only Assam, but a large tract of the adjacent hill country,—and even now, the amount of information possessed by the British public, regarding this portion of our Indian territories, is exceedingly meagre.

Though unknown, and unappreciated, there are probably few portions of the British dominions in India more important, whether considered in a commercial, a statistical, or a political point of view.

We purpose, therefore, on the present occasion, to lay before our readers all the information we can glean regarding one of these little known sections of British India—the KHASIA HILLS, —and to bring to notice such facts respecting their internal condition, resources, and traditional history as we trust will prove generally interesting.

The tract of country known under the above appellation, lies between 25° and 25° 40′ N. Lat. and 90° and 91° E. Long., forming an irregular parallelogram, the length of which from North to South may be assumed at about seventy miles, and its average breadth at fifty, giving an area of about three thousand

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five hundred square miles. On the North it is bounded by the plains of Assam; on the South by those of Sylhet; on the West by the Garro Hills; and on the East by the central portion of Kachar.

Viewed from the plains to the South, these hills have the appearance of a long table-topped range, running East and West, and rising abruptly to the height of from four to five thousand feet, with its upper crest straight sharp and almost perfectly horizontal. The numerous streams which drain this lofty ridge flow in deep and large glens which stretch for many miles into the hills, adding greatly to the variety and beauty of the scenery—and as the upper portion of these deeply excavated glens or river gorges are nearly perpendicular and precipitous faces of rock, resting on a rapidly inclined talus, a number of large waterfalls may be clearly seen even from the distance of many miles, precipitating themselves over the cliffs, into a bright green mass of foliage that seems to creep half way up their flanks. But when viewed from a distance the nearer and further cliffs being thrown by perspective into one range, there is an apparent tameness of feature in the general profile of the hills, which seem to rise out of the jheels of Sylhet so abruptly as to remind one of some precipitous islands of the ocean.

The scenery of very few spots in India, we believe, is comparable in beauty and luxuriance with the rich tropical vegetation induced by the damp, and insular climate of these perennially humid mountains. That of the sub-Himalayas is doubtless on a more gigantic scale, and the noble forest trees along their Southern slopes, appear from a distance as masses of dark gray foliage clothing mountains ten thousand feet high. Here the individual trees are smaller, and more varied in kind, and there is among the vegetation a marked prevalence of brilliant glossy-leaved evergreen tribes, which contrast beautifully with the gray limestone and red rocks and numerous silvery cataracts.

The ascent to the hills by the beaten road, is at first very gradual, along the sides of a sandstone spur—but at the height of 2,000 feet, the slope suddenly becomes steep and rocky, and the road mounts by bold staircases and zigzags to the table land above. In the first portion of the ascent the road is beautifully shaded by groves of the orange and citron, the jack and the betel-palm, mixed with stately forest trees, many of them entwined with *pawn* and here and there a gigantic banyan, or Caoutchouc tree—

> "Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
> The bending twigs take root, and daughters grow
> About the mother tree; a pillar'd shade,
> High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between."

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In their shade the pine-apple and plantains also grow in wild profusion; and all seem like the uncultivated gifts of the Creator; but here and there water-pipes of hollowed betel trunks, carrying a stream for several hundred yards along the hill side, show that they are not altogether untended.

The groves from which the whole of Bengal is supplied with oranges, occupy a belt of from one to two miles in breadth, at the sloping base of these mountains, and in a soil formed of the detritus of the limestone, which constitutes the principal rock on this side of the range. They seem to thrive luxuriantly to an elevation of nearly 2,000 feet above the plains, where the character of the vegetation indicates a change, from a tropical to a more temperate region, and the wild raspberry and strawberry are detected on the borders of the numerous small springs, which issue from fissures in the rocks.

At the height of 3,000 feet all tree vegetation suddenly disappears, and the scenery becomes barren and uninteresting. A few steps further on however, and we open a magnificent prospect of the upper scarped flank of the valley of Mansmai, along which we ascend by a gentle acclivity in view of four or five beautiful cascades rolling over the table top of the hills, broken into silvery foam as they leap from ledge to ledge of the horizontally stratified precipice, and throwing a veil of silver gauze over the gulf of emerald green vegetation, 2,000 feet below. Indeed the views of the many cataracts of the first class that are thus precipitated over the bare table land, on which the station of Cherra stands, into the valleys on either side, surpass any thing of the kind seen in any of the other mountain regions of India. Ascending to the table top near the village of Mansmai, we catch the first view of the station of Cherra, at an elevation above the sea of 4,120 feet. This elevated land, covered with naked undulating hills, and at intervals of a few miles interrupted by deep and sudden valleys is the general characteristic of the country as far North as Nongklaw, a direct distance of about thirty-five miles, when there is a sudden and almost precipitous fall to the level of the Borparri river, or more than two thousand feet, gradually dying away into the valley of the Brahmaputra, by a succession of sharply undulating hills and ridges which stretch to Gowhatti in Assam.

When the fate of war had transferred Assam to British rule, the expediency of endeavouring to open a direct communication between it and the more Southern provinces of Sylhet and Kachar presented itself to the attention of Mr. David Scott, then the Commissioner and Agent of the Governor General on the N. E. Frontier; but it was not till the year 1826 that negociations to effect this desirable object were entered upon by him with the Khasia chieftains.

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To enable the reader, however, better to understand our relative position in regard to these Hills, it will be necessary to trace back the history of our connection with the Khasias.

The first appearance of the English power in these hills appears to have occurred in 1774, when a detachment under Major Henniker was employed against the Raja of Jaintia, the Eastern section of the Khasia hills. Of the cause of this collision, there appears to have been no written records preserved, though as Jaintia was one of the most considerable of the Khasia states, it is not improbable that some aggressions against the inhabitants of the adjacent plains of Sylhet had rendered the chastisement necessary. The country was conquered; but afterwards restored on payment of a fine. From that period till 1821 the country seems to have remained unnoticed, when some emissaries from the same State were detected in an atrocious attempt to carry off certain British subjects from Sylhet for the purpose of immolating them. The circumstances were brought to the notice of the Supreme Government, and a solemn warning was given to the Raja that any repetition of an offence so heinous would be followed by an immediate confiscation of his territory.

The invasion of the adjacent territory of Kachar, by the forces of Ava early in 1824, and the information that they were preparing to march through Jaintia to Assam rendered it necessary for the British Government to take some precautionary measures to prevent the carrying out of such an intention. For if the Burmese had effected an entrance into Jaintia it was more than probable that the security of Sylhet would have been seriously comprised. Mr. Scott, therefore, proceeded at once to open a negociation with the Raja, proposing that he should enter into a treaty of alliance with the British Government. He was promised the assistance of the Government troops, if his own resources were actively employed in repulsing the enemy; and threatened with punishment if he admitted the Burmese into his territory. In February 1824 Mr. Scott felt it necessary to address a letter to the Commander of the Burmese forces in Kachar, prohibiting his entering the Jaintia territory, on the ground that the Raja's ancestor had received that country as a gift after conquest from the Hon'ble Company; that he had himself sought British protection; and that the Burmese having openly threatened war, they could not be permitted to occupy that or any other favorable position, for commencing hostilities. Notwithstanding these representations, the Burmese wrote to the Raja of Jaintia, requiring his presence in the Burmese camp, on the affirmed ground of his vassalage to the princes of Assam, which latter country had become tributary to Ava; and shortly after, a party of Burmese appearing near the Jaintia frontier, a detachment of a

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hundred and fifty men under a British officer was sent to reinforce the Raja's troops, which led to the withdrawal of the Burmese force.

The Raja of Jaintia having now been convinced that his procrastinating policy had well nigh compromised his independence, was glad to enter into a treaty with Mr. Scott, who, early in April, marched through his territory from Sylhet to Assam, with an escort of three Companies of the 23rd Regiment Native Infantry, under the command of Captain Horsburgh. In the treaty, the Raja formally acknowledged his dependence on the British Government, pledged himself to abstain from all independent negociations with any foreign power, and to aid the Government with a Military Contingent whenever called on to do so.

None of these conditions however did he fulfil with sincerity. During the war with Burmah, he was known in direct violation of the treaty which had preserved his country from the calamities that threatened it, to have permitted a Burmese detachment from Assam to occupy his territory. And during the unsettled state in which Assam continued for some time after the Burmese war, he is said to have appropriated considerable tracts of land which properly belonged to the former Province. In 1832 four subjects of the British Government were seized by the Raja of Goba, one of the petty chieftains dependent on Jaintia, and immediately bordering on the district of Nowgong in Assam. They were taken to a temple within the boundaries of Goba, where three were barbarously immolated at the shrine of Kali; the fourth made his escape to the British territories, and gave intimation of the horrible sacrifice which had been accomplished. A demand for the surrender of the culprits was immediately pressed by the British Government; but every minor expedient having been resorted to in vain, on the 15th of March, 1835, Captain Lister with two Companies of the Sylhet Light Infantry took possession of Jaintiapore, the capital of the country, and the determination of Government to annex the plains to the British territory was made known by proclamation. In the following month of April, the district of Goba, in which the sacrifice had been perpetrated, was taken possession of by a detachment of the Assam Light Infantry.

That portion of the Khasia hills which thus became annexed to the British territories, consists of three principal divisions. The first, or Southern division comprises a very fertile and well cultivated tract of civil country, extending from the foot of the hills to the North bank of the Soorma river; the central division includes all the hills bounded by Kachar on the East and the districts of various Khasia tribes on the West, embracing an area of about 500 square miles; and the Northern portion stretches from the foot of

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the inferior heights to the South bank of the Kullung in Assam, and is a tract of tolerably open level country by no means inferior in fertility to the Southern plains, which form by far the most valuable portion of the principality.

The other or Western section of the Khasia hills for the most remains still independent.

In 1826, as we have already observed, Mr. Scott for the first time entered into negociations with the Khasia chieftains for the purpose of opening a communication with Sylhet. But it is necessary here to premise that so far back as 1794 when the power of the Assam Kings had been very much diminished by internal dissensions and civil feuds, many of the tribes on the borders of the valley, taking advantage of their weakness, had gradually possessed themselves of tracts of country in the plains, from whence, the Assam Government, being unable to dispossess them, and being conscious at the same time of its own weakness, was glad to compound with them for an acknowledgment of supremacy, they holding these lands as fiefs of the kingdom.

In 1826, Teerut Sing, the Raja of Nongklaw, having expressed a desire to rent some lands in Assam which had once been held by his ancestors under the native princes of the country, Mr. Scott promised compliance with his request if he would endeavour to obtain from the other Khasia chieftains, permission for the unrestricted passage of British subjects through their territories. The Raja agreed to convene a meeting for the purpose of considering the subject at which Mr. Scott's presence was requested. The principal chieftains having assembled at Nongklaw, a debate which lasted for two days, was followed by a decision in favor of Mr. Scott's proposition, which resulted in a treaty with the British Government, the Khasias agreeing to aid in the construction of a road which was to pass through their country.

For eighteen months and more, after the ratification of this agreement, the most cordial understanding appeared to exist between the British authorities and their new friends. And Mr. Scott, naturally enough, forming a high opinion of the salubrity of the hills, contemplated the formation of a Sanatarium that might have been rendered accessible to the European inhabitants of Bengal. He accordingly had bungalows constructed at Nongklaw, an elevation estimated at about 4585 feet,—which for some time continued to be his favorite residence. A line of road had been marked out and cleared under his directions; improved systems of agriculture and gardening, with many new vegetable products had been introduced, and the most sanguine anticipations of the benevolent spirit which influenced every act of his life seemed likely to be realized.

On the 4th of April, 1829, however, these bright prospects were

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suddenly obscured by an act of the most atrocious cruelty on the part of the Khasia, which entirely changed the character of the existing intercourse, and converted their powerful friends into formidable and irresistible enemies.

The immediate cause that brought the Khasias into sanguinary collision with the officers of the British Government is unknown, but it has been supposed to have been the speech of a Bengalee Chaprassi, who in a dispute with some Khasias is said to have threatened them with Mr. Scott's vengeance, and told them that they were to be subjected to the same taxation as was levied on the inhabitants of the plains. Whatever it might have been, it served to fan the flame of dissatisfaction which had apparently been kindled by the insolent demeanor and abuse of the subordinate native agents who had accompanied Mr. Scott into the hills, and led to the formation of a confederacy for the extermination of the low-land strangers.

Lieut. Bedingfield, the first victim of this most atrocious conspiracy, had from the first hour of his intercourse with the Khasias evinced the liveliest interest in their welfare; he had studied their language as the best avenue to their affections, and the great aim of his residence among them, appeared to be an anxious desire to improve their condition, to instruct them in the arts of civilized life, and to create a relish for its humanizing enjoyments. So sensible did the Khasias appear of his kindness that an intercourse of the most friendly and intimate nature existed between them, to the very moment preceding that in which their guilty hands were imbrued in his blood. He was invited to attend a conference, and disregarding the prophetic warnings of his companion Burlton, who suspected treachery, he entered the assembly unarmed, and was barbarously slaughtered. Lieut. Burlton, with the aid of a small military guard, defended himself in his bungalow at Nongklaw against vastly superior numbers, and at night succeeded in effecting his retreat a considerable distance on the road towards Assam; his route was, however, discovered on the following morning, and he and his exhausted party rapidly overtaken by their blood-thirsty pursuers. Burlton fell covered with wounds, and the greater part of his party were butchered into the most aggravated circumstances of diabolical cruelty. A very few only survived to tell of the horrors that had been perpetrated by these misguided and infuriated savages.

Mr. Scott's sudden departure from Nongklaw for Cherra, alone saved him from the dreadful fate which befel his valued friends and faithful followers, and some time elapsed before he was made acquainted with the afflicting reality. Troops were immediately called up both from Sylhet and Assam to avenge the atrocious murders which had been committed, and a harassing warfare commenced in which many lives were sacrificed. The Khasias,

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conscious that they had violated every pledge, which even savages are accustomed to regard with superstitious reverence, viewed with suspicion every pacific overture, and, despairing of pardon, protracted a contest which their first skirmishes with our troops must have proved to be hopeless.

At length, however, the submission of Teerut Sing, the Raja of Nongklaw who had been the principal culprit, was soon followed by a general pacification. The other chiefs had, with few exceptions, prior to this, adopted the sagacious policy of withdrawing from an unprosperous cause; and the few who had supported him were glad to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by his surrender to throw themselves on the clemency of the paramount power.

Teerut Sing, on his surrender on the 13th of January, 1833, was conveyed to Gowhati and eventually confined in the jail of Dacca, where he remained a state prisoner to the end of his life. But as there had been a marked difference in the conduct of the various chieftains, it became necessary to distinguish those who had been friendly, from the guilty participators in the crime of Teerut Sing, and measures were accordingly adopted for subjecting all those who were proved to have participated in the murders and plunderings which had been perpetrated, to the payment of pecuniary fines. All opposition having been finally overcome, and the principal chieftains having formally tendered their submission to the British Government, it was resolved to place the whole mountain tract under the superintendence of the officer whose skill and gallantry had so largely contributed to its pacification; and Colonel (then Captain) Lister, was shortly after appointed Political Agent for Khasia affairs. over which he exercised a general control.

Some time previous to this amicable settlement, however, the distinguished officer who had devoted all his energies to promote the welfare of the people placed under his official charge, was suddenly removed from the sphere of his labours. Mr. David Scott, died at Cherra on the 20th of August, 1831, and the Government he had served with such devotion, in order to mark the high estimation in which his services were held, caused a stone monument to be erected over his remains at Cherra with the following Inscription :—

In Memory of
DAVID SCOTT,
Agent to the Governor General of the
North East Frontier of Bengal,
and Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit in the District of Assam,
North Eastern part of Rungpore, Sherepore, and Sylhet.
Died 20th August, 1831,
Aged 45 years and 3 months.

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"This Monument is erected by order of the Supreme Government, as a public and lasting record of its consideration for the personal character of the deceased, and of its estimation of the eminent services rendered by him in the administration of the extensive territory committed to his charge. By his demise the Government has been deprived of a most zealous, able and intelligent servant, whose loss it deeply laments, while his name will long be held in grateful remembrance and veneration by the native population to whom he was justly endeared by his impartial dispensation of justice, his kind and conciliatory manners, and his constant and unwearied endeavours to promote their happiness and welfare."

His many acts of kindness and urbanity still live in the grateful remembrance of the people, among whom the name of "U Saheb Scott," continues to this day to be held in high veneration. Extensive schemes had been formed by him for the improvement of this Hygeian Land of Promise, and the civilization of its wild and independent tribes, and in losing him the Khasias felt they had lost a sincere and warm-hearted friend.

Partial as Mr. Scott had originally been to Nongklaw, as the site for a sanatory station, his favourable opinion of the place was greatly shaken by a prevalence of sickness during the months of May and June, 1827, which rendered the salubrity of Nongklaw more than questionable, and led to its relinquishment. Cherra appeared then likely to fulfil the conditions required for a Sanitarium, and as the Khasias themselves maintained the superior healthiness of the place, measures were accordingly adopted for experimentally proving the correctness of their opinion.

The excessive rain-fall at Cherra, however, is supposed to have been a great drawback to the salubrity of its climate for invalids, for whatever might be the advantages derivable by them, from a reduced temperature during the winter and summer months, the torrents of rain that fall there during the wet season, could not fail, it was said, to prove injurious to men, whose constitutions had already suffered from the effects of an Indian climate—and in 1834, the Government was led to order the removal of the detachment of European Invalids that had been temporarily stationed there. Others however have expressed themselves satisfied that bad accommodation, houses not water-tight, and almost below the level of the ground, coupled with the facility of obtaining the native spirits at an extremely low price, were tenfold more fruitful causes of illness among the troops, or of non-recovery, than any defect of climate.

The other European residents who had sought that station in search of health, were in consequence of this movement led to the apprehension that Government intended also to deprive them of the medical aid they had hitherto enjoyed, and under this im-

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pression they addressed the Governor General's Agent on the subject. As their letter contains a brief summary of the advantages derived from the continued possession of this tract, and an acknowledgment of the benefits they had individually experienced from a residence there, an extract from it may not be without effect, in counteracting a prejudice against the Khasia hills, which, if the opinions of men who speak experimentally be valid, is wholly unfounded:—

"It is in no sort intended to question the propriety of the decision of Government, for the removal of the European soldiers; but we consider that they are so differently placed, in regard to the accommodation and comfort which are required here, and are deprived of so many sources of amusement which may be enjoyed by the members of the community at large, that the failure of an experiment in regard to them, as inconsistent with the object of Government, is no satisfactory proof that other members of the community may not benefit by residence here. On the contrary we think that with the exception of some cases, to which the climate has been unsuited, (and these are cases unsuited to any climate in the known world,) the greater portion of those who have visited Cherra Poonjee have derived advantage; and we even know that some have enjoyed a more perfect state of health here than they have in England. We consider that Government even would obtain considerable advantage, by affording the opportunity to many of their public servants, of warding off, by a timely visit to Cherra Poonjee, the necessity of withdrawing themselves from public employ for two years, if not altogether to revisit England—and to other members of the community in Bengal, but especially in Calcutta, this is of incalculable advantage. These considerations have, in fact, already made this station a very common place of refuge for invalids of all classes; many houses have been built in consequence, suitable to the climate for their accommodation, and a considerable portion of the ground occupied here, pays a rent to Government annually. Even schools have been established here for children, for whose health it has been found that this climate is peculiarly favourable. Schools have also been established for the instruction of the natives themselves; and the population generally, have been both civilized and improved in circumstances, by their communication with the European residents."

The fears which had been excited were allayed by the subsequent establishment of the head quarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry at Cherra. But it was soon apparent that by the removal of the European Invalids detachment, the Government had virtually pronounced a sentence of condemnation against the Khasia hills, and Cherra very soon lost the prestige it once enjoyed.

Cherra's loss however has been a gain to Darjeeling, to which place the European invalid depôt has since been transferred, and which attracts to it the servants of Government, and all other

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European residents in Bengal, to whom ill health may render a change of climate desirable. It would be well therefore to institute a comparison between the two, with regard to the advantages and disadvantages of each as a sanatory station.

Darjeeling,* as is generally known, is situated on one of the lower and outlying ridges of the great Himalaya range, at an elevation, varying in different parts of the station, from 6,500 to 7,400, the mean height of the greater portion of the station being about 7,000 feet. It is a considerable distance within the hills—about 45 miles by the road, but in a direct line perhaps not more than 20. It is partially protected on the south by the higher ridge of Senchal and its spurs, while to the North it is freely open to the snowy range, of which it commands a magnificent view, extending for many miles East and West of the great culminating points of Kunchinjinga, the highest known summit on the earth's surface—28,177 feet. All round the station, the hills form a succession of remarkably steep and sharp saddle-backed ridges with deep glens, (from three to five thousand feet below the station,) and are covered with an almost uninterrupted and dense mass of forest trees, festooned with moss, and literally dripping with moisture.

Professor Oldham, the title page of whose work on the Khasia hills stands at the head of this article, observes, that comparing Darjeeling and Cherra as regards rain, it appears that the mean annual fall at Darjeeling is scarcely more than a quarter of the mean annual quantity at Cherra. For the years 1851 and 1852 the comparative rain-fall at the two stations stands thus:—

	1851.	1852.
Cherra	592.525	449.63
Darjeeling	126.500	104.70

The following table gives a comparison of the number of dry days at each station:—

	Days of no rain.	Days of less than 1.000 inch.	Total.
Cherra, in 1851	50	47	97
" 1852	55	44	99
Darjeeling 1851	102	61	163
" 1852	96	85	181

While therefore there is nearly four times the quantity of rain at Cherra than falls at Darjeeling, it is worthy of notice that the distribution of this amount of rain is far from being in the same proportion. Besides, at Cherra, where the fall is so excessive, a day with less than 1.000 inch of rain is actually a fine day, while at Darjeeling the same fall in the course of the 24 hours ge-

* In latitude 27° 3′ 0″ North, and longitude 88° 18′ 40″ East.

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nerally produces a wet day. The greatest fall at Darjeeling during the two years referred to by Professor Oldham, was in July 1852, when there were 35.40 inches recorded, or an average fall in the *twenty-four hours* of 1.15 inch.

" A fair estimate of the climatal condition of any locality", however, as Professor Oldham justly remarks, " can scarcely be formed merely from a consideration of the fall of rain; more especially as regards the comfort or convenience of residents. It is obvious that for most purposes of enjoyment a fall of rain of only 5 inches spread over the whole day, is much more objectionable than a fall of 15 inches, confined to 15 hours out of the 24; while the state of the atmosphere, amount of cloud, fog, wind, &c. are all equally important considerations." The mean humidity of the atmosphere therefore is, we presume, a much safer guide in estimating the conditions of any locality as to moisture, than the actual rain-fall. Professor Oldham it appears had not the means of comparing this at the two stations for the same year; but taking the results obtained by him at Cherra for four of the wettest months in 1851, and the corresponding result for the same in 1853 at Darjeling,—a comparison which by the way is decidedly in favor of Darjeeling, as the latter year was finer than 1851,—we have the following comparative table:—

	July	August	Sept.	October	Mean of 4 months.
Cherra in 1851,	.873	.960	.932	.916	.920
Darjeeling in 1853,	.917	.936	.928	.887	.917

We have here then, the very unexpected result, that the *mean humidity* of the wettest season of the year is within a small fraction (.003) *the same at both the stations*, although the actual fall of rain is four times greater at one place than at the other.

The remarkable *absence of wind* at Darjeeling is another circumstance that tells to its disadvantage. " During the whole of the present season" (1853) Professor Oldham observes " I find, on examining my daily records, only a single entry in which the force of the wind, stated according to Beaufort's scale, amounted to 4°; the large majority—four out of five days—giving nothing more than 0—1, or being nearly quite calm. I confess myself quite unable to explain the cause of this absence of wind, but it is an universally admitted fact." The consequence of this stagnation of the atmosphere, as might have been expected, is the almost constant presence of cloud and fog, which rise from the deep and humid glens around, and hang for days together unmoved over the station—engendering gloomy and oppressive feelings, which to invalids in particular must be extremely unpleasant.

The loftier position and more open aspect of the Jilla-pahar, however, where the convalescent depôt of Her Majesty's Troops is placed, render it much less liable to this covering of cloud, but the

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fall of rain is in consequence considerably greater there than it is in the civil station below.

The constant *uncertainty in the weather*, is more complained of at Darjeeling than at Cherra. This is doubtless partly owing to the greater elevation of the former place, and may in some measure also be attributable to certain local peculiarities of position. "Even when apparently most settled," Professor Oldham remarks, the weather at Darjeeling "cannot be depended upon for an hour, while in the Khasia hills, even during the height of the rains, there frequently occur breaks of the most lovely summer weather, continuing for several days."

The *mean temperature* of the two places is another point worthy of comparison. From the more Northerly latitude of Darjeeling, and its greater elevation, combined with its more remote position within the hills, it would naturally have been anticipated that the temperature there would have been much lower than at Cherra. But this anticipation is not altogether supported by the result of observations, as will be apparent from a reference to the following Table :

1851.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.
Cherra,	53.70	55.10	65.30	67.10	69.30	71.30
Darjeeling,	40.90	41.70	51.80	55.30	61.90	62.50
Difference,	12.80	13.40	13.50	11-80	7.40	8.80

1851.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
Cherra,	71.80	72.40	72.40	68.20		
Darjeeling,	63.70	64.30	63.20	55.80	50.40	44.80
Difference,	8.10	8.10	9.20	12.40		

This would tend to show, that while there is during the winter months a very much lower temperature at Darjeeling than at Cherra, the difference is not by any means so marked during the summer months. But another inference drawn from the above Table is, that the difference between the extreme mean temperatures for the whole year is much greater at Darjeeling than at Cherra, being 23.40 at the former place, and only 18.70 at the latter ; or in other words, the temperature at Cherra is *more equable* throughout the year, than it is at Darjeeling.

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One word more regarding the comparative advantages of situation between Darjeeling and Cherra. The latter decidedly possesses greater facilities of approach.

In the case of a traveller, from Calcutta for instance, proceeding to Darjeeling, the two nearest points of access to which he can get by water are *Nalagola* on the Purnababa (the Dinagepore river,) and *Dulalgunge* on the Mahanundo or Malda river. From Nalagola he has a land journey of 30 miles to make to Dinagepore, and thence 88 miles more to Siligooree at the foot of the hills, or 118 miles. From Dulalgunge the land journey to Titaliya is about 50 miles, and thence to Siligooree 16=66 miles. And from Siligooree to Darjeeling the distance by the road is 45 miles. That is, landing at Nalagola the traveller has to perform a long land journey of 163 miles, or, landing at Dulalgunge, a journey of 111 miles. While, proceeding to Cherra on the contrary, the traveller lands at Pandua at the very foot of the hills, and thence in one short march of 10 miles reaches the end of his journey. The Soorma, the Sylhet river, by which he proceeds to Pundua, is navigable at all seasons of the year, and as we understand it is the intention of Government to run their inland steamers to Sylhet and Kachar, the journey to Cherra may then be performed with perfect ease and facility.

The situation of Darjeeling relative to the neighbouring country, we must confess, is beautiful, standing on a ridge that juts out as it were into a vast basin in the very heart of the sub-Himalaya, and enclosed on every side by mountains generally higher than itself ; except to the North and North-East, where the view is open, and exhibits range upon range, until the prospect terminates in the distant snowy mountain, the proper Him-alay. The ridge itself is, for the most part, narrow or hog-backed, with a steep descent on its Eastern side; while on the opposite or Western side, it declines in slightly gentler declivities. On this side most of the houses of the residents are built, with the exception of the Church, the Cutchery, and a few of the older houses, which have been constructed along or near the summit of the ridge. The building sites are mostly scarped and then superficially dressed and bound at the outer edge, either with a binding timber, fastened by stakes, or supported on a revetment of dry stone masonry. Cherra on the contrary stands on a flat table-land six or seven miles in circumference, with an aspect as bleak and inhospitable as can well be imagined ; but surrounded at the same time with the most lovely scenery, and traversed by good buggy roads in almost every direction.

We now close this description of the comparative merits of the two Sanitaria of Bengal, with the following quotation from Professor Oldham's book :

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"I do not pretend," he says, "to offer any opinion on the choice of such places as a summer resort for invalids, or a temporary residence for persons who may be suffering from the intense heat of the plains of India, and from the diseases which so commonly affect Europeans there. But I would express my own personal feelings, (the feelings of one in good health and not long in a tropical clime,) that notwithstanding the enormous fall of rain, the climate of Cherra Poonjee is greatly to be preferred to that of Darjeeling. It is much more bracing, and less gloomy and depressing. The sensation there is that of an English summer (a wet summer certainly); the sensation at Darjeeling is that of a foggy English November."

We will not go so far as to presume that these remarks will cause the Government to adopt any changes at present, but as it is not improbable that when the Khasia hills come to be better known, Europeans may be induced to settle there in preference to Darjeeling, we cannot refrain from putting on record one or two more observations made by competent authorities regarding sites for a Sanatarium that might prove preferable to Cherra. Two of these have been thus described by the late Major Fisher :—

"Though many of the central parts of the hills are extremely well calculated for the purpose of cantoning three or four hundred European troops, there are two spots which appear to me, above all others, to deserve a preference. First, the fine plain extending from the hill Chilling-deo to Nong-kreem, which presents a surface of about four or five square miles, unbroken by any undulation, and which could easily be rendered practicable for wheeled carriages. The total absence of jungle might indicate a poor soil; but abundance of short rich grass proves, that it is very fit for the support of cattle. The altitude is probably about 6200 feet; in winter there are frosts, but it does not appear that snow ever falls.

"The second spot is the plain about three miles South of Nogundee; crossed by the road between that place and Surra-reem. This possesses all the advantages of the one before mentioned, but is probably a little lower, though not so much so as to be perceptibly warmer; and as the access from Pundua to this spot is easier than to the first, I incline to give it a decided preference."

Mr. Robertson, who succeeded Mr. Scott as Agent to the Governor General, after having made a tour in company with Col. Lister, for the express purpose of examining the various sites which had been proposed for a sanatarium, in a letter of the 23d July 1832, says :—

"As the site of any future establishment in the interior, I give the preference to Myrung. Nongklaw would perhaps be a better situation with reference to its bearing on Assam, but is liable to mists, does not appear to be very healthy, and is infested with annoying insects. There is a site to the Eastward of Mauleem, which possesses considerable advantages, both as to climate, and extent of table-

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ground; but it stands in a corner, and is therefore ill situated for a station for troops." This is Major Fisher's first site,—lying between Chilling-deo and Nongkreem. "Myrung seems to combine the advantages in which both of the other spots are wanting. It stands on the road leading from Cherra to Gowhati. Its climate is excellent, perfectly free from mist; and its salubrity is proved by the appearance of the sepoys and others, stationed at that post."

Referring to the above, Capt. R. B. Pemberton writes:—

"I should prefer the site pointed out by Major Fisher, near Nogundee, which possesses an elevation so great as to lead to no perceptible difference in temperature between it and the very highest known spot, near the Chilling-deo hill, and which can be reached by a line of road, where not a single river of any depth or magnitude is crossed; and from which, two easy marches would convey troops to Nurtung, on the best and most salubrious line of route, leading into Central Assam, or to Myrung, should their services be required in the vicinity of Gowhati."

The great objection to Cherra, as a station, is the heavy torrents of rain that fall there annually. But this heavy fall is very local, and a few miles inland the quantity that falls annually is not half so much as at Cherra. Its position at the top of a steep and precipitous ascent from the plains; the vast extent and size of the inundations and rivers which deluge those plains immediately below it; the general direction of the wind during the monsoon, and the altitude at which clouds generally float in the air, all tend to expose the place to a very heavy discharge of rain. Professor Oldham informs us that the fall during the year 1851 amounted to *five hundred and ninety-two inches*, or to EIGHT FATHOMS AND A QUARTER of water; for it seems absurd to use a smaller unit in treating of such a quantity.

The direct effect of this deluge, is to raise the little streams about Cherra fourteen feet in as many hours, and to inundate the whole flat; from which, however, the natural drainage is so complete, as to render a tract, which in such a climate and latitude should be clothed with exuberant forest, so sterile, that no tree finds support, and there is no soil for cultivation of any kind whatsoever. But owing to the hardness of the horizontally stratified sandstone, the streams have not cut any deep channels for themselves, nor have the cataracts worked far back into the cliffs.

The flat on which the station stands, may be about three miles long and two broad, dipping abruptly in front and on both sides, and rising behind towards the main range, of which it is a spur. The Western part is undulated and hilly, the Southern rises in rocky ridges of limestone and coal, and the Eastern is very flat and stony, broken only by low isolated conical mounds. The scenery varies extremely at different parts of the surface. To-

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wards the flat portion, occupied by the European residents, the aspect is black enough ; a thin stratum of marshy or sandy soil covers a tabular mass of cold red sandstone ; and there is not a tree and scarcely a shrub to be seen. The low white bungalows are few in number, and very scattered; and a small white Church stands lonely in the centre of all.

But in the immediate neighborhood, and especially from the margins of this plateau, the views are magnificent. Four thousand feet below are bay-like valleys, carpeted as with green velvet, from which rise tall palms, tree-ferns with spreading crowns, and rattans shooting their pointed heads, surrounded with feathery foliage, as with ostrich plumes, far above the great trees. Beyond are the Jheels, looking like a broad shallow sea with the tide half out, bounded in the blue distance by the low hills of Tipperah. To the right and left are the scarped red rocks, and roaring waterfalls shooting far over the cliffs, and then arching their necks as they expand in feathery form, over which rainbows float, forming and dissolving as the wind sways the curtains of spray from side to side.

To the South, the lime and coal measures rise abruptly in flat topped craggy hills, covered with brushwood and small trees. Considerable caverns penetrate the limestone, the broken surfaces of the rock presenting many beautiful and picturesque spots. Westward, the plateau becomes very hilly, bare, and grassy, with the streams broad and full, but superficial and rocky, precipitating themselves in low cascades over tabular masses of sandstone.

On the heights to the North stands the extensive and populous native village, or Poonjee, the road to Assam running between it on the left, and a deep and richly wooded valley on the right. The country the traveller at first passes over is very open and bare, the ridges being so uniform and flat-topped, that the broad valleys they divide are hidden till their almost precipitous edges are reached ; and the eye wanders far East and West over a desolate-looking level grassy country, unbroken, save by the curious flat-topped hills. These features continue for eight miles, when passing the villages of Laitangkot and Surrareem, where the principal operations of the iron smelters are carried on, a sudden descent of six or seven hundred feet leads into the dark valley of the Kala-panee, or the black water river—near which stands a small staging bungalow. The almost perpendicular sides of the hills around, are clothed with the dark foliage of innumerable shrubs and creepers, indicating a soil more favourable to vegetable life than had been previously observed on the more Southern portion of the tract. Here in many places the sandstone alternates with alum shales, resting on a bed of quartz conglomerate, and the latter on black greenstone. In the bed of the river,

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whose waters are beautifully clear, are seen hornstone rocks, which give to the water flowing over them a darkish appearance, whence the origin of the name applied to the river.

Ascending from this chasm to the height of about 600 feet, the road enters a shallow, wild, and beautiful valley, through which it runs for several miles. The hills on either side are of greenstone capped by tabular sandstone, immense masses of which have been precipitated on the floor of the valley, producing a singularly wild and picturesque scene. Beyond this a high ridge is gained, above the valley of the Boga-panee, the largest river in the Khasia hills—from which the line of the Bhotan mountains may be seen in clear weather, at the astonishing distance of from 160 to 200 miles. The descent is very steep, and the road then follows a clear affluent of the Boga-panee, or the white water, and afterwards winds along the margin of that river, which is a rapid turbulent stream, very muddy, and hence contrasting remarkably with the Kala-panee. It derives its mud from the decomposition of granite which is washed by the natives for iron, and in which rock it rises to the Eastward.

An elegant iron suspension bridge was thrown across this stream, but in June 1851 a very heavy flood occurred which carried it all away, leaving scarcely a vestige behind. The greater proportion of the mischief resulted, not so much from the actual amount of rain that fell, and the rise of the waters consequent thereon, as from the waters being impeded in their course, and pounded back by numerous great slips of earth and stones, carrying down with them trees and underwood. The torrent, meeting with such obstacles, must have been restrained until its accumulated force burst through every barrier, and swept every thing before it. In certain parts of the river, the rise was not less than fifty feet, and the richly wooded slopes of that valley were next morning scored with innumerable gullies and deep ravines, extending frequently from the level of the water up to the very summit of the steep banks. From one of these deep cuts, in which a small stream usually found its course, a mass of rubbish consisting of stones of various sizes had been carried down, which on a rough calculation was estimated to amount to about five thousand tons of matter, the stones varying in size from one to twenty cubic feet. Not a vestige of the bridge was left; a single screw bolt, which had formed one of the fastenings of the wall-plates, alone indicated that such a structure had ever existed; and when the waters had subsided, one of the heavy cast-iron standards, which had supported the chains, was found about 250 yards down the stream, jammed between the huge blocks of stone in the river bed. A thick range of trees which formed a shady covering to the road for nearly a mile between it and the

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river, was entirely swept away, and with it the strongly formed revetment wall which supported the road. To such sudden rises, all mountain torrents must be more or less liable, but during previous years, the waters in this stream were never known to rise to much more than half the height they reached on the occasion now referred to.

Another bridge, on the suspension principle, now supplies the place of the iron one. Like many others seen in the hills, and erected by Khasia ingenuity, this is composed of long rattans stretched between two trees, at a height of about forty-five feet above low water mark. The footway consists of a bundle of small canes lashed together, and connected with two larger rattans forming hand-rails, but these are so low and so far apart that it must be difficult to grasp both together. The length of this bridge cannot be much under seventy feet between the points of suspension.

We will here just mention one other instance of Khasia ingenuity in the erection of bridges. In the valley of Mau-smai, on the top of a huge boulder by the river side, grows a magnificent Caoutchouc tree, clasping the stone in its multitude of roots. Two or three of the long pendent fibres, whilst still easily pliable, have been stretched across the stream, and their free ends fastened on the other bank. There they have struck firmly into the earth, and form a *living bridge* of great, and yearly increasing strength. Two great roots run directly one over the other, and the secondary shoots from the upper have been bound round, and have grown into the lower, so that the former affords at once a hand-rail and suspending chain, the latter a foot-way. Other roots have been laced and twisted into a sort of ladder as an ascent from the bank to the bridge. The greatest thickness of the upper root is a foot, from which it tapers to six or eight inches. The length of the bridge is above eighty feet, and its height about twenty above the water in the dry season.

But to return to the road; after crossing the Boga-panee we for the first time meet with groves of pine-trees, somewhat dwarfish and stunted in appearance, but giving a novel aspect to the scenery. A very steep ascent leads to the bungalow of Mauflong, on a broad bleak hill-top near the axis of the range, at an altitude of 6062 feet. The people in this neighbourhood grow a large quantity of potatoes, and also a species of Coix (Job's tears) for the grain it yields, which is very much used in the preparation of a fermented liquor. Though planted in drills and carefully used and weeded, it is after all but a ragged crop, and yields a very poor return.

The finest view in the Khasia mountains, and perhaps a more

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extensive one than has ever before been described, is that from Chillong hill, the culminant point of the range, about six miles North-East from the Mau-flong bungalow. This hill, 6,660 feet above the sea, rises from an undulating grassy country, covered with scattered trees and occasional clumps of wood ; the whole scenery about being park-like, and as little like that of India at so low an elevation as it is possible to be.

Northward, beyond the rolling Khasia hills, may be seen the valley of Assam, seventy miles broad, with the Bruhmaputra winding through it, fifty miles distant, reduced to a thread. Beyond this, even in a clear day, banks of hazy vapour obscure all but the dark range of the lower Himalaya, crested by peaks of frosted silver seen at the distance of two hundred miles, occupying sixty degrees of the horizon, and comprising the greatest extent of snow visible from any known point in the world. Westward from Chillong, the most distant Garrow hills visible are about forty miles off; and Eastward, those of Kachar, which are loftier, are about seventy miles. To the South, the view is limited by the Tipperah hills, which where nearest are a hundred miles distant; while to the South-West lies the sea-like Gangetic delta, whose horizon, lifted by refraction, must be fully a hundred and twenty. The extent of this view is therefore upwards of *three hundred and forty miles* in one direction, and the visible horizon of the observer encircles an area of fully *thirty thousand* square miles, which is greater than that of Ireland !

Continuing Northward from Mau-flong, the road, after five miles, dips into a very broad and shallow flat-floored valley, fully a mile across, which resembles a lake-bed. It is bounded by low hills and is bare of aught but long grass and herbs. The road winds very prettily among these little elevations, and by a sudden descent of four hundred feet, leads to another broad flat valley called Sohiong,* where is another staging bungalow. This valley is grassy but otherwise bare and is supposed to be at an elevation of 5725 feet.

Beyond this, the road passes over low rocky hills, wooded only on their North or sheltered flanks, and dividing small flat-floored valleys, and extensive moors, till the descent to the valley of Mairung (Myrung), one of the most beautiful spots in the Khasia hills, 5650 feet above the sea. Here there is an excellent staging bungalow, situated on the North flank of a very shallow valley two miles broad, and full of rice cultivation. The hills on either side are some of them dotted with pine-woods, others are conical and bare, with small clumps of pines on the

* Sohiong signifies, the black plum, from Soh, a fruit. Thus the Khasias have Soh-mluh, the red plum ; Soh-shan, the strawberry ; Soh-runkham, the black currant ; Soh-shia, the raspberry, &c. &c.

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summit only; while in other places are seen broad tracts, containing nothing but young trees resembling plantations, but not owing their existence to human industry. Wild apple and birch are common trees, but there is little jungle except in the hollows, and on the Northern slopes of the higher hills.

About ten or twelve miles South-West of Myrung, and conspicuous from all directions, there is a very remarkable hill, known by the name of Kollong, which rises as a dome of red granite to an elevation of 400 feet above the mean level of the surrounding ridges, and 700 above the bottom of the valleys. The South or steepest side is encumbered with enormous detached blocks, while the North is clothed with a dense forest containing oaks and rhododendrons. The view from the top of this rock Northwards is very extensive, commanding the Assam Valley, the Himalaya, and the hillowy range of undulating grassy Khasia mountains.

From Myrung to the next bungalow at Nongklaw* the distance is about ten miles, along an excellent road over an undulating country, the barrenness of which is greatly relieved by the presence of some noble firs, which crown the summit of the knolls, and are scattered over all the hollows which lie between the different heights.

Nongklaw stands at the Northern extremity of the broad plateau of the Khasia hills, and from thence the descent to the valley of the Brahmaputra is very rapid. None of the hills beyond it attain to an elevation of more than 1000 feet, and these are for the most part very thickly wooded. The view Northwards from Nongklaw, in the early morning, is like a scene in cloudland, with its mysteries of beauty that defy the skill of the painter. An ocean of mist, as smooth as a chalcedony, as soft and white as the down of the eider duck's breast, lies over the whole lower world, with only an occasional mountain top visible like a verdant wooded isle, rich in beauty and glory.

The elevation of the bungalow is 4688 feet, and by a rapid descent of a thousand feet the road leads down to a tropical forest rich in figs, birch, nutmegs, horse-chesnuts and oaks, with tall pines growing on the drier slopes and measuring from 80 to 90 feet in height. The descent continues by a zigzag road through this forest, down to the very bottom of the valley, in which flows the Bor-pani, a broad and rapid river, that descending from Chilong winds round the base of the Nong-klaw spur.

This river is about forty yards wide, and is spanned by an elegant Iron Suspension Bridge, clamped to the gneiss rock on

* The village in the wilderness, from Nong or Shuong, *a village*, and Klaw, *desert, wilderness*.

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either bank. Beneath is a series of cascades, none high, but all of great beauty from the broken masses of rocks and picturesque scenery on either side. From this point the descent towards the plains of Assam is comparatively gentle, and for the first three or four miles the road winds beautifully among grassy knolls and groups of pine, till it reaches the bungalow at Mossia, a desolate looking log-house standing solitary and inhospitable amid the surrounding solitude. Wild animals are said to be very abundant here, though extremely rare on the higher part of the Khasia range.

From Mossia to the next bungalow at Jyrung the distance is about 20 miles, through a tract of country so decidedly insalubrious that it can be traversed with safety only between the months of November and March, almost entirely neutralizing the advantages anticipated by the residents of Assam, from the vicinity of so elevated and temperate a region. The glimpses of scenery as the traveller passes through this forest are sometimes exceedingly enchanting. Upwards the mists are still curling and hanging to the mountains, or rising slowly and gracefully from the depths of the valleys along the face of the out-jutting crags; while below there are the clumps of trees in the sunlight, the deep exquisite green of spots of unveiled meadow, the winding stream, now hid and now revealed, the gray mist sleeping on the tender grass, the brooks murmuring, the birds singing, the sky above and the earth beneath uniting in a universal harmony of beauty.

The bungalow at Jyrung is a still more dreary and melancholy looking object than the one at Mossia. Small, dark and low, it stands on a little rising knoll, surrounded by thickly wooded hills of far greater elevation. The consciousness of having some place of shelter, and the soothing murmurs of the brook that runs close by, alone reconcile the traveller to this miserable accommodation. A further journey of nine miles brings him to the sun-lit plains of Assam, which look bright and cheerful in contrast with the dark and heavy forests he has passed through. Imbedded in these forests are numerous little Khasia hamlets, and the clearances in their neighbourhood are extending rapidly every year, so that it is to be hoped, that, as has been the case elsewhere, the danger at present attending a journey through this forest will vanish with the progress of improvement.

In relation to the extent of country that passes under the name of the Khasia hills, the population is exceedingly scanty, and very much scattered. According to the last census, taken in 1846, the number of Khasia houses or homesteads amounted to 16,480, allowing five persons to each house, the population of the hills may be estimated at 82,400 souls.

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Though the country is nominally under British control, the system of government has been allowed to continue almost unaltered, the people having to this day their own Kings or Rajas, and every village its own chief. They present the appearance of a congregation of little oligarchical republics subject to no common superior; yet each member is apparently amenable in some degree to the control of his confederates.

There are said to be 23 of these confederated States in the Khasia country, exclusive of that portion known as the Jaintia territory. The two states of Mau-smai and Mau-mloo alone belong to the British Government by right of conquest, and Soopar-poonji has since been added by virtue of a treaty. Over these the Government exercises entire jurisdiction; and the Sirdars or Headmen are empowered to investigate and decide all petty cases, subject to an appeal to the Court at Cherra.

The 15 States noted below,* are dependent ones; that is, the chiefs have placed themselves under British protection and control—and although they are permitted to try all petty Civil and Criminal cases occurring amongst their own people, cases between the Company's subjects and theirs, or those of other States, are taken up by the Cherra authorities; while all serious cases such as murders, homicides, &c. are reported to our Courts, and enquired into in the first instance by the Police.

The other 5 States, namely those of Cherra, Khyreem, Lungree, Nurtung and Mespoong, are but partially dependent. The Rajas exercise sole Civil and Criminal jurisdiction in their respective States; but all cases of complaint occurring between their subjects and those of any other States, or the subjects of the British Government, are tried in our Courts.

The Government derives no land revenue from any portion of these hills, with the exception of a trifling sum received as ground rent for the building lots in the station of Cherra. The tract of land on which the station is placed was transferred to Government by the Raja of Cherra, in exchange for an equal quantity of land in the district of Sylhet, at a place called Burgiste, near the foot of the hills. The total sum, from the above source and all other items put together, judicial fines, the sale of opium, &c., &c., we believe does not amount to so much as 700 Rs. a year; while the receipts from the hill territory of Jaintia may probably be computed at 600 Rs. per annum, making a total of 1300 Rs. a year.

No land tax is said to be imposed on the people by their Rajas; what public revenue they have is derived from fines, and in some cases from trifling dues paid in kind by frequenters of

* Nongklaw, Mau-leem, Maram, Chilla, Mullye, Ramrye, Bhawal, Murriow, Mau-young, Mau-rolee, Shoing, Mau-flong, Jyrung, Dowarrah, and Mullung.

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the markets. The business of the State is usually transacted at public meetings called by order of the King, at which subjects affecting the welfare of the parties are convassed, opinions advanced, and the question decided by a majority. Petty complaints are usually settled by the headmen of the villages or by arbitration, but if the chief of the village is not able to bring about a reconciliation between the parties, a public meeting is called. The crier is sent out about 8 or 9 o'clock at night, when the people are supposed to have all returned home from their daily occupations. Taking up a position whence he is likely to be heard, he attracts attention to himself by a prolonged, unearthly yell, and then delivers himself of his errand :

"KAW! Thou, a fellow villager! thou, a fellow creature! thou, an old man! thou, who art grown up! thou, who art young! thou, a boy! thou, a child! thou, an infant! thou, who art great! thou, who art little! HEI! in his own village, in his own place. *Hei!* in his own village, in his own place. *Hei!* in his own prohibition, in his own interdiction. *Hei!* in his own drawing of water, in his own drinking of water. *Hei!* there is a quarrel. *Hei!* because there is a contest. *Hei!* to come to sit together. *Hei!* to cause to deliberate together. *Hei!* to give intelligence together. *Hei!* about to assemble in Durbar to hear, to listen attentively. *Hei!* ye are forbidden. *Hei!* ye are stopped to draw water then, to cut firewood then. No, *Hei!* to go to work then. No, *Hei!* to go a journey then. No, *Hei!* to descend to the valley then. *Hei!* he who has a pouch. *Hei!* he who has a bag. *Hei!* now come forth. *Hei!* now appear. *Hei!* the hearing then is to be all in company. *Hei!* the listening attentively then is to be all together. *Hei!* for his own king. *Hei!* for his own master; lest destruction come, lest piercing overtake us. KAW! Come forth now fellow men!!"

After this proclamation no one is to leave the village on the following day. Guards are placed at various points on the public roads and by-paths, for the purpose of apprehending all recusants, who by attempting to leave the village subject themselves to the penalty of a heavy fine. On the following day, from about 4 P. M. till near sunset, the men may be seen gradually assembling at the place where such meetings are usually held. This is an open place in the neighbourhood of the village, where a large number of stones are circularly arranged for the accommodation of the assembly, something probably after the fashion of the ancient Druids, or as was the custom of the Greeks, when—"The heralds spoke, the aged judges sate on squared stone, in circle for debate."

The proceedings are opened by the chief augur of the village, and the witnesses are then examined; the chief at the close, summing up the evidence on both sides, pronounces Judgment,

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making at the same time a hearty appeal to the assembled villagers: "Is it not so my young, energetic ones?" To which they unitedly respond "Yea! so it is, young energetic ones." Decisions are given, not so much according to any fixed law, as agreeably to the customs of the community, which admit of various modifications; so that when true justice is done, the trial, especially in cases involving disputes regarding property, resolves itself into an equitable arbitration, in which the disputants cannot avoid concurring.

The Khasias have no prisons, and corporal punishment is seldom or never assorted to, but all crimes and misdemeanors are punished by fines more or less heavy. In cases of inability to pay the fine, the criminal forfeits his freedom, and he and his posterity become the slaves of the chief. It sometimes occurs, that in a case of great intricacy, the village community aided by their chief are unable to bring matters to a final settlement. The contending parties are then called upon to clear themselves by ordeals of different descriptions. The water ordeal used to be the one most often appealed to. The opponents with much ceremony plunged their heads under water on the opposite sides of a consecrated pool, and he had the right who remained longest under water. It not unfrequently happened that the ordeal proved fatal to one or both of the parties, and all such cruel practices have now been interdicted.

Imperfect as their mode of government is, it is worthy of remark that crimes, such as would be cognizable by our law, are of very rare occurrence. Among their bad qualities, dissoluteness of manners and drunkenness are the most prominent. But there is also much of what is good in their character which raises them above their neighbours in the scale of moral worth, considering that they are destitute of the only source from which true morality proceeds. Frank and independent in manner, and in spirit too, they have much more manifestly a conscience to distinguish between right and wrong, than any of their neighbours below. Whether they always act up to it is another question; but there are many amongst them whose right feeling, truthfulness and strict uprightness, would do honor to men even in a Christian land.

Efforts have for some years past been made by Christian Missionaries for the instruction of the Khasias, and their labours have not been without success. We had an opportunity a few months ago of attending Divine service at the Missionary chapel at Cherra Poonjee. The preacher was a converted Khasia, who addressed his countrymen with great animation and feeling, and was listened to by a large congregation with the utmost decorum, and apparently with considerable attention and interest.

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Most of our readers are probably aware, that the first attempt made to introduce the great source of the world's enlightenment amongst these people, was made by that noble body of men,—the Serampore Missionaries. The New Testament was translated by them into the Khasia tongue; but their efforts to maintain a Mission on the hills not having been properly sustained and followed out, failed of success. The Rev. Mr. Lish's efforts, however, during the short period he was at Cherra, were productive of considerable good, and there are many Khasias now living, who speak of him with feelings of grateful remembrance as one of the benefactors of their tribe.

The translation of the New Testament having been found to be unidiomatic, and in a large number of instances almost unintelligible, a new translation is now in course of preparation by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, who has acquired a thorough knowledge of the language, and whose efforts to promote the welfare of the people are beyond all praise. At the present time, there are several schools both for boys and girls, in active operation, and hundreds of Khasias are able to read intelligibly in their own language. Portions of the Scriptures, and books teaching the fundamental principles of Christianity, have been rather widely diffused among the people, and several others are in course of preparation. The efforts made by the Missionaries for the spread of education have, we are glad to observe, been very kindly noticed by the Supreme Government, and a 'grant-in-aid' given them to enable them to extend their operations. That they have done, and are doing, a vast amount of good to the people for whose welfare they have devoted their lives, there can be no question, and we heartily wish them God's speed in their labors of love.

Where the Khasias may have originally come from, or from what particular branch of the great Tartar or Mongolian stock they may have sprung, it would be difficult now to ascertain. "There are," however, as the Rev. Mr. Pryse observes, in his "Introduction to the Khasia Language," "various indications extant amongst the people, both in their dialect and in their customs, to point out either the empire of Assam, or the range of hills intervening between that empire and the Khasia hills, as the cradle of the tribe."

Their language is a purely monosyllabic one, and has been very fully delineated by the Rev. Mr. Pryse in the little book above alluded to. It abounds in nasal sounds, and is spoken with a peculiar jirking tone which has a singular effect to a stranger. The same language, with no substantial difference, appears to prevail in all their villages, though there are considerable differences of accent, especially between the men of Jaintia and those of the other Khasia States. The Khasias, like most of the tribes on the

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North Eastern frontier have no written character, no books, and no literature of their own. In preparing books for them, therefore, and reducing their language to writing, it was necessary to introduce a written character. The Serampore Missionaries gave the preference to the Bengalee character which they found quite adequate to express all the sounds of the language—and it is a great pity we think that the Roman character, surrounded by a halo of dots and dashes, has been since substituted in its stead. The adoption of the former, it was said, was objectionable, "because it entailed on the illiterate Khasia youth the—to him—almost unsurmountable difficulty of learning some hundred or more signs of different sounds, including the whole of the Bengalee letters simple and compound, whilst some 18 or 20 Roman marks of sounds properly combined, would be ample to represent and express every sound in the Khasia dialect." But when it is considered that the Roman alphabet has distinct forms for the capital and small letters, and there is another distinct form in these letters when used in ordinary writing, it will be apparent that the illiterate Khasia youth will have in either case almost the same difficulty to surmount, and "to learn some hundred or more signs of different sounds." One of the objects in teaching the Khasia the arts of reading and writing, is doubtless to give them a greater facility of intercourse with the people of the plains, with whom, in their commercial dealing, they are now brought into almost daily intercourse. The Bengalee character, used as it is by the people of Sylhet on the one side, and those of Assam on the other, would have been to them a much more useful character to have adopted. It is obvious that such a small and non-influential tribe will not long be able to retain characters different from those of the larger nations of the plains in their neighborhood. And as they are brought under the influence of education and their commercial intercourse is extended, the Bengalee character, we venture to foretell, must at no very distant day supplant the Roman. Nor is it beyond the bounds of probability to expect that the time will be, when the various hill dialects on the N. E. Frontier will all be likewise supplanted by the Bengalee language.

No satisfactory explanation we believe has yet been discovered of the meaning of the term KHASIA, as applied to the people of this tribe. Some derive it from the name of a female "Ka Si;" in which case the *h* should be dropt, and the word spelt "*Kasi*:" others derive it from "Kha," a verb signifying to give birth, and Si a woman's name, making the term "Khasi" to signify, the descendants of Si. The natives call themselves "Ki Khasi," (the Khasis) and their country they call "Kari Khasi." The word "Cossyah," as sometimes used by Europeans, is therefore

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an unfortunate one, as to its orthography at least; for it is one of those in which the departure from the pronunciation of the natives is such as to render it quite unintelligible to them.

A few indistinct traditions are current among the tribe, but we believe nothing tangible can be derived from them. There is one for instance which may probably be traced back to the common patriarchal or ante-diluvian source from which the traditions of most tribes have taken their origin. This story tells that in olden times, a Bengalee and a Khasia swam across the ocean, each with a book in his mouth to protect it from the watery element. The former carried his book in safety to land, but the latter unfortunately during his exertions in swimming, swallowed his book. Hence comes it that the Bengalee has a literature, and the Khasia none.

The story of the "*Diingei*," or *forbidden tree*, is another very popular one among the tribe. The following may be said to be the leading features of the tale as now told. In the origin of the race there was an enormous tree, by means of which man and God held intercourse with one another; this tree brought a curse of darkness upon mankind which they were unable to remove. Another feature is, that the sun was deified in the circumstance of the tree. A third feature, that a mediator was necessary between mankind and their sun-god; which was found in the domestic cock. A fourth, that the mediator voluntarily offered himself as a sacrifice, in order to effect a reconciliation between the parties. Such are the leading features of a story which for aught we know may have originated in a tradition of the Biblical narrative of the forbidden fruit.

God is commonly considered by the Khasias to be the "Nongthaw," or Creator of all, and He is occasionally spoken of as, "*He who carefully watches over and protects; who is the cause of goodness and prosperity.*" No sacrifices are offered to him, nor is he ever invoked in prayer. The goddess, supposed by the Khasias to be the wife of God, is said to be full of mercy, the bestower of happiness and prosperity on mankind; and offerings are constantly made to her in order to insure her protection. But evil spirits are particularly regarded by them, and their religious forms and ceremonies consist for the most part in sacrifices and offerings to appease these spirits and avert those evils that they are to originate. Temples and idols they have none, except in certain villages of Jaintia, where Kali and her Brahmins have unfortunately effected a lodgment, under the patronage of the former king of the country, whose devotion to the bloody goddess cost him his kingdom.

The people are much addicted to consulting auspices of different kinds, but especially by the breaking of eggs. Indeed this lat-

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ter superstition is so prominent and has got such a fast hold on the minds of the people, that it would seem to be the principal part of their religious practice. On all occasions of doubt it is resorted to, and they will sometimes spend whole days in dashing eggs upon a board, with much wild chaunting and wilder gestures in search of a decisive or a favorable augury.

The only possible condition of the immortal spirit of man in a future state, known to the Khasia, is that of a "*Ksuid*" or demon, malignant, malicious, unjust, bent on injuring those left behind him on earth. Hence the frequency of the sacrifices offered to pacify the spirits of the dead, especially the bones of the deceased are deposited in a small repository. But if they were placed in a large one, the fear of his injuring the family is not so great, and the sacrifice is therefore not so frequent; because "la buh ka niom ka rukom"—the religion and customs were observed—regarding him.

For this reason, too, it is that the greatest festivities of the people are funereal; either at the burning of the dead or when the ashes of the family are collected, and a monument erected in their honor. When by the help of the oracles the time is fixed for the removal of the ashes to the family vault, a public dance is held, which on great occasions is continued for several successive days, and the numerous performers are recompensed by an ample feast of pork and whiskey. The dance is performed either with fans or swords. If with the former, the men dance round and round a circle, somewhat monotonously, attitudinizing and brandishing their fans. They are all clad in the most brilliant finery that they possess, or can hire for the occasion,—richly embroidered outer shirts of broadcloth, silken turbans and dhoties, large bangles, heavy silver chains, and gold necklaces with plumes of down or peacock's feathers, and ornamental quivers. In the centre are the village maidens; they form in twos and threes, and *set* to one another with a comical *Pas* of exceeding simplicity, which seems to be performed by raising the heels, and twisting from side to side, on the fore part of both feet, which never leave the ground. They, too, are loaded with silver chains, tassels, and armlets, and all wear on the head a peculiar circlet of silver, having a tale spear head rising behind. In the sword dance, the men accompanied by music and musquetry, dance and bound, clashing sword and shield, and uttering in chorus a chaunt, at first, seemingly distant and sepulchral, but gradually becoming louder and louder, till it bursts into a terrific unearthly howl,—then sinking to a doleful chaunt again, and again rising to wake the echoes.

The various remarkable monumental stones which are scattered on every way side cannot fail to attract the attention of the stranger from the peculiar aspect thrown by them on almost every scene

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in the upper parts of the country. They are of several kinds but almost all of them, recall strongly those mysterious, solitary or clustered monuments of unknown origin, so long the puzzle and delight of antiquaries, which abound in England and are seen here and there in all parts of Europe and Western Asia. The most common kind in the Khasia country is composed of erect oblong pillars, sometimes unhewn, in other instances carefully squared, and planted a few feet apart. The number composing one monument is never under three, and occasionally they are as many as thirteen. The highest pillar is in the middle, sometimes covered with a circular disk, and to right and left they gradually diminish. In front of these is what English antiquaries call a *cromlech,* a large flat stone resting on short rough pillars. These form the ordinary broadside resting place of the weary traveller. Some of these stones are of considerable size and must have cost immense labour in erection.

The tallest of a thick cluster of pillars in the market place of Murteng, in the Jaintia country, rising through the branches of a higher old tree, measures *twenty-seven feet* in height above the ground. And in another place, near the village of Sailankot, a flat table stone or *cromlech* elevated five feet from the earth, measures 32 feet by 15, and 2 feet in thickness.

In some cases the monument is a square sarcophagus, composed of four large slabs, resting on their edges and well fitted together, and roofed in by a fifth placed horizontally. In other cases the sarcophagus is in the form of a large slab accurately circular, resting on the heads of many little rough pillars, closely planted together, through the chinks between which may be seen certain earthen pots containing the ashes of the family. The upright pillars are merely cenotaphs, and some few among them have probably been erected in commemoration of certain important events.

Many of the villages doubtless derive their appellations from such erections, as is apparent from the number commencing with *Mau,* which signifies a stone. There was war once, we are told, between Cherra and Mau-smai, and when they made peace and swore to it, they erected a stone as a witness, thence the name Mau-smai *the stone of the oath.* So they have Mau-mluk, from "mluk," *salt,* Mau-flag, from "flag" *grass* Mau-inlu, from "inlu," *upturned,* and several more that might be enumerated.

The Khasias are not in the habit of marrying young. The proposal of marriage comes from the man, who usually selects a friend of his as a go-between, and sends her to the father of the girl, to ask his consent to the union. This, is sometimes done without giving any intimation of his intentions to the girl herself. The consent of the parents being obtained, and the day fixed for the marriage, the bridegroom in company with a party of his friends

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proceeds to the house of the bride, there, a feast is prepared for the occasion, consisting of all the good things within the reach of the family. Before the party partakes of the feast, the young couple are placed to sit together, with a maternal uncle of each on either side of them. These uncles talk to one another regarding the desirableness of uniting the two parties, and in them their respective families. The consent of the parties having been obtained, the couple are pronounced united, and the feast follows. After which the friends return to their respective homes, but the bridegroom remains in the house of his bride, and becomes an inmate of it if she happens to be the youngest or only daughter; if otherwise, the husband removes her to his own house, which then becomes the property of the wife.

The marriage tie however is a very lax one, and the simple exchange of five cowries between the parties dissolves the union; but the children abide with the mother.

Closely connected with this system and as we may suppose originating in it, is their strange, though not unique, law of succession. The son has no claim to succeed his father, whether it be in the chieftainship or in private property. The sister's son has the inheritance.

The volatile disposition of the men naturally takes them much from home; and while they are engaged in trade, or cultivation, or sauntering about the hills and valleys in pursuit of amusement and pleasure, the domestic occupations devolve upon the women. The men have generally speaking great powers of industry, but are somewhat capricious in exerting it. They are seldom tall, generally well made, and shew great strength of limb. Their features can rarely be called handsome, yet there is often a strong attraction in the frank and manly good humour of their broad Tartar faces, flat noses, and angular eyes. The children are sometimes very good looking, but beauty in women seldom rises beyond a buxom comeliness. The characteristic dress of the men is a short sleeveless shirt of thick cotton cloth, sometimes striped blue and red, and almost always excessively dirty. It has a deep fringe below, and is ornamented on the breast and back with lines of a sort of diamond pattern embroidery; over this is usually thrown a large mantle of Eria silk procured from Assam. A large and loosely made turban covers the head of the better class; others wear a greasy cap with flasps over the ears or go bare-headed. The forepart of the head is shaven, and the back hair gathered into a knot on the crown. The women are generally wrapped in a shapeless mantle of cotton cloth, similar to those worn by the Assamese women, with its upper corners tucked in above the breast. The Khasias are utterly unacquainted with any art of weaving, and nearly all their usual articles of dress peculiar as

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they are, are made for them in the Assam villages bordering on the hills.

Their common food is rice, but since the introduction of the potatoe, this useful esculent is also used very largely as an article of consumption. Dried fish is a universal favorite, and is brought from below in large quantities ; and almost all animal food, pork especially, they are very partial to. They are extremely addicted to chewing *pawn* (the leaf of the betel vine,) and some of them have their mouths literally crammed with it. Distances are often estimated by them, by the number of pawns that will be consumed on the road.

A great proportion of the proper names of men are quaint monosyllables, such as Tess, Bep, Mang, Sor, Mir, Bi, reminding one irresistibly of Walter Scott's Saxon Hig, the son of Snel. But there are generally euphonised by the masculine prefix U, into U-tess, U-sor, &c. "Ku-ble!" is the singular salutation in common use when acquaintances meet. The literal signification of which we believe is, "Oh God!" It is probably nothing more than an elliptical expression corresponding to our *adieu!* or *good-bye!* The derivation of which—God be with you—perhaps few ever think of.

Amongst the amusements of the Khasias, archery may be mentioned, as the chief, as well as the most interesting. In the trial of skill, each village has from time immemorial its established competitor, and with this alone is the contest carried on. The Toxophilite meeting is held at each village on alternate market days. The target is pitched at about sixty yards, and is made of an oblong piece of soft wood about three feet and a half high by one broad. Four or five persons generally shoot at once; they draw the arrow to the ear, and their attitudes are often very striking. The bow, the bow-string, the arrow, and the quiver, are all made from various species of the all-useful bamboo. When all have shot, the arrows in the target are taken out, and the people crowd round the umpire as he distributes them. As each arrow is recognized, the party to which its owner belongs, dance and hop about, fencing with their bows, spinning them high in the air, and shouting together in a wild cadence. Bird catching, fishing, hunting, and gambling also occupy no small portion of their leisure time.

The houses of the people are by no means so dirty as their persons. They are generally, dry, substantial, thatched cottages, built either of a double wall of broad planks placed vertically in the ground, or of loose stones cemented together with earth, and with a good boarded floor raised three feet or more from the earth. As they have rarely anything like a window, one sees nothing on first entering, and rarely escapes a bruised head from

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a collison with one of the massive low beams. The fire is always burning on the hearth in the centre, and as there is no chimney the house is generally filled with wood smoke. The veranda is partly stored with lumber, and partly affords shelter to the fowls, calves and pigs, which last are carefully tended, and attain enormous obesity.

Milk is not used in any shape, and the cattle though numerous, are not applied to any useful purpose, being kept only for slaughter, and especially for sacrifice. Their husbandry is confined to the hoe, and their grain is thrashed with the flail. Man is the only bearer of burdens. All loads the people carry on the back, supported by a belt across the forehead; and in the rains they and their burdens are protected by a large hood made of palm leaves which covers the head and the whole of the back.

There is a market place in the neighborhood of almost every large village wlich is a great convenience to the people, who seem fond of buying and selling. The luxuries exhibited at these markets are all Khasian, consisting of stinking fish, some other things of dubious appearance, and still more dubious odour, rice, millet and the inferior grains, the fashionable articles of Khasia clothing, and all the adjuncts to that abominable habit, *pawn* chewing. Iron implements of husbandry of native manufacture are also vended, and in short all the various luxuries and necessaries of a Khasia are usually obtainable.

Their trade with the people of the plains consists chiefly in the barter of oranges, pawn and betel-nuts, honey, bees' wax, cotton, iron and ivory—for rice, dried fish, cotton and silk cloths, and salt. Potatoes are grown to a considerable extent in the valleys and on the acclivities of the hills, and may now be considered as one of the staple articles of their trade.

The manufacture of iron appears to have been carried on by the Khasias from time immemorial. And so marked an effect have their works achieved on the undulating hills which cover the country, that in many instances what must once have been, like their neighbours, round swelling knolls, appear to have collapsed and sunk to their skeletons, showing nothing but fantastic piles of naked boulders; the earth which once bound and covered them, having been entirely washed out by the heavy rains following in the track of the miner. So numerous and extensive are the traces of former excavations, that judging by the number at present in progress, one may suppose them to have occupied the population for twenty centuries.

The ore occurs in the form of a fine sand, consisting of minute crystals of titaniferous magnetic oxide, which are irregularly distributed in the mass of the softer portions of the granite rocks, and also occasionally in some of the gneiss-ore beds. The upper

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portion of the granite is partially decomposed to a considerable depth, and this soft and easily yielding rock is not quarried or mined; but simply *raked* into a small stream conducted to the base of the small scarp, or face of rock from which the ore is obtained.

The workmen standing on one side of their work, poke out the soil from between the boulders with long poles, terminating in iron spikes. The loosened soil tumbles into the stream, and is carried by it violently down a narrow channel to a point about 200 yards distant, and about 80 feet perpendicularly below. Here a little post is fixed at each side of the stream, and against the upper side of these posts little bits of stick are laid, so as to form a kind of dam, which stops the heavy particles of iron, whilst the lighter grains of soil are carried of by the rapid stream, bounding over the obstacle. As the iron accumulates sticks are added to heighten the dam, and when this is nearly as high as the bank (or about one foot) the ore, a fine black sand is taken out, the dam lowered, and the process repeated. Above the dam a man is constantly employed in turning up the channel of the stream with a hoe, to prevent the ore from sticking in the passage, and with a long hooked fork, he occasionally takes out any pieces of stone brought down by the current.

The ore thus procured is now removed to the washing trough which is supplied with water by a small branch of the upper stream. The washing is generally performed by two women, working the ore against the stream with their feet, and occasionally turning and mixing it with a hoe. It is then put in a heap to dry, and washed again. This process is repeated four times.

The ore is then carried to the smelting house. The bellows are double, formed of two half cylinders of cow skin, and worked by a man or woman, with a leg on each, swaying from foot to foot. The furnace is about twenty inches in diameter, and the chimney about five feet high, made of clay bound with iron hoops. The iron is wetted and placed on a shelf. At short intervals a handful of fern leaves is dipped into the sand, and shoved into the furnace, and charcoal to replenish the fire is poured down the chimney. In some places instead of using the fern, as above described, the ore is mixed with pounded charcoal and placed on the shelf. The person who works the bellows, at almost every other sway of his body, takes up a small quantity of the mixture with a long handled spoon and drops it into the chimney. After an interval—which from the equal size of the masses must be very regular, though judged by guess—one of the workmen stirs up the mass with a poker, takes it out with a pair of tongs, lays it on a block covered with earth, beats it with a wooden club in-

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to a sort of hemisphere, and then splits it nearly in twain with an axe. He opens the split further by the insertion of a couple of wedges, and then pitches the hot mass into a trough full of pounded dross to cool. The metal impure as it is, is now fit for the market. Heating in the furnace and hammering, form the only further process of purification. But the loss of iron, purchased in this form, is at least three parts in four.

By far the larger portion of this impure iron, in the balls or lumps in which it comes from the smelting furnaces, is sent to the plains, where it meets with a ready sale. The quantity annually exported it is supposed may be valued at about 3000 Rupees.

Of the iron which is converted within the hills, the greater portion is wrought into *Kodalis* or hoes, or into the *Daws* or larger knives which the Khasias use.

"The quality of this Khasia iron," Professor Oldham informs us, "is excellent for all such purposes as Swedish iron is now used for. The impurity of the blooms, however, as they are sent to market, is a great objection to its use, and the waste consequent thereon renders it expensive. It woud also form steel or *wootz* of excellent quality. I have no doubt that the manufacture could be greatly improved, and possibly extended. The great defects in the present system are, the want in the first instance of a means of sustaining a sufficiently high and equable temperature in the hearth, so as to keep the whole of the mass or bloom of metal in a molten state at the same time, and thus more completely separating the slag from the purer metal; and, of some more powerful means of expressing the slage from the spongy metallic mass than the slight hammering is now receives with a wooden mallet or club."

Owing to the scanty dissemination of the ore in the rocks, and the consequent high cost of obtaining it, it is extremely doubtful whether the manufacture of this iron could be very much extended. At present the want of any permanent supply of water prevents the natives from working for more than a few days during the year, while the rains are heavy, and they can readily obtain a sufficient force of water for the washing of the ore from its matrix.

Among the other mineral products of the Khasia hills, coal and limestone are the most important.

Most of our readers are probably aware that the source whence lime for the Calcutta market, for the last thirty years or more, has been supplied, is in the neighborhood of these hills. Professor Oldham's remarks on this product are so interesting that we subjoin them at length.

"The extent of this trade, and the importance of the product, as an element of progress in civilization, demand a brief reference to the

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circumstances attending it. The principal localities of the manufacture are at Chattuc and at Sonamgunge *(Chunamgunge*, or the *lime mart ?)* and along the banks of the river Soorma, between these two villages. The rude kilns in which the stone is burnt stretch for miles along either bank of the river; and the many large and well constructed buildings, in which the lime is stored until required for market, give an aspect of wealth, comfort, and prosperity to the district, which contrasts forcibly with the almost unlimited extent of marsh and jheel that bounds the view on either side lower down the river.

Almost the entire range of the limestone quarries, along the base of the hills eastward, from Cheyla belong to the firm of Inglis and Co., whose principal establishment is located at Chattuc. Westwards, the quarries in the neighbourhood of Laour, and some smaller quarries between, are in the hands of Messrs. Stark and Sarkies, and of some native merchants.

The extent and importance of the trade will be more evident from a consideration of the quantity, of stone raised annually, and of the quantity of lime produced. On an average of ten years ending in November 1851 the amount of limestone quarried on the borders of the Khasia hills, is stated to have been—

By Messrs. Inglis and Co., ...	Maunds	14,48,550
" Messrs. Stark and Sarkies and native merchants, ...	"	2,31,500
Total average amount quarried annually, ...		16,80,050
Equal to *sixty thousand tons* of limestone yearly. From this stone there have been burnt by natives, who have for the most part purchased the stone from Messrs. Inglis and Co.,—annually, ...	Maunds	12,34,000
By Messrs. Inglis and Co., ...	"	1,57,000
" Messrs. Stark and Sarkies, &c., ...	"	80,000
Giving a total average amount of lime, ...	Maunds	14,71,000

The whole of this very large amount is quarried from the several plans along the foot of the hills, where the limestone occurs close to the level of the plains, and from whence it can be removed by water. The quarrying of the stone is carried on at all seasons, but chiefly during the spring and cold months, and the stone, broken into pieces of convenient size, is piled up in suitable localities until the rains, in May, June, and July, fill the little streams from the hill sufficiently to float the small *dinghies* or canoes which are here used. As soon as this takes place, every available boat is at once employed for the removal of the stone into the larger streams. It is scarcely possible to conceive a busier scene than the neighborhood of some of these large quarries presents after a good fall of rain. Hundreds of men and woman are busily engaged loading their canoes, and then rapidly shooting down the narrow stream, while others are hastily poling the returning empty boats up the current, again to load, and shoot down

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the rapids with their freight of stone. The whole place seems alive with eager workmen, who know well, from experience, the necessity of taking advantage of the sudden rise of the waters. So sudden is the fall sometimes of those little nullahs, that even these light canoes, which draw only a few inches of water, are frequently left stranded in the middle of their course. In this way the greater portion of the stone is removed from the quarries, these small dinghies carrying the limestone, only into the larger streams where all is quickly thrown on the bank, or into the water near the bank, to be again shipped into larger boats for conveyance to the place of manufacture.

In that portion of the hills which lies more immediately to the South of Cherra, the largest quarries are near the village of *Tungsai* or *Tingye*, from which the stone is brought to the neighbourhood of *Pandua*, to be again removed from thence to *Chattuc*. Other very large quarries are in the vicinity of the great orange groves between Teriaghat and Laukat, from which also the stone is conveyed to Chattuc for burning.

The whole of this limestone belongs to the nummulitic group. It varies but slightly in mineral character, and produces a good sound, but not very strong lime, of good colour, and slacks readily. Some of the beds are magnisian, and more gritty in aspect; and the lime from these is somewhat darker in tint, than that produced by the purer beds.

At present the only fuel employed in burning this limestone is wood, or reeds (called *nul*), principally the latter, which are collected in immense quantities from the extensive jheels in the vicinity. The kilns are placed on the banks of the river, which are cut down perpendicularly for some feet, to form the face, in which the opening into the lower part of the kiln is made. The excavation is circular in plan, and nearly semi-globular in shape; and generally of sufficient size to take when piled up, from 500 to 700 maunds of stone. After ignition each kiln is, in ordinary weather, allowed to burn for about four days and nights, when the burnt lime is remove from the kiln, at the top. The kiln, if sound, is then again charged again lighted an d after a sufficient interval again emptied.

The system in ordinary use in Europe, of drawing the lime from the bottom of the kiln, and replacing it by fresh stone and fuel at the top, so as to keep up a continued combustion, as long as required, is quite unknown in this district. Such a system, indeed, is quite incompatible with the rude, and imperfect kilns here in use, and also with the kind of fuel now used. There can be no question however, that the cooling down of the kiln on the removal of each charge, causes a very considerable waste of heat, while the impossibility of burning lime, on the present plan, excepting during a few months of the year, entails a great additional loss. The burning, at present, does not properly commence until the end of January, or until February, and must be completed by April.

Twelve hundred maunds of stone yield on the average, one thousand maunds of lime, and will require from 3500 to 4000 bundles of *nul* or reeds for their combustion. The stone delivered at the kilns,

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on the river bank, costs from 14 to 18 or sometimes 20 Rupees per 1000 maunds.

Much of this limestone would produce most durable, and occasionally very handsomely veined marble. It would answer well for ordinary purposes, chimney pieces, slabs for tables, garden seats, and for flooring tiles. Of the latter article, I believe many hundreds are annually imported, of inferior colouring and beauty to those which could be manufactured out of this Khasia limestone."

Regarding the coal of the Khasia hills a considerable amount of information may be obtained from the Proceedings of the Coal and Mineral Committee, published between the years 1838—and 1846.

The most important coal locality in the hills is that on the small ridge to the West of the station of Cherra and in which the adits hitherto worked are situated. It was first brought to notice in 1832 by Mr. Cracroft.* That which occurs elsewhere in the hills is said to be too limited in extent, too much disturbed, and too poor in quantity to be worth considering at all.

"The Cherra coal" observes Professor Oldham, "is undoubtedly superior to the Coal from the Damoodah valley; and it is equally certain that it is equal to *some* English coals, but it is as certainly inferior to others. It is *quick in its action*, and therefore would generate steam rapidly; it coked well but gives out a large amount of smoke: it is fragile and easily broken, and from the absence of that definite structure, which produces the flames of division known to English miners, as "backs," or the joints in the coal, it breaks into unsymmetrical pieces, and consequently would not stow well. From its composition therefore, its quick combustion, and its irregular cleavage, I conceive it to be at the least 5 to 7 per cent. inferior to *good* English coal. As a gas-producing coal, it is superior to any English coal imported, both as regards the quantity and purity of its gas. And with proper precautions in burning, it would yield a very passable coke."

Between the years 1842, and 1844, Colonel Lister at various times sent down large quantities of this coal to Calcutta, and on his experience, Professor Oldham informs us that the *average* cost in Calcutta was 7 annas $6\frac{1}{4}$ pie per maund or 47 Rs. per 100 maunds. This was the cost inclusive of all charges for overseers, weighmen, coolies, freight, &c. excepting only any charge for superintendence and general management.

The coal is situated within the territory of the Raja of Cherra Poonjee, but he has given a perpetual lease of it to the British Government at a stipulated royalty of one Rupee for every 100 maunds excavated by Government, reserving at the same time the right of all his own subjects to mine on their own account. But

* See Journal of the Asiatic Society for Bengal, Vol. 1, p. 250—252.

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the Government have rarely availed themselves of the privilege and almost all the coal hitherto procured from these mines, has been purchased from the Khasias, who have raised and sold it.

Though it may not be possible under present circumstances to send the Cherra coal with profit to the Calcutta market, yet there is every probability that it may at no very distant period be turned to great and useful account. The Districts of Sylhet, Kachar and Munnipore, with their daily increasing traffic, and the vast tracts that have lately been taken up there for the cultivation of the Tea plant, cannot be much longer deprived of the benefits of steam communication, and the coals of Cherra will then prove highly valuable for the supply of the requisite fuel, at an economical rate.

Years may elapse ere the full value of the controlling influence established by the British Government in these hills, becomes generally appreciated, or their resources fully developed. The people, however, have felt our strength, they are becoming better acquainted with the advantages of a civilized life, and so great is their appreciation of our system of administration, that it requires no great foresight to perceive, that all the Khasia states will before long cheerfully acquiesce in a renunciation of their nominal independence, and an acknowledgment of their allegiance to the paramount power. Our Government has therefore, a high and responsible duty to discharge, in regard to the people who are thus voluntarily placing themselves under its fostering care; and we sincerely trust that while measures will not be neglected to render this salubrious tract of country a really valuable acquisition, the best means will also be used for the moral and intellectual improvement of its inhabitants.

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ART. V.—1. *Jameson's Code*. 1830.
2. *Standing Orders of the Department of Public Works*. By LIEUT. COL. BOILEAU. 1852.
3. *Military Regulations of the Bengal Army*. 1855.
4. *Manual of Field Operations*. By LIEUT. JERVIS, *Royal Artillery*. JOHN MURRAY. London, 1852.
5. *Minor Operations of War*. By MAJOR TROUBRIDGE. Whitehall, 1853.
6. *Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe*. London, 1855.
7. *Napoleon's Confidential Correspondence with his Brother* JOSEPH. London, 1855.
8. *Rifle Practice*. By MAJOR JOHN JACOB, C. B. 1855.
9. *Douglas' Naval Gunnery*. 1855.

AFTER nearly five years' gestation the *Bengal Code* has been recently published. It has one decided advantage over all other Codes in being briefer and more compact. Its size and weight are nearly half those of Jameson's Bombay Code. We cannot however honestly say that it is half as valuable. It is complete in nothing. Our recently expressed fears have been more than fulfilled: a Bengal Code has yet to be prepared; and for Departments, detailed Abstracts in the form of Colonel Boileau's excellent compilation, are required.

Lieut. Jervis' Manual is avowedly a compilation, founded on Jacquinot de Presle's "*Cours d'art et d'Histoire Militaire*" in use at the Cavalry School of Saumar. Keeping *De Presle* in view as a ground-work, Lieut. Jervis has given his volume a more comprehensive character, and adapted it to the general requirements of the British officer. The work ought to be in every young soldier's hands, and will afford useful information to the oldest. The illustrations generally are good, those based on warfare in India the least so. We like the Cavalry chapter best; the Artillery least. Lieut. Jervis, tells his readers, what has a hundred times before been told, that "it is only in time of peace, and with infinite care, that Cavalry can be organized;" that "before entering on a campaign, Cavalry is (should be) perfectly instructed in the care necessary for the preservation of the horses." Were such the practice as well as the theory of the British Cavalry, there would have been no Balaclava slaughter, no headlong charge on heavily flanked batteries and masses, nor would there have been the dying by inches of noble animals at their pickets. Had Lords Lucan or Cardigan understood their duty, five hundred human lives would have been saved. Had one officer per Regiment possessed the sense and

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the humanity to exert himself for the horses, and the address and management to persuade the Commanders, or the courage to push his views and measures past them, half the horses in the Cavalry Division might also have been saved. Let it not be said that canvass is unfit for cover, or was unprocurable; that trenches could not be dug. The contrary in both cases has been proved: slight shelter is better that none. What was *easily* done for several hundreds of mules, could have been done for the noble war-horses. What the sensible and indefatigable Lushington did for the Naval Brigade, and what some few Regiments did for themselves, could have been done to a greater or less extent for every man and beast. A slight slope, a narrow ditch, with the earth thrown up as a bank,—all which one man could have done for each horse in a day,—would alone have saved many horses. A thick blanket round the loins,—and there were heaps a mile and a half off at Balaclava,—would also have saved many. But nothing was done. There the generous animals, knee-deep in mire, their scanty grain thrown into the liquid mud before them, rotted and starved at their posts, *all in regular line*. Yes, we doubt not the line was well preserved; and that buttons, buckles and pipe-clay were as far as possible maintained to the last, while common sense and humanity were spurned. And yet there were officers with the Crimean Cavalry Division who knew better; some even who had been through the Affghan campaign, who had seen Affghan horses plump and hearty though exposed in all weathers to a more than Crimean winter. But common sense has little chance under a martinet system; it damps all energy, cowes all spirit; it permits all to do mischief, but affords few opportunities of good. Where a Colonel can be threatened with arrest for giving an opinion, few subalterns will have the hardihood to oppose authority, however good their cause. But how wretched is all this! how deplorable that the finest Cavalry in the world should be sacrificed to the whim or the ignorance, or worse still, the apathy of an individual!

Lieut. Jervis, echoing the dicta of the best soldiers of all ages, tells us,—

"Of all the branches of the service, Cavalry appears to be the one most difficult to manage. Incapable of defending a position by itself, unable even to engage on many kinds of ground, easily disunited, almost totally dependant on their horses, no corps so much requires the discrimination and zeal of talented leaders. And the experience of all ages proves that men able to make successful use of Cavalry in masses, have been but few. This art requires in fact a thorough knowledge of this branch of the service, and a quickness of eye which can seize rapidly the whole of a movement, and understand all its consequences. As this eagle glance must be accompanied by great

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energy, it is not surprising that there are so few good Cavalry Generals, and that this service so seldom fulfils the part for which it is intended."

And yet England's Cavalry is filled with idle men of fashion, younger sons of peers, or elder sons of stockbrokers, all ready enough for a Balaclava charge, all averse to Balaclava stable-duty. In India, if possible, the case is worse. England's Cavalry is officered by *volunteers*, by men who select their line; but India's sable horsemen are led by the boys who fail at Haileybury, and the lads whose parents have most interest at the India House. Whether they be half blind, whether they can or cannot ride, or whether they like or dislike their profession, there they remain, Cavalry-Officers for the period of their service. There is no escape! Can any thing be more absurd?

"*The Minor Operations of War*" is a translation of part of Lallemand's valuable work by Major St. Vincent Troubridge, of the 7th Royal Fuziliers. The volume with his "*Tabular arrangement of Battalion Drill,*" shows that the Major is worthy of his name. We imagine the author to be the gallant Baronet who lost both legs at Inkerman. We recommend the two works to the Indian Army.

"*Jacob's Rifle Practice,*" and "*Douglas' Naval Gunnery,*" are both excellent books, though in some points the opnions of the two gallant authors differ as much as does the apearance of the tiny pamphlet of the one, from the portly octavo of the other. This revised and enlarged edition of Douglas, is full of scientific information, valuable to all branches of the Army; but the author appears to us,—we write with all deference,—to cling somewhat to old opinions. On the other hand the dashing light horseman and profound Artillery-man, has swept away the cobwebs of much antiquated prejudice. Not less scientific than the scientific and able veteran to whom the Navy is so much indebted for opening the eyes of the country forty years ago, to the necessity of Artillery, and especially of Naval Artillery reform, Jacob has done much to prove that we are only at the beginning of Artillery doings; that the monster guns yet constructed, may in all points be surpassed by the application of the Rifle principle. We go far with him even in the following opinion, which may appear to many an idle speculation :—

"Judging from experiments made as an old Artillery Officer as well as a Rifleman and practical Mechanic, I am deliberately of opinion that a four-grooved Rifled iron gun of a bore of four inches in diameter, weight not less than twenty-four hundred weight, could be made to throw shot to a distance of ten miles and more, with force and accuracy."

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Jacob's improved rifle has—however tardily—had a fair trial, which has conclusively proved that Field Batteries as now constituted, could not stand before a corps of riflemen, that every gunner would be instantly picked off. After describing his weapon and its effects, he observes,

"It seems evident that if the arms above described be supplied to our soldiers, their power would be increased at least fourfold. The army which should first adopt these weapons, would thereby obtain an advantage equal to that of the exclusive possession of fire-arms a century ago. One effect of these would be that the whole of our Field Artillery must become totally useless."

We do not wonder that the late Sir Charles Napier should have controverted such theories when put forward in a far feebler voice than at present, for his prejudices were all against rifles, all for "Brown Bess." Moreover he knew little of Artillery. His pamphlet on "National Defence" published in 1852, contained much that was valuable, as might have been expected from so good and so experienced a soldier, but surely he was as much behind the age, when he penned the following passages, as was Sir George Brown, when he maintained leather stocks and other martinetisms during the Crimean expedition, or as is the old lady who persists in travelling post in an antiquated chaise, when she might take her ease in a Railway Carriage.

"I do not altogether enter into the new inventions. I fought in "the Bush" in America; so thiek it was, that we could hardly pierce its denseness; my regiment was opposed to Kentucky *riflemen*. We had *muskets*, and we beat them. We had *red coats*—they had brown coats; yet we slew more of them than they did of us. We are told that at the Cape, the Kaffirs lie hidden till our soldiers come within a *few feet!* Then what do we want with a *rifle?* The Cape Corps were armed with short carbines, *not* with rifles, and are said to have done better service than any other corps, while the men were faithful."

"I heard of a man being killed at the distance of a mile by a musket shot in the lines at Torres Vedras. The old spirit of the British soldiers was to *close with their enemy*, not to keep at the distance of two miles from him! 'The bayonet! the bayonet!' was their cry, and the strong hearts and strong arms of Britons bore down in close array upon the enemy! But now that system seems changed."

Alma and Inkerman told a different tale. *There* was proved, that improved weapons had not emasculated British soldiers. The system *is* changed, but for the better. The Russians felt and acknowledged the fact. The bayonet was at least as effective at Inkerman as in any battle on record, and yet there the Enfield Rifle was in the hands of the British Infantry. The Yankees too, to their cost, felt the difference the other day in

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Central America, between the Minie Rifle and the old musket. "There must have been English and German Riflemen present" was their cry. Sir Charles was a genius, but the public has been too long misled by great names. Even his name must not delude us into the notion that "red coats" are better than "brown coats" in the *bush*, or that it is any advantage to an army to have its officers and leading files picked off, before they can close with the enemy. No, to have confidence in their leaders, soldiers must have fair play, must not be *needlessly* exposed. British soldiers may be trusted for the rest. With good leading and good weapons,* they will never be slow to apply the bayonet. The danger is rather the other way; that they will be too ready.

But whatever were the opinions of so eccentric a genius as Sir Charles Napier, we are surprised that a calm dispassionate Savant, such as Sir Howard Douglas, should propose to disperse riflemen with Shrapnel; as if such fellows were in the habit of collecting in clumps to afford practice to Artillery. No, the ranges of Field Guns must be increased proportionally with those of rifles, before, in future warfare, there will be any safety for field gunners. Sir Howard's Argument is that

"Shrapnel Shells will undoubtedly still prove an over-powering antagonist of infantry acting in swarms, *en tirailleur*, in the manner in which it is proposed to employ infantry armed with long ranged rifled muskets."

Sir Howard here assumes two points. First that rifles will not be effective at 1000 yards, and that field artillery employed against riflemen will be so at greater distances. In both points we believe that he is wrong. His words are

"Field artillery, 9 and 12 pounder guns in particular, placed far beyond the reach of even the *most random range of these rifles*, may, by means of Shrapnel Shells, pour upon swarms of skirmishers, musket bullets, &c."

The italics are ours. Now Jacob has made "excellent practice (with his rifles) at a range of 2000 yards. The balls at that distance penetrating about 4 inches into very hard dry sunburnt brick." We have ourselves seen good rifle practice at 1200 yards, but although Sir Howard proposes to bring "menaces and charges of cavalry" to compel the "tirailleurs" to rally into "masses", we cannot agree with him that his "spherical" case shot from field guns would at such distances be effective. The question is of rifles versus field artillery; if the one arm is to be supported by

* The mischief entailed by bad arms has often been recorded. Macaulay tells how Killikrankie was lost and won by the fumbling for two or three minutes of Mackay's men at their bayonets. Those minutes decided the day: the whole flood of the Clans were on them.

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Cavalry, so should be the other. But even on occasional clumps caused by Cavalry "menaces," we rather doubt the effect of spherical case, as suggested by Sir Howard. At best, friends and foes would suffer. No; immense improvement has been made in small arms, and in Jacob's words, where elite infantry armed with his improved rifles are in the field, "Artillery must be abolished or *improved*."—

"*Kaye's Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe*" ought to be in every Indian library, as should "*Napoleon's Correspondence with his brother Joseph.*" We do not agree in all Lord Metcalfe's dicta; but his military maxims and opinions are among his best. We do not retire at night as he did, with the expectation of finding, on awakening, that India has slipped from Britain's grasp. But Metcalfe's advice for caution and preparation is both practical and wise. For looking in peace for the probability of war; and for not undertaking war with peace means, and sacrificing soldiers' lives to save magazine stores. He truly says

"Economy in this department is ruinous. We ought to be lavish of the contents of our Arsenals, and saving of the lives of our men."

India's best soldiers, the Ochterlonys, Malcolms, and Munros, past and present, give like advice. Metcalfe was in heart a soldier, of the school of William Fraser, Jenkins, George Clerk, and John Lawrence. Such are the Civilians for India.

Napoleon's letters will raise the opinion of his ability, if not of his heart. He reads Indian officials many lessons. Englishmen in India are situated, much as Frenchmen were in Naples, and now are in Algeria. Those who argue that good governments may trust to the love of the people, would do well to bear in mind his emphatic words; "What a nation most hates, is another nation." The remark specially applies to England's position in India. Justice, humanity, and kindly consideration must be ever displayed, but be closely backed by *bayonets and cannon*, or else the very mildness of British rule will ensure its own destruction. Duly execrating Napoleon's lying practices, his military executions, and much of his Military system,* we would nevertheless gladly see many of his maxims instilled into English Oriental authorities. He did not urge on his brother, the necessity of a large army, but of a *safe, contented one*, led by able and trusty leaders. There was practical wisdom in the proportions he laid down. "You should have in your ser-

* See Alison's History of Europe, page 237, vol. v. for the gross fraud through which the Battle of Rivoli was won. The great Military writer 'Jomini'' either was ignorant of the deceit, or considered all stratagems awful in war.

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vice 3000 Corsicans, 6000 Swiss and 6000 Neapolitans." In the selection of officers he was equally judicious.

"Jourdan is much more fit to command troops in the interior than Massena, who on the other hand is more fit for a coup-de-main; in war as in literature, each man has his own style."

Again,

"Jourdan is fully reliable."

Further on

"Jourdan and Regnier are the men whose services you should secure."

He continues "The Brigadiers and Generals of Division should be all tried soldiers and men of vigour." These few words should be printed in letters of gold on the hearts of all in authority. *The Brigadiers and Generals of Division should be all tried soldiers and men of vigour.* Would that our feeble voice could impress them in high places. The Indian Government reverses Napoleon's maxims. It trusts almost every thing to a particular class of the Natives of the country. It superannuates tried soldiers of many fields of *fifty years* of age, and replaces them by untried men, and even by proved incompetents of *sixty*.* Judged by its practice Government would appear rather to look for Wurmsers and Whitelocks, than for Jourdans and Massenas.

Napoleon tells his brother

"In all your calculations, assume that a fortnight sooner or later, you will have an insurrection. Force of opinion will not help; have mortars on the Forts, and troops ready. Disarm and do it quickly. I presume you have cannon in your palaces. Disarm,—Disarm. Keep your Artillery in positions where the mob cannot seize them. Reckon on a riot or a small insurrection."

This advice, *to disarm, to be ready, to keep his troops together, and to have artillery at hand,* is constantly and emphatically enjoined. It holds good for every country, for the latitudes of Paris and London, as well as for those of Calcutta and Lucknow.

On many other points good lessons in war are to be derived from Napoleon's letters

"You cannot have too many staff officers. I do not see that you have chosen any Aid-de-camp of unquestionable ability; and have one Engineer, and one Artillery officer."

Our late enemies the Russians teach us a lesson in the same department. The Czar gives every General Officer the

* Several Major Generals of about fifty years of age have lately been ejected from Brigades, while there are many Brigadiers bordering on sixty; some above that age. One Major General is not less than seventy!

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selection of half his own personal staff, and himself appoints the rest. But who ever heard of an Artillery, Engineer, or other scientific officer, *selected as such*, for the General or Personal staff, in India; and yet where are such men more wanted? If the Generals must be old gentlemen, whose military qualities are for the first time discovered at fifty, sixty, and even seventy; then indeed does it behove Government to surround them with qualified nurses.

But to our task. Our last number compensated for the meagre mention of the Cavalry which abruptly closed the paper on the Indian army in the previous one. We propose now to continue our rough notes on the most urgent wants of the army, especially on those which most easily admit of remedy: to tell of all its wants would require a goodly volume. It is however consolatory to think that the most glaring defects are not only on the surface, but can be removed without difficulty. Their remedy only requires the exercise of ordinary common sense, *in the appliance of materials ready at hand*, and a very slight pull at the purse-strings; indeed *proportionately* a less pull than would be required to insure the life of a healthy soldier. An expenditure of three or four per cent. on the present eleven millions; and placing the right man in the right place, would do all that is required. Would convert a discontented into a contented army; an immoveable into a moveable one; would put it beyond the power of any section of the Military community to beard the Government; perhaps to destroy it.

We pretend to no panacea for all military evils, to chalk out no military Utopia, but simply to bring before the public, in very brief form, the experience of all ages in all departments; to show that men of like creeds, influenced by like motives, and moving under like conditions, *will* combine; that they have always done so, in every clime. Further that creed and colour are to be greatly nullified by slightly varied conditions. Above all, that every man, whatever be his country, creed, or color, has his particular ambition, and that such ambition varies, not only with general creed, color and country; but with individual temperament constitution and circumstances. That the ambition of very few European Soldiers is limited, in their old age, to abundance of cheap grog at Chunar, Cuddalore, or Dapoulee. That, though many sepoys would delight to retire and smoke their hubble-bubbles under the shade of their village trees, yet that their ranks contain many fit for higher destinies, panting for them, and sullen at their non-obtainment. Such are the objects of our past and present essays. To help the Government by helping its servants; to induce

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the former to effect the usual insurance on its property, and prepare the fire engines before the house is on fire; to urge on each individual his own particular duty. Some of our readers will doubtless remark, that we are propounding mere truisms which everybody knows. Everybody *does* know, but what authority *does* act on the knowledge of the foregoing facts? *Are* the right men every where in the right places? Is the army as efficient as it might be? Is it in any rank contented? A dozen more such questions might be answered by all honest men, in the negative. If such be the case, we request attention to Article V. No. LI. of this *Review*, as also to the following remarks. We are quite aware that they are loosely, perhaps illogically arranged. Our facts, however, are beyond question; and we feel that our inferences are not strained. We accordingly propose to hammer both facts and inferences into the public, in our own rough way, until they have at least a trial.

In Military matters the Government of India starts on wrong principles. *Strict* seniority never secured efficiency in any department, in any country. It has only been by superseding the seniors, after the first bungling campaign of each war, that the British army has escaped great disaster. To a less extent the example has been followed in India, where the remedy was much more wanted. Why not prevent war by preparations? *Si vis pacem para bellum.* Muskets and accoutrements, cannon and munitions are all prepared during peace. It would be considered a crying shame for arms to be kept unpolished, belts uncleaned, lines, barracks and magazines to be slovenly and dirty; but what is all this to having at the heads of armies, divisions, brigades and regiments, men less efficient than nine-tenths of those under them. To have age and comparative inefficiency in all posts of authority. To drive the Cromwells and Washingtons from our ranks, and in lieu of them, to place the Whitelockes, Englands and Elphinstones in command!

That this parallel is not exaggerated, every man with an eye to see and an ear to hear can ascertain for himself. He may discover as we have done, a corps of *Light horse* in which nearly every trooper is close on fifty years of age. The old gentlemen paint and dye to such an extent, and are so well set up, that casual observers might easily mistake a "*boodha*" for a "*pukka juwan.*" He may talk to Subadars and Jemadars, sixty and even seventy years old. He may perhaps, have served under a Commander-in-Chief who could not mount or sit upon a horse; perhaps his own Commanding officer can do neither. When he has thus cast his eye around, he may contemplate the Jacobs, Chamberlaines, Maynes, Malcolms, Taylors, Edwardeses, Lumsdens, Cokes, Nicholsons and others, who, however favored *above* those of

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their own standing, still chafe at their positions, still feel that they have not their fitting places, and that a seniority service is not the service for them. With regard to the many Singhs, and Khans, Syuds. Begs and Tewaries, who with even more reason, —because their attainable position is much more subordinate— pine in the ranks of the army, such men, one after another leave its service. A Lieutenant-Colonelcy would have retained Washington in the British service. An accident detained Cromwell in England. Men of kindred spirit are not so easily obtained, that when found, they should be scorned, or lightly set aside. Clive conquered and saved India. Individuals have, probably several times since preserved the country.* An individual may also any day, bring it to the verge of ruin; nevertheless scores of individuals, not one of whom would have been intrusted in his youth, health and strength with the charge of a mill, by a sensible cotton-spinner, during a disturbance, are now placed in commands, where their incompetence may any day blow a spark into a flame that may cost hundreds of lives and millions of money. We might go even further, and shew that some of these men have, at every stage of their career, *proved their incompetence.* That as young or middle-aged men, they have been set aside or superseded, to have in their old age, commands thrust upon them, and to be pushed into authority, even on the frontier, to the hinderance of distinguished officers. Such men also are frequently supported by Commandants of Regiments of kindred spirit and physique. The latter, *of course*, recommend, for promotion to commissions, the *oldest* native soldiers, the grounds of election being, that old men are *the most inoffensive, the least dangerous.* What would the Cotton-spinner, or the Mill-master, say to such a system? Why, that the Indian Government deserve to have an inefficient army.

But to return to details. Our closing remarks in No. LI. referred to the Cavalry. We have since made minute calculations, and find that the cost of Irregulars and Regulars is about three to seven against the latter. We have not the means of estimating the proportion of pensions, but are satisfied that the differences would make the ratio fully equal to three to one. That is fifteen hundred *more efficient* horsemen, *for light horse duty*, could be obtained for what now maintains five hundred. What possible reason then is there for delaying a day, to commence modifying the Cavalry to the extent recommended in our last two numbers. No individual, black or white, need be injured; whilst the Government and the army, and many individuals

* Forty years ago Metcalfe wrote "Often has the fate of India depended on a single army; often again may the fate of a great part of India depend on a single army." He lived to verify his words.

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would greatly benefit. A few words of warning however. Let not *half* our scheme be taken. Let not a mongrel system be introduced, or rather continued. Every man, high or low, cognizant of the whole system, allows that the pay of the majority of Irregulars is now too low. Lord Dalhousie allowed it. Sir Charles Napier not only recorded the fact, but fixed thirty, instead of twenty rupees a month for the Sowars he himself raised. He paid native officers proportionally. Let then twenty-five or at the least twenty-four rupees be the horseman's pay, and, what is equally important, let pensions be raised to the footing of the line. With such increases, the expenses of *reformed* Irregulars, will hardly exceed half that of the present Regulars.

We beg those who object to our proposition, to consider what it costs themselves, throughout the year, to keep a horse with gear, accoutrements, &c. Let them then bear in mind that the Sowar has to provide for bad as well as for good seasons, and for dear as well as for cheap localities ; for Candahar, with grain at a seer the rupee ; as well as for grain countries where thirty and forty seers may be obtained. Government allow mounted officers thirty rupees a month for each horse ; few gain materially by such contract ; and yet twenty is given to the Trooper, who ought not to be materially worse mounted ! Of this twenty, after deductions for the remount-fund, clothing, gear, washing, watermen, barber, &c. there is not, we firmly believe, a Sowar in the service who receives more than seventeen, to feed himself, his family, and his horse, and to provide arms, a tent and a hut ! Fix then twenty as the sum to *be actually paid to each man*, every month. Let the balance, whether four or five rupees, be retained in the Commandant's hands for remounts, clothing, &c. and be accounted for every six months. If Commanding officers are fit for their berths, they should be able to arm, mount and equip their regiments better than individuals can. One hundred and fifty rupees is now the usual price of a remount. Where such sum is insufficient,—which in some parts of the country is occasionally the case,—the unfortunate Sowar, already perhaps burdened with debt, has to give the difference, possibly thirty or fifty rupees, from his seventeen rupees monthly pay. He is thus swamped for life. The proposed scheme would prevent the *necessity* of debt, and would enable every Sowar to ride a three hundred rupee horse.

"Bargeers" as now constituted, should be entirely abolished. No respectable man will take service as a bargeer, who when away from head-quarters is little better than a servant to the owner of the horse. Nine bargeers out of ten, of this class, are disreputable fellows. Let the head of a respectable family have as "bargeers," whatever number, within moderation, of his relations,

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that he may wish to bring with him. There is no danger of *their* being made servants of, or of their chief making money out of them. He will neither be willing nor able to do so. Each man will receive his full Government pay; the chief being contented that they, being his Assamees, are dependent on and look up to him as their head. He is thus able to control his young relations, to keep them from being extravagant and to restrain their debaucheries, &c. If it be objected that we advocate the old system of *brotherhoods*, and throw undue power into the hands of native officers, we deny the imputation. Limit the number of "Bargeers" as at present, but encourage *good* men to introduce their kinsmen into the ranks. Government is thus strengthened, the enemy weakened.

No native banker should on any account be allowed. Many regiments do without them; there is no reason why all should not: they only encourage extravagance and debt.

Our scheme then, for the mounted branch of the army; is for Bengal, two regiments of European Dragoons, and six of Regular Cavalry; *all fully officered;* with similar proportions for the other presidencies. The rest of the Cavalry, under whatever names, Irregular, Contingents, Legionaries, &c. to be designated "Hindustani Horse," on not less than twenty-four rupees a month; three-fourths of the regiments to have each three or four European officers; the others to be commanded by natives, and to have a Brigadier* over every two or three regiments. An Inspector is part, and not the least important part of this scheme. He should be an officer of experience, temper and discretion, answering, as far as possible, the description given at a preceding page, by Lieut. Jervis of an efficient Cavalry-commander. Indeed such men only should command cavalry regiments, and from the best of them, Brigadiers (Bukshees) should be selected. A Wellington makes an army; one man *can make or mar* a regiment or a brigade.

If there have been repetitions in the above remarks, the importance of the subject demands them all. The question involved is, whether by reforms, consonant not only to the spirit of the age, but to the genius of the Hindustani horseman, increased contentment and increased efficiency are to be given to the whole mounted branch of the Indian army; the expense required to meet the required change, being only about twelve lakhs or £120,000 a year.

We are quite aware of the financial necessities of the State, and therefore would not throw away a rupee. But bad Caval-

* The Brigadier to be Pay Master, that is *Bukshee* and Deputy Inspector.

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ry are worse than none. If then, there be not means to meet reforms, let the strength of regiments be reduced sufficiently to provide the necessary funds. Four hundred efficient and contented troopers would, in war or in peace, be very preferable to five hundred discontented, badly equipped, and badly horsed Sowars.

Regiments though weak in numbers would be efficient and safe. Hundreds of expectants, all prepared for Jacob's ordeal of " a stiff leap on a bare backed horse" would always be ready for the ranks of a popular service. In a month, under the proposed system, the Hindustani horse might be increased by a sixth, and in three months be doubled. Such a service would give bread in comfort to the poor soldier of fortune, and would afford a chance of honor and competence to the native gentleman. The system would at least, not drive them, from our ranks, to Cabul or to any native service; there to introduce our discipline, and, as has often been the case, to turn our own weapons against ourselves.

Let it not be said that the writer of these remarks has a personal interest in Regulars or Irregulars. He has just the interest, and no more, in the Cavalry question, and in army reform generally, that has every loyal British subject in India. It is his interest that the army in all its branches, should be both safe and efficient. Every man is not born a soldier, much less a trooper, nor are horses to be had for the asking. Care, selection, and timely arrangement are scarcely less requisite for organizing Cavalry than Artillery. We lift our voice loudly *in the calm; that it may not be needed in the storm.*

One word more on this point. This review has furnished during the last thirteen years, ample facts and ample theories. Let Government make selections and lay them before three of their best, and *least prejudiced* Cavalry Officers, with orders to carry out details. To fix the arms and accoutrements, for both Regular and Irregular Cavalry, and once for all, to set at rest all controverted questions. We are quite convinced that this scheme carried out, *in its full spirit,* would give the Indian Government the *best light horse in the world for Indian purposes;* we might indeed add for Asiatic purposes.

Regarding both Cavalry and Infantry, we have another suggestion to offer, viz., that the recruiting-fields should be extended. Oude should no longer supply the mass of our Infantry and regular Cavalry; indeed twenty years hence, it will be unable to do so. The Punjab, Nepaul, and the Delhi territory should be more largely indented on; as should the whole North West Provinces, and the military classes of Bombay and Madras. Hardy men, of fair average height, not giants, are

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wanted for light horsemen. The Zouaves and Goorkhas prove that the biggest Light Infantry are not the bravest. We have too long tilled the same fields.

If proof were wanted that abundance of Sikhs are ready to enter the ranks, Capt. Rattray has settled the point. When Sikhs volunteer for Bengal on police-pay, they will assuredly accept better service in better climes. Already have they fought on the Irrawaddy, and volunteered for the Crimea. But assuredly the right plan has not yet been followed, for getting the best Sikhs. As usual, extremes have been tried. On annexation, of the 40,000 or 50,000 Sikhs thrown out of employ, scarcely a tenth were taken into British pay. The Punjaub Irregular Corps were even restricted to ten Sikhs a company. All of a sudden, within two years of the issue of the above restriction, the enlistment of two hundred Sikhs in every Regiment of the Line was authorized. This was indeed going to the other extreme. Fortunately the measure failed, or the Sikh *punchayut* system would probably have been introduced into the British ranks. Some few native Infantry Regiments, stationed in the Punjaub, did boast of having enlisted "a hundred or more" fine Sikhs "who had fought against us in every battle of both campaigns." This was just what might have been expected, but what ought to have been avoided. The older Sikh soldiers should have been sent to their homes, and encouraged to expend their energies at the plough. Their young kinsmen should have been enrolled in *Irregular* Regiments *throughout India*, and should thus have been gradually introduced to British discipline. There was too much of the leaven of insubordination in the Sikh army, to make the sepoy ranks fitting places for the old Khalsa or even for their sons. Time, new scenes and strict discipline, under officers acquainted with their virtues and their vices, were wanted. The ship has, however, righted itself. The *Hindoo* prejudices of Commanding Officers have kept the Sikhs aloof from many regular Corps, and driven them out of others. Some gentlemen wished to cut their hair, forgetting that the very essence of Sikhism lies in its locks. Other officers found Sikhs dirty and troublesome; others, probably unable to get young recruits, hesitated to enlist the veterans of Sher Singh's army. The result is, that the Bombay army has ceased to enlist Sikhs, and that in the seventy-four Bengal Infantry regiments, there are scarcely, three thousand of that faith. We believe we should be nearer the mark, were we to say half that number, for some Sikhs have abjured Sikhism, others have been driven out of it, and not a shadow of encouragement has been given to counteract the quiet, but persistent opposition of the Oude and Behar men.

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That such opposition is no small obstacle to the introduction of new classes into the army, all experienced officers know full well. Even the determination of the present Commander-in-Chief at Madras, when commanding the Hurriana Light Infantry, eighteen years ago, did not enable him to carry such a measure. He tried to introduce into its ranks the hardy "Aheers" and "Ranghurs" of the Province, but failed: we have it from his own lips: the Rajpoots and Brahmins bullied the new levies out of the Corps.

We are tempted to give another anecdote. A corps of the Line, within our observation, that has about four score Sikhs in its ranks, possesses only one Sikh non-commissioned officer, and him of the lowest rank. We asked the reason why the Sikhs had not their proportion of officers. The reply was "why the Naick is the luckiest soldier in the Bengal army." Be it remembered that this luckiest fellow in the Bengal army has served the period which entitles a Civilian to a seat in Council. This is luck indeed, to be a Corporal on about a pound sterling a month, after ten years' service. He is a *remarkable* man, has attracted the special attention of his officers; otherwise he would to his day, have been a sentinel. Had he similarly outstripped all his compeers in the Punjaub service, or in any native service, he would now have been, *at least*, a Commandant, perhaps a Colonel, possibly a Sirdar or even a Rajah. In the Russian, Austrian, or French service he would most likely be a decorated Captain or Field Officer. In the Sepoy army, he is a Corporal! To complete the story, the officer commanding the company, in which was *one* of the batch of Sikhs to which we refer, begged that *this one* too might be made a Naick. The reply was "what has he done that he should be put over the heads of the whole Bengal army." If that man be lucky, he will be a Corporal ten years hence! Such is the inducement, to the finest Infantry soldier in India, to enter the British ranks.

The whole system is wrong. In a few years the survivors of those Sikhs will be simply low caste Hindoos; they will have learnt to object to mess together, and in all points will be as helpless, and as subservient as Brahmins or Rajpoots. The plan to be followed, to get and to keep the best soldiers throughout India, and to *quietly* oppose class against class, and tribe against tribe, is to have separate regiments of each creed or class, filling up half, three-fourths, or even more of the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks from their own numbers. Thus there might be Brahmin, Rajpoot, Aheer, Goojur, Meena, Ranghur, Patan, Mogul, Malay, Goorkah and Sikh Regiments, as also Chumar and Sweeper ones. Each to have a sprinkling of other castes

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or tribes, stout fellows, with *more* than their proportion of promotion, and therefore able to hold their own. Say, in a corps of Brahmins, a hundred Rajpoots and as many Mahommedans. In one of Sweepers a couple of hundred Mahommedans. Similarly with Sikhs and Goorkhas, a sprinkling of hill Rajpoots and Moslems. Such dilutions will be sufficient to prevent, or at least to bring to light, internal disaffection ; while it not only cuts off sectarian influence, but unostentatiously opposes class to class and party to party. We have not a doubt that, thus organized, the low caste man who, under present influences, is the mere creature of the Brahmin, would as readily meet him with the bayonet, as he would a Mahommedan. There might still be many Regiments composed much as at present, only keeping the very high, and very low castes more apart.

Some people will say that Brahmins will not act with low caste men. We happen to know better. In the Bombay army, Sweeper Subedars command Brahmin sepoys. We ourselves, have seen Bheels and Meenas, Grassias and Patans, Aheers and Rajpoots, all shoulder to shoulder, all working well and amicably together, notwithstanding that the two first tribes eat carrion, and are classed little, if at all, above Mehturs. We are aware that such arrangements are only to be carried out by tact and determination. In a certain Bheel corps, the Grassias and others, combined to refuse to salute the first Bheel who was promoted to the rank of Subadar. The Commanding officer, having seated the Bheel on a chair by his side, called in the whole company, asked each individual his intentions ; ordered him to salute the Bheel and pass on. The Hindustanis did so ; *three* Grassias refused. On the instant they were discharged. There was no more hesitation, the Bheel Subedar ever afterwards was duly obeyed.

It is however well known that low caste men give most trouble about caste ; that the sweepers of the Bombay and Madras armies are more fanciful than the Brahmins and Rajpoots. Religionists too, whether Hindoo or Mahommedan, whether Syuds, or Brahmins or Swamees influence only the mob, they do not touch each other. They should therefore, have their energies, as far as possible, confined to their own classes.

Under somewhat such arrangements as above suggested, there would be no scarcity of Sikhs or Goorkhas in the ranks, nor indeed if desirable, of Malays, Moplas, and Arabs. At present few *original* Goorkhas enter the British service, simply because it is not worth their while. In our XLIII. number,* was shewn how a thousand Goorkhas had been enlisted in a week. The same means are open any day to Government. Let a popular

* Article. ' Sir Charles Napier's Posthumous work.'

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officer be sent to raise a corps of Goorkhas, in communication with the Resident at Khatmandoo. Let three-fourths of the Native commissions, &c. be given to Goorkhas, and there will be no scarcity of recruits. There must, of course be good management; but the ice once broken, there will always be a fair proportion of Goorkhas in the British ranks.

In Oude, the Punjaub mistake has been reversed. Oude has long been the Alsatia of India. In that province were to be met, even more than at Hydrabad or at Lahore, the Afreedee and Durukzye of the Khyber, the Belooch of Khelat, and the Wazeree of the Sulimani range. There also congregated the idle, the dissipated, and the disaffected of every Native state in India. Added to these were many deserters from the British ranks. Yet the Contingent of twelve thousand men has been almost wholly filled from the old Oude army. The reason assigned for the different line of conduct is, that the Punjaub was conquered, but that Oude fell in peace. In this there is a fallacy, little understood, but not the less a fallacy. Proportionally few of the instigators of opposition at Lahore, and in the Sikh army, were Sikhs. They were British subjects, many of them British deserters. The general feeling of the Sikhs was hardly hostile; many of the Sikhs were friendly, decidedly so, compared with the Hindustanis in the Punjaub service.

The king of Oude employed fifty-nine thousand soldiers; his chiefs and officials at least as many more. Of these vast numbers, one fifth at the utmost have found employment in the police and irregular corps. Yet these levies, with half a dozen regular corps, form the whole army of occupation. This seems a grave mistake. Why not at least make a change? Why not move some of the Punjaub regiments that have been keeping constant watch and ward on the Indus for seven years, to Oude, and send some of the king's people to the North West. The king had some eight thousand Artillery; of these about five hundred may have obtained employment, the rest, old and young, are on the world. Surely if there was danger in employing Sikhs in 1849, it would be well to remove some portion of the Oude levies from Oude, where such materials for mischief still remain. In the province are 246 forts, besides innumerable smaller strongholds, many of them sheltered within thick jungles. In these forts are 476 guns. Forts and guns should all be in the hands of Government, or the forts should be razed. Many a foolish fellow has been urged on to his own ruin, by the possession of a paltry fort; and many a paltry mud fort has repulsed British troops. Forts and intrenched posts moreover, notwithstanding all Sir Charles

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Napier and other great authorities have said, are the bridles and the main safeguards of all, especially of conquered, countries. Spain confirms, indeed all Europe and all history, confirm this opinion, Gibbon imputes the downfal of the Roman Empire, among other causes, to the facts that,

"In the vast extent of the Roman Empire, there were few fortified cities capable of protecting a routed army, nor was there any person, or family, or order of men, whose natural interest, unsupported by the powers of Government, was capable of restoring the cause of a sinking party."

The latter portion of the passage hits the British Government. Hitherto it has made no interest with the people; it therefore the more needs an efficient and contented army.

The eighty or ninety thousand disbanded Oude soldiers are the brethren of the British sepoys. In one sense, this makes them more dangerous, in another more safe. *All* will expect much from Government, most too much. Future tranquillity will greatly depend on the manner, in which justice, firmness, and kindly consideration are combined in Oude arrangements. We simply recommend forethought, moderation, and common sense for Oude, for all new countries, indeed for India generally.

No troops, regular or irregular, should remain for ever in one province. They should move every three or four years; not at one step from Peshawur to Calcutta, as is sometimes the order; but step by step, from one end of the country to the other. All these are very obvious truths; they are, however, not the less disregarded. While on this topic we commend to the attention of Oude, Punjaub and Nagpore administrators, Gibbon's XLIII. Chapter, on the rebellions of Africa when among other events,

"Two-thirds of the Army were involved in the guilt of treason; and eight thousand insurgents, assembling on the field of Bulla, elected Stoza for their chief, a *private soldier*, (the italics are ours,) who possessed in a superior degree, the virtues of a rebel."

Volumes nine and twelve of this *Review*, having largely dwelt on the history, the services, and the necessities of the Bengal Artillery; and intending shortly again to enter in detail on the Artillery question, we need here only cursorily refer to that arm. Except at Guzerat, the Indian army has always been greatly overmatched in guns; and as British Commanders have ordinarily delighted to attack in front, the loss of life has been proportionally great. By reversing the rule at Guzerat, the enemy was smashed at little cost. With very few exceptions our proceedings have been similar, in the conduct of sieges. In 1825-26 at Bhurtpoor, close to the Agra magazine, and with

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the result of the first siege before our eyes; the army nearly ran out of ammunition, and was not oversupplied with guns. The tardy and insufficient supplies on the Sutledge, will be in the memory of many, even though Lahore and Umritsur were expected to resist. Indeed Hatras is the only fortress against which the army went altogether prepared. The result was, success after a few hours' shelling. Those were the days when Lord Metcalfe lifted his voice, to urge the authorities to expend shot and shells rather than human lives. European lives at least are more expensive than ordnance ammunition.

We recently showed that five hundred and six field guns are attached to the Indian army of 323,823 men, being one gun to 630 fighting men, instead of to 500 as, *at the lowest calculation*, should be the equipment. Jomini and other eminent writers give *three* guns to a thousand men as the needful proportion. It is true, as Jomini remarks, that Napoleon conquered Italy with fifty guns, while he failed in Russia with twelve hundred. It is not the less true that his batteries of 50 and 100 guns won him several battles. There is really no excuse for insufficient or inefficient Artillery in India, and yet the proportions here are below the standards of all armies. Moreover of the 506 existing field guns, one hundred and two are what is called irregular, that is have, at the utmost, one officer to six guns. To some few no officer is attached. Such guns can never be as efficient as other batteries. Two officers, at least are absolutely required to each battery; we are glad to perceive that a second officer has recently been appointed to each Punjaub one. In other quarters seconds are equally required. An Irregular battery is an absurdity. It is truly childish hazarding the efficiency of six guns, on the life and energy of a single officer. Horses should be given to all remaining bullock batteries. What are called "post guns" are as liable to move as any others within the Provinces; their being unable to do so, might on occasion be disastrous.

We quite agree with the late Sir Charles Napier that the Foot Artillery is sacrificed to the Horse, we do not agree as to his remedy. Horse artillery are as requisite to act with Cavalry, as Foot Artillery with Infantry. The whole of the Artillery should always be kept up on the amplest scale, and on the most efficient footing. Notwithstanding all the idle talk of Sikh guns and Sikh practice during the Punjaub war, the Indian Artillery is unmistakeably superior to all that can be brought against it. All the field batteries should be nine-pounders, as all but one, and "the Mountain train," are in Bengal. Indeed we would have half the Horse Artillery of that calibre, and keep a nine-pounder equipment for *every*

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troop ready at the nearest magazine. The change from sixes to nines of the Royal Artillery, just previous to Waterloo, may have saved that glorious day; the nine-pounders did at least greatly help to win it. Two or three elephant field batteries should be kept up, at points on the trunk or railroad, whence they could be made most generally available.

In a former paper, we remarked that 300 battering guns, with as many mortars might be turned out of the Indian magazines in a month; we should like to think that every magazine could move a second class train in a fortnight. We are aware that the present Inspector General is quite alive to the subject. We desire to strengthen his hands. Why are there not Inspectors of Ordnance at Madras and Bombay? And why is not the school of instruction at Meerut, put on a really efficient footing? Half the object in moving the Bengal Artillery Head Quarters to Meerut, has been lost by petty savings. The Artillery is one of the last legitimate fields for retrenchment.

The next increase in Artillery-men, may, with advantage, be partly Golundauze. They are admirable soldiers, die at their guns, never join in disaffection, scarcely ever in discontent. Regarding Golundauze, there has been at all the Presidencies, more than the usual see-saw of the Indian army.* In Calcutta, a hundred years ago, *Foreigners*, *Papists* and natives were prohibited entering the arsenal. Half a century later the Bengal Artillery were stronger in natives, than in Europeans. A few years afterwards, as the tide of suspicion again rose, whole battalions of these fine fellows were discharged, and driven for bread into the enemy's ranks. Again, the Golundauze were increased, and again reduced. Sometimes mixed up with Europeans, at other times placed on their old formation. Then again Lascars were largely employed, good fellows in their way, but not to be put on a par with, still less in the place of, Golundauze. These unnecessary changes; and above all, the reduction of pay to the level of Infantry, have affected the confidence and the efficiency of the Golundauze. The same style of men are not now enlisted in any Presidency as formerly; and should Golundauze be again required in a hurry, they will not be as easily recruited as of old. In all native armies, the Artillery are the best and trustiest men. They are always true to their guns; they worship them. But Artillery-men are not made in a day, nor is it either prudent or economical to teach sepoys to work guns, in substitution for short numbers of Golundauze. The latter can better and more safely do Infantry duty, than Infantry theirs. Serving the vent, sponging and ramming are only the A. B. C's. of an Artillery-man's work. But under any

* See Broome's, Buckle's and Begbie's Volumes.

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circumstances, when Golundauze and Sepoys are paid at exactly the same rates, why put extra temptation in the way of the larger body. A thousand Golundauze cost no more than as many Sepoys. The more is the pity. They should be taught to consider themselves a separate and selected body. No Sepoy should touch a gun. The Golundauze should be in numbers, amply sufficient for all post guns; with large reserves to take their share in siege operations.* Their number should not exceed the European artillery, but whatever the number and proportions, let the Golundauze receive *the one extra* rupee. It would be good economy. We repeat that our arrangements are for the storm, as well as the sunshine; for the possibility of a Russian army at Herat; simultaneously with an American fleet off Bombay. But whether in peace or in war; the more the several arms are kept apart, the better. Perpetual *ordinary caution* in this matter, as on other points, prevents occasional spasmodic alarms, which alarms again put mischief into men's minds.

The fame of the Indian Artillery, is world-wide; there is no finer. The Bombay men are not behind their Bengal and Madras fellows in esprit-de-corps, or soldierly qualities: why does not some Bombay Artillery-man follow the example set by Capt. Buckle and Major Begbie, and record the services of his Regiment? Such compilations are valuable. Indeed every corps should have its history. What better stimulus to the young soldier, than to read the record of his brethren's services? Such memorials too, would tend to draw together officers and sepoys. In the Regimental "*Tuwareekh*," they would have something in common: the honor of the corps would then be more palpably in the keeping of each individual. No deed of personal bravery of the youngest sepoy or drummer boy, would pass unrecorded. Each might hope to live in history.

The Bengal army is largely indebted to Major Broome for his excellent history. Its tone is admirable, and its painstaking research most praiseworthy. We sincerely hope the Major is at work on its continuation, and that the three Armies will at least take as many copies as will cover his expenses. It is not creditable to any regiment to be without his first volume; nor could any person desiring to acquaint himself with early British Indian history, have a better or more impartial guide.

* The reserve Artillery-men are altogether insufficient. At every siege from Seringapatam to Mooltan, the Artillery-men were in battery two nights out of three, often many successive nights. At Sobraon, the men of three Troops, worked the heavy ordnance until their ammunition was expended, and then joined their own six-pounders.

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Engineers and Sappers even more than Artillery, ought to be kept in full strength. Sappers are not used in public works to the extent they might be. The men should not have the disbursement of public money, but should be liberally rewarded according to their zeal and abilities, as Sappers are, when employed in England on the Trigonometrical survey, &c. By such peace duties, Engineer officers, sergeants, and native Sappers are kept in training ; and while largely aiding the works of peace are preparing themselves for war.

A few words on the calling of military Engineers at the three Presidencies. In war their duties are important, and in sieges they are the virtual commanders. It was the joke of the camp, how Cheape kept the nominal Commander at Mooltan, informed from day to day of the work he intended should be performed. Irvine's, Abbott's, Waddington's, Smith's, Napier's, Baker's, Tremenhere's, Scott's, Durand's and Thomson's services during recent campaigns are in the memory of our readers. Still more valuable are the services of such men, during peace. A Cotton, a Boileau, a Napier or a Cautley is worth a Brigade. This is the only portion of the army that *pays* at all seasons. So few civil Engineers of ability, consider it worth their while to come to India, that all civil engineering is virtually in the hands of the Military. We are not quite clear that this is the best arrangement, but under improved management, it may be made very much more effective than at present.

Promotion has recently been good in the Engineers. In the higher ranks, they are nearly ten years a head of their sister corps the Artillery ; but they are still numerically weak for the work required at their hands. The consequence is that there is more poaching on their domain than on any other. The Artillery, with reason, scream when people even talk of posting Infantry officers to field batteries ; but the Engineers obtain little sympathy when some of their best berths are monopolized by outsiders. Nor indeed should we pity them were better men put over their heads ; were Cautleys, Maxwells, Prices, Balfours and Longdens to be had for the asking ; but such is not the case. By all means let the best man be selected for every berth in every department ; but be sure he is the best, before trained and able men are superseded. Far be it from us, to join the cuckoo-cry in favor of individuals. There are plenty without our aid, to advocate the cause of the incompetent ; our voice is for 'the right man in the right place.'

Engineer officers are the elite of the service. They are the *selections*, and generally very fair selections from the mass of Addiscombe. The energies of many are, however, damped by

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the treatment they meet in India. They win the race, but obtain not the prizes. The latter are too often reserved for the sluggard and the incompetent. Few Engineer officers would select the Engineers for their own sons.

Great pains are taken at home to qualify the young Engineer officers for the important and arduous duties which they are called upon to perform in India. The great error, however, is in so calling on them at too early a period after arrival. This may, in a measure, account for cracked and broken bridges, for unfinished and ill-made roads, and for high rates. While yet apprentices, and while ignorant of the rudiments of the language, and of civil routine, they have heavy responsibilities thrown on them, and are put to deal with the veriest rogues in India.

Every young Engineer officer on arrival in India, should be sent to the head-quarters of the Sappers and Miners, now also the head-quarters of the Corps; and he should not be withdrawn on any grounds or pretence, until he had passed at least one year of probation with the Corps; had attended the schools regularly, and been well instructed in the technical language and practice of Sapper-Engineering duties as conducted in India. Most young officers could during this year of probation, pass the P. H. examination, and this should be made a sine qua non for their employment in any independent substantive charge. The rule is enforced with regard to officers of other branches of the services, appointed to the staff, and it is only fair and proper that the same rule should be extended to the alumni of the Engineer department. Few young officers when they have once quitted the Sappers, after their few months' sojourn with the corps, ever rejoin it, unless perhaps on active service in the field. Thus unless grounded in the vernacular phraseology of their craft, and instructed on their first arrival in the various processes of their dutics, as conducted in India, it is perfectly certain that they will not acquire these very important and necessary qualifications in after-life; while as builders and civil engineers, their talents will remain hidden, or lose half their value, until a competent knowledge of the vernacular language shall enable them to communicate their knowledge in language intelligible to the people of the country. Our advice is thus to instruct them well, then to trust them largely, and pay them liberally.

The abolition of the Bengal and Bombay Military Boards was a grand measure. But the rubbish has not yet been all cleared away. Commissary Generals, Inspector-Generals of Ordnance and Chief Engineers must have more authority; must each respectively be put into a position assimilating more to that of the old Boards, than each now fills, before the new

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system can be expected to work smoothly. Chief Engineers must not be made mere Postmen and Clerks to local Governors. They are the most scientific and among the ablest and most zealous officers in the service. Their positions should be of high honor, considerable authority and great comfort. At present this is far from the case. The sooner the matter is righted the better. We commend the subject, as also the following anecdote, to the attention of the Secretary in the Public Works Department. We might tell many such tales.

Some three years back, a sanatory measure urgently recommended by a medical officer, involving an expense of six hundred rupees, was reported. The immediate superior, a person of high rank, authorized the measure, and the local officer carried it out. Sanction was quickly obtained from the Supreme Government ; but a greater than Lord Dalhousie, the Auditor General had not been consulted. A few words in red ink negatived his Lordship's order, and the bill was made over to the Military Board. After many months the Board passed and sent it to the Military Accountant for adjustment. In due course the cash was paid. After a considerable interval, however, the Military Auditor General *again* interfered and retrenched the full amount. *Again* was the matter referred to the Supreme Government which passed it on to the Local Government, and after six months more it was finally sanctioned, and the retrenchment recovered through the local Chief Engineer. Thus during more than two years, some forty official letters had been written, and innumerable copies been made for one authority or another, and during all this time the zealous officer who had expended his private means, in the cause of humanity,* was out of pocket £60. Such delay could not now occur, but six months or more of the delay in this very case, did take place during the present order of things, and we believe that with a less energetic officer than the local chief Engineer, twelve months more might have passed before the cash had been recovered.

Much reform is still required in the Commissariat. As yet, in some quarters at least, confusion and expense seem rather to have increased than diminished, by recent changes. In the cattle department for instance, the new arrangements were inaugurated by the sale of the greater part of the public stock. Under such circumstances, only nominal prices were, of course, obtainable ; but scarcely were the elephants, camels and bullocks sold, than out came an order to re-purchase. The fortunes of some rising "Jotee Pursads" were accordingly made at Government expense. We know not whose was this see-saw move, but such was the fact. We refer specially to sales at a certain large station, and we have reason to believe that

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throughout the Bengal Presidency, sales, re-purchases, discharges and re-enlistments followed each other quickly. Such has always been the East India Government's fate in war time. This was a peace measure.

Half the Commissariat expenses during war is attributable to such doings; to alternate haste and delay; above all to untrustworthy agency. War is expected or a movement is to be made in any quarter, whether within or without our limits. At once the market is up, *not* for the contractors, but for the Government. The former *practically* have the benefit of the earliest intelligence. They buy at twenty seers for the rupee, sell at ten; and again after a few weeks or months, re-purchase the accumulated stores, perhaps at fifty. Jotee Pursad's trial proved how cattle contracts were managed. But reform has now commenced. The great contractor has himself arranged for a small retaining fee, to hold some thousand cattle available for the public service. This is a good move. On this principle, contracts for all Commissariat necessaries should be made. In our opinion, they can be most cheaply effected by civil officers; the Commissariat officers looking only to quantity and quality. Let local Governments through their most efficient Civil officers, contract with monied men, to supply at fixed points, within given periods, certain quantities of grain, cattle, &c. and let a given proportion be always kept available, under special restrictions, for the contractor's own purposes.

We propose that these arrangements be made by civil officers because *they* ought to have most influence in the country; ought to know the soundest traders; and to be able to make the cheapest bargains. The Commissariat should look to the terms of contracts being kept, and should manage all details: a few *well paid* Inspecting officers, men not above their work, and accustomed to such matters, with *well paid* natives under them, will suffice for all the suggested duties. A single active officer could ordinarily supervise a Province. *No Serjeants*, and very little inferior European agency should be employed in the department. The temptation is too great. If the officer does his duty, little subordinate supervision is required. The *legitimate* work of Serjeants, can be better done by natives. The *legitimate* work of gentlemen, should be done by gentlemen, trained to the work. Some of them, at least, might be mercantile men from England. Indeed we are disposed to think that the Commissariat might advantageously be altogether a civil establishment, as is now the case in the Royal army; but our Indian "Mr. Filder" should be at least a K. C. B., and so be hoisted well above the vulgar depreciation of the Commissariat service, so general through the Peninsular and Crimean wars.

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The Commissariat must be a well paid and respectable body; every responsible official having the status and pay of a military officer. But there should be no irresponsible agency, contractors strictly kept to contract work, and not permitted, by their money-influence, to overshadow and bully, even the chief Commissariat officers.

By our scheme, *very small* annual payments will give Government the command of markets at all times; instead of, as at present, leaving it in every difficulty, at the mercy of its own *nominal* servants. Retaining fees may, in many cases, be almost nominal. Monied firms gain so much in credit by Government contracts, that they can afford to deal for small profits. Their stores will be laid in at harvest-time, and by sale of half or three-fourths at sowing time, they will at least cover their own expences, having their full retaining fee as profit. Similarly, by being permitted, within limits, to work the cattle they keep up, they can afford to charge the merest trifle. Such a scheme would involve clashing, some must necessarily occur at first; but Lieut. Governors and the Commissary General could *easily* stop all that. A few severe examples would suffice. And as long as Inspectors and Receivers, European and Native, are paid sufficiently well to make it *worth their while* to be independent of contractors, but at the same time to do their duty to them, as well as to Government; all else will work well. Officers enough are now in the department to do the needful. Numbers might even be reduced; but pay and position should be raised. Zeal and ability should be the sole passports to promotion in all ranks. Let also venality be promptly and severely punished, and all will soon be smooth. We repeat that much has been done in this department. To simplify accounts and insist on their being promptly rendered, would be immense points.

A Transport train should be established; one combining the virtues of Sir Charles Napier's Baggage-Corps, and of those recently employed by the Allied armies in the Crimea. Hints may also be taken from the Russians; from their wonderful organization and application of resources. Organization and Military discipline in this department, are as requisite as in any other branch of the army. Economy and efficiency will both be thus best secured. An Indian army can never move like a European one; but still there is very much that can be effected, *if officers will set the example*. There was no more necessity, as *was* the case, for a Lieut. Colonel to take three Elephants and double-poled tents, and glass doors, to Candahar; than for him to have taken the Crystal Palace. Neither was it necessary for subalterns to take dressing-boys and deputy dressing

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boys, and butlers, with their assistants, &c. throughout those campaigns.

Mr. Kaye has recorded that Sir John Keene's army was accompanied by five non-combatants for every soldier. In such a country *every* man should have been armed, and the camp-followers should not have exceeded the fighting men. It is all nonsense to say that the present system is necessary. It is not. General Pollock had not half General Nott's number of followers; nor were such proportions found necessary during either the first or second Burmah war. Three or four servants will suffice, for a time, for each officer. They, and indeed all ranks should have as good cover, over their heads, *as circumstances admit of*; but it is nonsense to expect to carry all *peace-luxuries* into war. Indeed the attempt to do so, too often leads to the abandonment or failure of *necessaries*. There should be a Director General of baggage, with deputies, and assistants for divisions and brigades, as in continental armies. They should be stern men, of somewhat Napierean views, with authority to burn all extra baggage, and all burthens of overloaded cattle. Those who remember Burmah, or who bear in mind the passes of Affghanistan, *crammed* with cattle and human beings, even as poppy heads; who remember grain at a rupee a seer, and water nearly as scarce as beer, will feel with us that the very existence of Armies should not be risked to give Cleopatra sofas and fresh bread to gentlemen whose services, at best, are ill worth such price.

With a Staff Corps would, of course, come more efficient staff establishments in all departments. Good Regimental officers who had studied their profession, in all its arms, would then, as in the Continental armies, be attached to the *Etat Major* and according to their more special qualifications be distributed into the Adjutant and Quarter Master General's and other departments. No one will pretend that the best man is now selected for either of those important branches. We cannot indeed be said to have a Quarter Master General's department at all. We never had. The present heads are striving to make up for departmental deficiencies, but the whole department requires regeneration and extension; in short radical reform. Assistant Quarter Master Generals should be the eyes of Divisional Commanders, not merely their Aide-de-camps; still less should they be gentlemen at large, occasionally, in fine weather, marching with large perambulators along high roads.

We have suggested the formation of a Staff corps. A word as to details. The French *Etat Major*, is a distinct Corps, admission to which is only obtained, as in the Engineers and Artil-

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lery by a special education, and when this has been completed and the requisite examination passed, by a fixed period of Regimental duty with each of the three arms of the service, in the grade of Subaltern. Adverting to local peculiarities, we would require an officer to serve from two to four years with his original corps, when, armed with a certificate that he thoroughly understood his regimental duty, was physically active, zealous, and intelligent, he should, after passing the Interpreter's examination in the languages, be admitted into the Staff Corps. No man is thoroughly fit for staff duties without such qualifications. He should, in addition, pass for a particular department.

First. Adjutant General's, Military Secretariat, and Judge Advocate General's Department.

Second. Quarter Master General's and Survey.

Third. Civil and Political employment.

Fourth. Army Finance Departments, as Pay, Audit, Commissariat.

Fifth. Miscellaneous, as Military Police, Baggage, &c. &c. Government to fix tests for each department. High proficiency in other branches, might permit the P. H. to be substituted for the Interpreter's test in individual cases, but we look on a thorough colloquial knowledge of the languages, next to good judgment, the very first qualification for a staff officer. Half the contre-temps and violences that occur between Europeans and natives, are occasioned by mutual ignorance of language. Book learning is less required, but ability to read accounts and Sepoy's letters, is important. Many Civilians, never acquire the power, and are accordingly much at the mercy of their own Moonshees. Good colloquial knowledge, acquired by free association with all ranks, will render other lingual attainments comparatively easy. By such processes, the Staff Corps would possess soldierly officers, qualified by study for every branch of duty, whether civil or military. After passing the Interpreter's examination, and being furnished with a certificate of proficiency in his regimental duties the staff candidate should then be sent to do duty for one year with each of the other branches of the service, his name being struck off his original regiment, and enrolled in the staff corps. A staff man would thus have done from five to seven years' regimental duty, and be about twenty-four years of age, before being eligible for staff duty. He would have fairly won his spurs, and would then be available, according to qualification and the test he had passed, for any department.

It will be observed that we have thrown the whole civil as well as military staff into the Staff Corps. We have done so

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deliberately, and after much consideration, as agreeing with Lord Hardinge,* that it is useful to have officers qualified for both civil and military duties on the strength of the army.

Such is the Oriental system, which is too much overlooked or even despised. Orientals put a man of energy and ability to the front, whatever be his antecedents, whether he were a slipper-bearer or a pipe-bearer, a slave or a son of a slave, a Pasha or a son of a Pasha. In troubled times and places, at least, they put such a man in authority with *full power*. On the other hand, Englishmen judging by English rules, split up, and separate offices, thereby puzzling Natives where to look for justice, and often obliging officials to waste half their time in forms and squabbles. England has no need of Rome's fears. The most popular Governor General would not be followed in rebellion by a single regiment. Yet Rome won and held the world under Consuls and Pro-consuls. Even the jealous Augustus armed his Governors

"with the full powers of the Sovereign himself. It was reserved for Constantine by divided administration to relax the vigors of the state."†

We do not altogether advocate Roman powers for British officials, although there cannot be a doubt that half Sir Charles Napier's success in Scinde is attributable to his despotic powers. A fool so armed, will get into a mess; but a man of ordinary judgment will consult others, where he is himself deficient, and by prompt action will cover a multitude of defects. For the next fifty or a hundred years, there must be non-regulation provinces and military Civilians. Indeed we would always have them, and uncovenanted officers also, were it only for a stimulus to Civilians, and a fillip to routine practices.

Thus, according to qualification, men would be posted to civil and political berths, to the Adjutant General's, Quarter Master General's, Finance, Supply, Baggage, Law and other departments.

They might rise regimentally, as vacancies occur, in the Staff Corps, or being originally appointed in that corps, according to army standing, they might be promoted at fixed periods, so as to reach Lieut. Colonelcies in twenty-five years. Or present incumbents might be promoted on the day on which each would have obtained *each* step had he remained with his original regiment. The regimental rank being secured, each departmental step would only be *won* by efficiency, by hard work, and by keeping pace with the times. The regimental pay might be, as

* Evidence before the Lords.
† Gibbon, Book xvii.

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that of the Engineers ; separate staff allowances being allotted as at present for each office, *and a fresh test required on each departmental step up to certain periods.* If men became lazy or apathetic, they might be restricted to small inoffensive berths, or if physically or mentally qualified, be sent as juniors of their rank to do duty with a corps of the line. After two reports, at intervals of six months, of continued apathy, they should be discharged, pensioned, or invalided according to the circumstances of each case. There would be no more difficulty in disposing of each cases, than of that of the late Colonel Davidson of the Engineers. To place incompetents on the shelf, and to employ men in positions according to their talents, is following common sense rules. Thus a Captain might, be Commissary General, a field officer his Deputy. Other posts would be similarly filled.

It strikes us that some such arrangements provide, as fairly as is practicable, for all circumstances and would not be difficult to work. They would effectually *check*, if not altogether prevent jobbery, would give all young *working* officers an object to work for, and still would not altogether shut the staff doors to regiments. The scheme would, at least, put down the present cry of favoritism and thus induce comparative contentment. If it did no more than allay present restlessness, much good would be effected.

The Corps would be large or small, according to the necessities of the service and would, like other regiments, annually receive drafts to fill up vacancies. Our scheme will be called incomplete, because it does not shut the staff door *entirely* to regimental officers. This is intentional. All men do not ripen early. A very efficient regimental officer may be idle during the first three or four years of his service, or his education may have been neglected. Such a man, if of commanding talent or energy, should not be lost to the *Etat Major*. Ochterlony, Barry Close, and other eminent staff officers would have been excluded from high employment by such a rule. The arrangement would, however, lessen the necessity of drafts from the line. After its formation, one Captain and two Subalterns from each regiment should be the utmost allowed on the staff. Most of these would probably go to irregular corps. They should, however, be available for all staff posts, remaining on the strength of their original corps. In fixing the strength of Regiments and Battalions, allowance should be made for these three absentees, and for one in four absent on furlough, &c.

Calculating then the staff to eventually require six officers for each of the 219 Regiments and Battalions in the service, and 657 or half the number to be attached to the Staff Corps,

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the expense will be in round numbers a quarter of a million sterling. At least half of this would however be civil charges, as pay of men *ready on emergency for military duty*.

A delicate point remains. Are the staff to be eligible for command? The recent order, making the command of a regiment and certain posts the only roads to a full Colonelcy, implies that such is the present intention. The rule does not work well, and has already put bad juniors over good seniors. Its tendency is to exclude from eventual command, many of the very best officers in the service, men who have risen by their military merits. We feel that we can argue this point without prejudice. In discussing it, we have no purpose to answer but the good of the state. The question is not, what is best, or even fairest, for this or for that individual, but what is best and fairest for the service. Whether in a great calamity,—and Government should always be ready for one,—the public, and, above all, those immediately concerned, would place most confidence in soldiers like Broadfoot, Jacob, and Edwards, or in hap-hazard seniority commanders. Whoever would have preferred Xenophon to Menon, or Pottinger to Elphinstone, must vote with us. It is doubtful whether Xenophon was a soldier* at all, when he was raised to command on the shields of the soldiery. Herat proved Pottinger to have been a thorough soldier, though he was far from being what is called a clever man. Washington was a Militia man and a Surveyor, Cromwell a country gentleman. *They* were all *born* soldiers.

The Staff Corps must then correspond with the *Etat Major*. Its Colonels must come on the general gradation list, it being always optional with Government to keep men to their gram bags, law books, &c. or to put them in command of brigades. General Huyshe, one of the most efficient officers in the Bengal army, rose to his majority in the Commissariat; and General Lumley one of its best Adjutant Generals, was transferred from the head of the Commissariat to be Adjutant General. The command of European Regiments is given to the smartest officers. Huyshe commanded one, and Colonel Swatman, who also rose in the Commissariat, now commands another: we mention these names and dwell on the question because we daily hear it said "So-and-so can know nothing of his duty, he was all his life in the Commissariat, &c." We particularize the Commissariat, as being a department, perhaps less soldierly in its character than others. The Quarter Master Generals, and Survey Departments, are among the best schools for war, as are many of the duties of the Military Collector and Magistrate.

* Rollin calls him a young Athenian; Plutarch says Cyrus gave him a commission.

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They are akin to Wellington's hunting parties; they improve the *coup d'œil*, sharpen the perceptions and give opportunities of display of courage, hardihood and resource. Five to seven years of mixed military duties, in early life, would instil into soldierly Civilians, all requisite details. It is not by three times a day, seeing soldiers eat their rations, or horses twice a day, eat their gram, or is it even by, year after year, driving fuzes and portfires, or by marching round barrack squares, that officers learn to be soldiers, much less to be Generals. Such avocations are rather the necessary drudgeries of the profession; with hasty spirits, they cramp rather than foster eminent attainments. The soldier in heart will keep up his military knowledge wherever or however he may be placed. He will also avail himself of opportunities to take part in battery practice, and in field exercise, nor will his steps be unfrequently turned, towards the regimental parades, hospitals, and target practice. *He* will enjoy such avocations, while many Regimental men expend their energies in execrating them.

In short we altogether deny that the officer who has passed his life in small regimental details, and in performing Dundas' eighteen manœuvres, or any one else's twenty-eight, is likely to prove a better Commander in field or in garrison, than the one, who, with from five to seven years' practical military education, has early distinguished himself above his fellows as a soldier; and, in later years, has been knocking about the country as a Quarter Master General, a Surveyor, a Magistrate, or a Collector. We even question, whether the individual of like antecedents, whose wits have been sharpened by the duties of a military Lawyer or Commissariat officer, will not, as a rule, be as efficient, as the man of regimental details. We argue on the rule, *not* the exception. There are undoubtedly excellent regimental officers and very bad staff men. Facts however bear out our argument. Among the highest names in European warfare, are those of men who performed little regimental duty. In the Indian ranks also, the Pollocks, the Notts, the Gilberts and the Cheapes of the present day, did as little battalion drill, as did the Malcolms, the Munros, and the Clives of old.

We are very far from decrying the school that produced Colin Campbell, Henry Havelock, Markham, Franks, and hosts of good soldiers in the Company's ranks. We simply aver with all confidence, that there is nothing erudite, nothing difficult in Dundas, nor in more modern books of manœuvres; on the contrary, that any dolt may learn his Battalion drill, and even the Light infantry manœuvres in a few weeks; that many do so, and are little the wiser; that they are practically as great dolts as ever, and that not one out of a dozen of them could

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get a Brigade out of Hyde Park, much less manœuvre it before an enemy. No; it is not elementary knowledge, such as barrack life, or regimental parades can give, that is most essential to a commander. It is *good sense*, energy, thoughtfulness, and familiarity with independent action. Above all, it is that coolness under all circumstances, that enables a man to apply the full resources of his mind, and without *fear of responsibility*, to act upon his own judgment. Few will deny these obvious truths. Then, in all common sense, let not at least working men be *excluded* from command, and those hoisted over their shoulders, who have neither studied their profession as these have done, nor had their opportunities. Such practice would deprive Government, perhaps in its necessity, of the military services of its *best*, or at least of its most accomplished soldiers.

In all we have propounded, we are borne out, not only by Asiatic practice, but by the practice and theory of the Continental masters of war. We have already more than once referred to Jomini; we do so again, as his words are very apposite to our argument. He tells us that a chief commander of artillery should be a good strategist and tactician, a man who could consult with the Commander-in-chief, and bring into play, at the most effective moment, not only the reserve artillery, but half the guns attached to divisions. This is common sense, but is not what is learned at Dum-dum, Meerut, the Mount, or Ahmednugger. Those head-quarters turn out excellent practical artillerists, but few strategists or tacticians. We quote in more detail Jomini's views as to the requisite qualifications of a Commander-in-chief, also his opinion as the arm whence he may be best drawn. The translation or rather paraphrase is our own.*

"A General must be a man of great mind, of a moral courage, which leads to great resolutions, of sang-froid or physical courage, which overcomes dangers. Knowledge is only a third-rank requisite, but is a powerful auxiliary. Vast erudition is not here meant. It is necessary to know little, but to know that little well, and to be well grounded in principles." * * *

"The question has often been agitated whether command should be given to the General long habituated to the management of troops, or to Generals who have risen in the *Etat Major*, and though learned in war, have been little habituated to handle troops. It is indisputable that a General may be able to combine operations, and carry on war on a large scale, who never led a regiment against the enemy. The great Condé, Frederic and Napoleon are examples."

* Precis de l'art de la guerre par le Baron de Jomini. Paris 1837, pages 604 and 605.

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Jomini proceeds. "It cannot be denied that a man from the *Etat Major, as well as any other,* may become a great Captain, but it will not be from having grown old in the functions of Quarter Master* but *because he possesses the natural genius for war.* A General of like character from the Cavalry or Infantry, will be equally fit for supreme command. *Individual qualities* will be every thing."

"In coming to a decision, all points must be considered, and a medium taken. A General from the Etat Major, from the Artillery, or from the Engineers, who has held the command of a division or corps d'armee, will have, other points being equal, a *superiority* over the General who understands the conduct of only one arm, or of a special corps."

"In brief a General who has *thought much on war*, that is, has studied war, will be qualified for command. A great and comprehensive mind *is, above every other quality*, necessary for a Commander-in-chief. Lastly, the union of a wise theory with a great mind will constitute the great Captain."†

Such are the dicta of one of the ablest, and most practical, military writers of the present age. Of one who was the chief of Ney's staff, and who is supposed to have inspired his genius. Of one who, even as a traitor to the side on which he had so long fought, was so much respected as a soldier, by the Emperor Alexander, that he made him an Aide-de-camp, and put him at the head of an army. Jomini advocates all we urge. Genius is heaven-born. Strategy, tactics, and all else must give way on occasion. A General must *understand* rules and principles, but not be the slave of them. Neither rules nor principles require the term of a life to learn. He must have moral and physical courage, and ready aptitude to apply his resources. These qualifications are somewhat akin to genius. They *are* to be cultivated, though not to best advantage under dry routine. The India Government has seldom the power of selection from Generals who have commanded divisions. It is limited to select between Commanders of Regiments and men who, like Generals Patrick Grant and Cheape, and Colonels Tucker and Birch, though of known ability, not only never led a Regiment into action, but never commanded one for a day.‡ Or the selection may be extended to a third class, to men distinguished in youth as soldiers, but afterwards employed as Civilians; to the Broadfoots, Edwardes, Lakes, Beehers, and Nicholsons of India; to the Hardinges, Raglans and Cathcarts of the Royal Army. The importance of the subject tempts us again to quote Jomini;

"A General instructed in theory, but destitute of coup d'œil, of

* In the Russian army for which Jomini wrote, the Quarter Master's Department combines the General Staff.

† Jomini, Part I. pages 110, 111, and 112.

‡ General Grant is the exception, but the corps was Irregular.

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sang-froid and of skill, may make a fine strategic plan, but fail in every law of tactics, *when he finds himself in presence of an enemy*. His projects will then vanish, his defeat become probable. If he has force of character, he may diminish the bad results of his check; *if he loses his head, he will lose his army*."

Few soldiers in India have witnessed much strategy; but many have witnessed the failure of tactics *in the presence of the enemy*, aye, and every day witness it on their own parade grounds, when "Adjutants' Regiments" in the hands of routine Lieutenant Colonels and Majors, even though they may "have never been on leave for a day for thirty years," are clubbed up and tortured in every conceivable way. [The men who never go on leave are not the best officers. All-work and no play makes jack a dull boy.] The card system fails. The man who *never reflected* in his life cannot be expected to reflect, on an emergency. An inequality or contraction of ground puts him out, the unexpected appearance of a crabbed Brigadier flusters him; the whirlwind rush of a Sir Charles Napier down the line, frightens him out of his senses; cards, manuals, catechisms, and all other helps are forgotten, and the unhappy Field officer is like 'a babe in a wood.' He loses his senses, and is alike the laughing stock of his sable soldiers, and of his younger countrymen. Is such a man,—and there are scores of them,—the fitting leader of a brigade through the Bolan or the Khybur; up the Persian gulf, or to China or Burmah? Yet they are the men so sent, daily so selected. Can such men be expected to preserve their senses in the presence of the enemy? That such men have not lost armies is no fault of the present system, but is attributable to the courage and skill of subordinates, and to the *Ikbal* of the company. But let not Providence be too long tempted. Rome lost her Legions when commanded by Generals who were soldiers only in name. Napoleon's words into his brother Louis at Toulon apply to our argument. Standing in midst of the corpses of 200 Grenadiers slain through the ignorances of their Commander, at the assault of an impregnable side of Fort Phuron, he observed

"If I had commanded here, all these brave men would be still alive. Learn Louis, from this example, how absolutely necessary instruction is to those who aspire to command others."

We have dwelt so much on the mischiefs of routine and strict seniority, and on the evils of having decrepit or incapable officers at the head of Troops, that it behoves us to offer some remedy for present evils. We know that the seniority system cannot be uprooted altogether, nor indeed do we desire to up-

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root it. Seniority must be the basis of Indian promotion, but seniority may be, and must be helped over the stile.

In the first place then let us earnestly deprecate the threatened closing of the Invalid establishment. As Sir George Pollock deposed before the Lords, it has often been grossly abused, but so have other establishments. Army Head Quarters and the doctors between them, ought to be able to prevent gross abuses. Invalid officers ought to be employed, as they usually have been at Madras and Bombay, in duties commensurate with their powers. It is by leaving them as gentlemen at large that malingering is encouraged. Our objection to the abrogation of the establishment is on the double ground that present incumbents have a sort of right to its advantages, and that it is a safe outlet for incapables. This latter is surely a substantial reason for its maintenance. What matter whether a man be unwilling or unable, so that he *do not perform* his duty. His disease may be real, though not apparent. It is indeed a grievous disease to prefer idleness and inaction to moderate work. It is surely then better to shelve such diseased gentlemen in *small* civil posts requiring only an hour or two's daily work,* than to have them at the head of Companies or Regiments. In garrison duty with veterans, commanded by good officers, they may also earn their bread. We pray then the authorities to let the Invalids stand, but to employ then as above suggested. The alternative is to allow Invalid Officers to cumber the regular ranks. Commanding officers are men with bowels, and such men will not drive respectable incompetents, with families, out of their corps, to starvation. The pension establishment, in lieu of the Invalids, would be starvation to many.

But we have a more substantive proposal to make. A scheme for an Unattached List for the armies of India, prepared with a view to relieve the service from the weight of seniority, now lies before us, and *as far as it goes*, it seems well suited to effect the object. We therefore notice it at length.

First let us glance at the measures which have been adopted by the Court of Directors during the last twenty-five years, to improve the condition of their officers.—In 1832 the Court expressed themselves desirous of remedying the then stagnant state of promotion, and of providing for the comfort of their officers on retirement. They intimated their willingness cordially to encourage the institution of retiring funds, and informed Government that they were prepared to bear the increased charge of

* Few such sinecures exist in India, but our argument is that there *are* quasi-civil posts, which indifferent soldiers may creditably fill. Pay and Pension and Post offices are among them.

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retired pay that would be consequent upon the establishment of funds at the three Presidencies. They sanctioned the remittance of the retired officers' annuities through their Treasury, at the rate of two shillings the Sicca Rupee, and the grant of six per cent. per annum, on the balances of the several funds. The number of retirements, however, were limited to 24 per annum for the three presidencies, and the amount of the annuities to be given in each year was fixed at £7750.

Schemes for retiring funds were prepared, but none were approved of. After waiting a reasonable period, the Court resolved themselves to provide for the object contemplated, by enlarging the retiring regulations. This was effected in 1836. Officers were then for the first time, permitted to retire after certain fixed periods of service instead of, as formerly, according to their rank. In 1837 these new regulations were still further enlarged, and a Colonel's pension was sanctioned for all officers, whatever might be their rank, after 32 years of actual service in India; Lieutenant Colonel's pension after 28 years, Major's pension after 24 years, and Captain's pension after 20 years. This enlargement of the retiring regulations was not productive of any real advantage to the service. Mr. Philip Melvill, in his evidence before the Lords in 1852 says—

"The first and great effect (of the new system of retirement) has been to soothe the feelings of the officers with regard to the rate of their retiring pension; they know that however unfortunate they may be as compared with others in regimental rise, a fixed rate of pension is secured to them; the healing effect of this change has been most beneficial."

He further says,

"The number of retirements is increasing as a necessary consequence of the additions made from time to time to the number of European officers, but the per centage is much the same; it is less than two per cent. from all causes, whether retiring on full or half pay, or resigning without any pay, and it has been much the same for the last thirty years."

He gives the number of officers who are entitled to retire on full pay at 1098, of whom 557 are entitled to retire on the pay of a rank superior to that which they had actually attained. The aggregate establishment of European officers in 1834 he states to have been 4084, and 5142 in 1852.

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We give below an abstract* return showing the number of officers who have retired from the Bengal Army for the twenty years commencing with 1834 and ending with 1853. The retirements in the Artillery and Engineers and in the Medical service are more numerous, in proportion, than those in the Cavalry and Infantry. This is caused, no doubt, by the existence of retiring funds in those branches of the service. In 1849 a fund called "the Majors' Bonus Fund" was established in the Infantry of the Bengal Army, and existed until the end of 1851. It offered no fixed bonus on retirement to Lieutenant Colonels, nor was there any certainty that a bonus would be available at all to a Lieutenant Colonel wishing to retire. It therefore fell to the ground.

The "Unattached Senior List" scheme now before us is more of the nature of a superannuation fund, than of one of mere purchase. Unlike the superannuation funds of the Civil and Medical Services it does not propose to remove the Annuitants from the service altogether, but simply raises them as it were a step, to make way for others; leaving their services available to the Government, if they have any physique remaining. But we must let the proposal speak for itself.

It sets out by showing the average length of service on promotion of the Infantry officers of the armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, in October, 1853, which are as follows:—

	Colonels.	Lieut. Cols.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.
Bengal,	43.76	32	28.03	13.42	4.74
Madras,	39.39	31.32	26.53	12.80	4.33
Bombay,	39.29	31.23	27.78	12.24	4.60

The average ages, therefore, of officers, assuming that they entered the army at 17, must be, Colonels on promotion to that

* Abstract Return of retirements in the Bengal army from 1834 to 1853, showing the branch of the service to which the retired officers belonged.

	Colonels.	Lieutenant Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.
Artillery,	0	10	12	21
Engineers,	0	4	3	1
Cavalry,	0	3	6	27
Infantry,	0	33	60	169
Invalids,	0	4	21	32
Irregular Cavalry unattached,	0	0	0	1
Ordnance Commissariat Department,	0	0	0	1
	0	54	102	252

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grade 58 years; Lieutenant Colonels 48 years; Majors 44 years; Captains 29 years; and Lieutenants 21 years. The length of service of the junior officers on promotion varies very considerably. In the Bengal army, there were in 1853, Majors who, on promotion, had served but 18 years, and Majors of 35 years' service. In Madras the most fortunate Major of Infantry was promoted in 14 years, and in Bombay in 13 years. The most unfortunate officers of that grade, in those presidencies, were of 34, and 33 years' service respectively. Amongst the Captains of the three armies, last promoted, the most fortunate were of 7, 8, and 9, years' standing, those who were most unfortunate, had been subalterns 26, 20, and 17 years. In Bengal, the average rate of promotion from grade to grade, is given as follows :—

	Years.	Months.
Ensign to Lieutenant, ...	4	10
Lieutenant to Captain, ...	9	10
Captain to Major, ...	11	9
Major to Lieut. Colonel, ...	5	10
Lieut. Colonel to Colonel, ...	10	2
Total years, ...	42	5

which corresponds very nearly with the average length of service of the Colonels of the Bengal army as given before.

In order to better this wretched state of promotion, it is proposed "that a certain number of the senior Colonels of each branch, be placed yearly on an unattached list, and promotions made in their room, as in the case of death vacancies."

To carry out this proposal it is suggested that a fund be formed somewhat similar to the Annuity Fund of the Civil service or to the Medical Retiring Fund. The chief difference is that the army retirements would be by strict seniority, and not by voluntary withdrawal, as in the services above named. To exhibit the working of the fund it is explained with special reference to the Bengal Infantry.

It is proposed, *First*,—That the number of Colonels to be

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placed yearly on the Unattached senior list shall not exceed nine, or such number as the Court of Directors may sanction.*

Secondly. That the pay proper or British pay, and the Colonel's allowance of the unattached officers shall be paid as at present by Government, and that promotion to the ranks of Major General, &c. and to the honors of the Bath shall be open to all officers on the Senior list, as in the case of unattached officers in the Royal army.

Thirdly. That the cost of the Senior Unattached List be borne, partly by the Government and partly by the Army. The former to defray the amount of British pay of the unattached officers, and the latter to provide annuities for them, equal to their Colonel's allowances.

Fourthly. That the terms of payment of the annuities, payable at the India House to be solicited from Government, be similar to those now granted to the Civil and Medical Services, namely, an exchange of two shillings for the Company's rupee, and interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum on all appropriated capital.

The value of an annuity of £650, (Colonel's allowance) at 6 per cent. is calculated for the various ages from 60 to 76. For the former age, the cost would be Rs. 53,293, and for the latter Rs. 30,914. To provide these annuities it is proposed to levy contributions from the several grades of the service, the chief payments being made by the senior ranks as they gain most by promotion. In the grades of Lieutenant Colonel and Major, a fixed sum is required for each step. The maximum subscription of a Lieutenant Colonel is limited to two months' difference of pay between that grade, and the grade of Colonel, that is, to Rs. 500, and the minimum is

* For the whole Indian army the number of officers to be placed yearly on the Unattached List would be—

Bengal,	Infantry,	9.	
	Cavalry,	1.153	
	Engineers,	0.461	
	Artillery,	1.384	11.998
Madras,	Infantry,	6.333	
	Cavalry,	0.923	
	Engineers,	0.230	
	Artillery,	0.807	7.293
Bombay,	Infantry,	3.807	
	Cavalry,	0.346	
	Engineers,	0.230	
	Artillery,	0.576	4.959
Total per annum,			24.250

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fixed at $\frac{1}{80}$th of the above sum, or Co's. Rs. 6-4. All other subscriptions in the grade of Lieutenant Colonel, are in arithmetical proportion to the above sums, and according to the standing of the subscriber. The maximum subscription of a Major is limited to one and a half month's difference of pay, viz. to Rs. 300, and the minimum to Rs. 3-12. All junior grades to pay a donation on promotion. Captains on promotion to Major, 8 months' difference of pay, or Rs. 2500. Lieutenants on promotion to Captains, 4 months' difference of pay, or Rs. 500; and Ensigns on promotion to Lieutenant, 2 months' difference of pay, or Rs. 100. These contributions are expected to yield as follows:—

			Rs. As.		
Lieut. Colonels, ...	500	+	6--4 × 40	=	20,250
Majors, ...	300	+	3-12 × 40	=	12,150
			For each step, Rs.		32,400
					9
			For nine steps, Rs.		291,600
25 Captains promoted at	2500 is ..		..		62,500
40 Lieutenants promoted at	500 is ..		..		20,000
50 Ensigns promoted at	100 is ..		..		5,000
			Yearly Income, Co's. Rs.	..	3,79,100

This sum will insure nine annuities yearly, to Colonels above the age of 69 years, or seven annuities, should the ages of the annuitants be below 69, but not under 60. The total payments that would be required from any one officer, in passing from Ensign to Colonel would be

As Lieutenant on promotion, ...	100
As Captain on promotion, ...	500
As Major on promotion, ...	2500
While passing through the grade of Major, ...	4404
While passing through the grade of Lieut. Colonel,..	10,125
Total Co.'s Rs. ..	17,629

Under the present system, the average period of service in the grade of Lieutenant Colonel, is 10 years and 2 months, which gives $7\frac{3}{4}$ steps a year as the rate of promotion: by adding 8 steps to the above, a Lieutenant Colonel would pass through that grade in 5 years. Majors are at present 5 years and 10 months in passing from Major to Lieutenant Colonel: eight additional steps per annum, would push them through the grade of Major in 3 years and 7 months. Ensigns are on an average, 25 years

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5 months in attaining the rank of Major regimentally. Eight additional line steps per annum, would be equal to one regimental step in ten years. The regimental officer would therefore gain two regimental steps by the line promotion in his run to Major, more than he does at present, and for his greatly accelerated promotion would pay but Rs. 3,100.

Such is the scheme before us. Its promised advantages are so great that we cannot imagine any officer refusing it his support. It appears to be free from the objections which have being urged against purchase in Her Majesty's service. No unnecessary supercession of old officers by young and inexperienced boys, whose only recommendation for promotion is their ability to pay for it, would occur. The cost to individuals would not be out of proportion to the increased income that would follow the several payments. The rise would be equally felt by all, and Government would derive even greater benefit than the officers themselves, by having at their disposal in the higher grades, men physically fit for service. The average age of Colonels would not in the course of time, exceed 47 years. Lieut. Colonels would be placed in command of corps at 42 and the lower grades, would feel the benefit of a senior list in equal proportion.

During the first years of its existence, the cost of a Senior list to Government, would be trifling. The financial result ought not, however, to prevent its adoption, if it offer, as we believe it does, the means of making the armies of India, as regards their European Commissioned officers, really efficient. Supposing the mean duration of the lives of the officers removed to the senior list to be nine years. This will give $9 \times 24 = 216$ annuitants, as the maximum of the senior unattached list for the three Presidencies. The ultimate cost, therefore, to Government would be

$456\frac{1}{4} \times 216 =$ £98,550

To which add the difference between 4 and 6 per cent. as the donation interest on £9,08,712 the value of 216 annuities, ... £18,174

Making a total of £116,724

or eleven lakhs of rupees a year for the whole Indian army, that is, one hundredth part of the cost of the Military Establishment of India as at present constituted.

We are given to understand that the scheme is before Government. We beg their support. It received the cordial concurrence of the late Commander-in-chief, and has met with the concurrence of many experienced officers, the letters of several of

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whom lie before us. We trust that it will receive that consideration from General Anson which the subject deserves.

Let a mixed commission be appointed to enquire into the state of promotion. That now sitting in England will not benefit the Indian army. The system of promotion in India being by seniority alone, requires a separate investigation, and without some such special enquiry, we despair of effectual improvement. We fear we have been tedious perhaps unintelligible. The great importance of the subject demands the time and attention of our readers.

From general, let us return to special necessities. Among the burdens of the army, indeed of the Indian services, are paper forms, and returns. They weigh down men's souls. The Medical Department, which has always been a step-child, peculiarly suffers. The Doctor must often neglect his patients, to enable him to send in his papers, and prove why he gave No. 1 three eggs and a chop; and No. 2, a pint of ale and two ounces of brandy. Such things at least are managed better in the Royal army. There a Surgeon enjoys the reasonable confidence due to his position and profession. The East India Company's Doctor is treated as a quasi-peculator. All this must, in a great measure, be imputed to the fact of the service having few influential friends. The Boards have no proper influence, they can retard or prevent ameliorations, but can seldom further good measures. How can a Board of the oldest of the old Surgeons be otherwise? Age is the practical, though not the ostensible qualification. A change in *names*, and nothing more, has been recently effected. Senior and junior members of an effete Board, were converted into a Physician General, a Surgeon General, and an Inspector General, of the *same* Board, with identically the *same* duties. The Inspector General inspects no one! In the Royal army the titles and duties are more appropriate; one Director General supervises all, and a right good supervisor Dr. Andrew Smith seems to have been, notwithstanding the abuse heaped on him last year. If others had evinced half his forethought, and had done their duty as he did his, many of the dreadful tales of 1854-55 would have been spared. Inspectors General are as Indian Superintending Surgeons. Deputy Inspectors are Superintending Surgeons of Divisions, a rank and office much wanted in India, in the field, if not in quarters. All these appointments go by age, indeed almost by incompetency. The *form* of selection has, in two cases only, been gone through. Men like Kennedy, Dempster and James McRae are selected for *war service*. They evince indomitable energy, cool courage, and great skill. Their operations are carried on under fire. They stand fast, when crowds

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of fighting men break through their doolies, and over their amputating tables. They endeavour to make up for the misconduct of others. What is their reward ? A bare mention in the Gazette, with the crowd who have, as above hinted, roughly interfered with their duties ; no honors, no rewards await them on return of peace ; they sink to regimental charges. We are wrong. Jemmy Thompson was, in his old age, knighted, and three or four Surgeons, for past services, were made Companions of the Bath. These inaugurations were somewhat akin to the recent creation of Field Marshals in honor of Sebastopol. All this is very bad. The man who works, who hazards his own life to preserve others, whatever be his position or department, should be honored, and otherwise rewarded, and that *promptly*. There ought to be special professional rewards. Men like McRae and Dempster ought to be Knights of the Bath, and be placed in positions putting them above pecuniary care. The former good man and good Surgeon has several sons, and cannot get one of them into the service, in which he has behaved so well and ably !! True, he was specially thanked after the second Punjab campaign, and told that *no* man in the whole army of twenty-five thousand men had done the State better or more useful service ; but for years he remained unrewarded. The fact is, that, as in the Royal service, there is little if any professional stimulus or reward for the practical Surgeon. Lord Dalhousie, just previous to departure, as far as lay in his power, did McRae tardy justice in placing him at the head of the Calcutta Medical College.

We might name many Surgeons, far down in the list, who merit special reward, and yet are unrewarded. Dr. John Murray of Agra can hardly be said to be unrewarded, but his reward and position are the private fruits of his public and private ability and energy. The late cholera crisis at Agra bears witness to all. His case at Aliwall so peculiarly exemplifies our argument that we must narrate the circumstances. Murray was then Assistant Surgeon attached to the Troop of Horse Artillery. Heaps of wounded lay around, but there was no Field Surgeon, neither were there sufficient amputating instruments. Several large boxes, however, full of all requisites, were lying at the Post Office, addressed to the Superintending Surgeon at Ferozepore eighty miles distant. No one dared open them. The Post Master probably objected to such *felony*. Murray unable to inspirit his seniors, went at the boxes like a man ; no, like a woman, like Miss Nightingale at the Balaclava store room. Hatchet in hand, he got out saws, knives, plasters, lint and tourniquets ; told his brethren to help themselves, each giving a receipt for what he took : (the Canny Scot here peeps out.)

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He then went to Sir Harry Smith and got him to name a Field Surgeon ; but the nominee refused the responsibility. Murray then accepted it himself, worked hard, got the wounded under cover, and doubtlesss saved many lives. What was his reward? Why that the Auditor General deducted his Horse Artillery pay, and refused to pass his Field Surgeoncy allowance, on account of some informality,—perhaps, because he was an Assistant Surgeon. The essential part of the story we know to be correct. He did the work, and was thereby out of pocket.

We have also a story of a different sort to tell. About that same period, an old Surgeon arrived within a few miles of where lay nearly a thousand sick and wounded soldiers, belonging to a Brigade to which only a single Surgeon, or Assistant was present for each regiment. He came to be Superintending Surgeon, but could not take up his new office, pending some arrangement. How did he pass the interval ? Why, in entire idleness, a march or more from the sufferers, although he was urged to lend a hand ! We can vouch for this fact. It occurred under our own eyes. Yet Murray lost his pay by his exertions, and is now simply a Civil Surgeon ; while his senior who thus acted, never suffered in pocket more than in feeling by his cruel apathy, and is now comfortably out of the service.

The Medical Staff of the army is altogether insufficient, and hitherto it has not been well supported by the recently appointed class of Sub-Assistant Surgeons. The move in their favour was a good one, but has not yet ripened to good fruit. We are well pleased that assistant surgeoncies are now open to natives of India ; but for some years, it will be moral, not mental capability, that will be found most deficient. In no profession, are conscientiousness and high moral worth more required, than in the Physician and Surgeon. More native Doctors are greatly wanted, and those in the service have insufficient motives for exertion. Some of them are most deserving men. A few can operate for cataract, extract calculi, &c. We strongly recommend grades being established, rising on strict examination, from present rates of 25 and 30 Rs. to 50, 70, and 80 Rs. a month. Also that schools for the professional education of such persons, be established at Bangalore, Poonah and Lahore, as already exist at Agra and Hydrabad.

Pay should also be proportioned to work, and responsibility, with the higher classes. Every Assistant Surgeon has, on arrival, to do duty on Subaltern's pay, with an European Regiment or at the Presidency General Hospital. His aim is accordingly to move as soon as possible. Some stay hardly a month, and are then comfortably settled in Civil stations or

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in the Hills. Others are knocked about from regiment to regiment. We have known an instance of a young Assistant Surgeon, being eighteen times moved within as many months, ending with having to take a wing of an European regiment two hundred miles in the months of May and June, after having just brought a similar detachment, a similar march in April. We recollect another young Medico dying of heat and exposure, when similarly employed. The Assistant Surgeon with an European regiment, has exactly the same duty to perform as the Surgeon, the same responsibility *for his portion* of the Corps. He is not like a Subaltern under minute orders. He acts every hour in matters of life and death on his own responsibility. He should receive, at least, the same staff pay as if in charge of a native Corps, and thus have a motive for remaining at his more responsible post. At an apparent first expense, money would thus be saved, inasmuch as valuable lives, now sacrificed by changes and by inexperience, would be preserved. Constant changes do no one good ; they damp all zeal, and vitally hinder all efficiency.

Medical officers in charge of corps should have full authority however, to *draw*, for all necessaries for the sick. Thus trusted and sufficiently supplied with European medicines, which is not always the case at present,they would endeavour to keep down expense by using indigenous drugs, many of which are valuable, and all of which are cheap, and procurable in every bazar. Surgeons should be assisted by efficient well-paid Stewards, as is the case in the Bombay Army. They should not be teased with mere business details about bread, sago, saucepans, and flannel gowns. It should be quite sufficient in such matters for them to satisfy the Superintending Surgeon, that they have not wasted the public money. Dooly-bearers and other hospital servants should all be enrolled, well-paid and eligible for pensions; their not being so has cost many a wounded man his life. The scum of the earth will go under fire when there is a pension for heirs. Non-combatants can hardly be expected to expose themselves without such provision. Mule-litters, Horse Ambulances are much required on service. Every corps should have *two* educated medical officers, European corps *four*. We remember an officer proposing to *prosecute* Government for putting his precious limbs into the charge of a very worthy and deserving man who, however, was only an Apothecary. On the other hand we knew another who preferred the Apothecary to the Doctor.

Our remarks on this division of our subject have been somewhat full, because we deeply feel its importance both to humanity and to the Government's good name. Every European, and

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Anglicised Native, in India is a Missionary. Each individual has the opportunity, within his sphere, of doing great good or great evil; of setting a good or a bad example. He is a light on a hill. Surgeons are specially so. The Subaltern deals with a hundred men, the Doctor with a thousand, and if he have a spark of philanthropy, will minister extra-officially to hundreds of others. Some do to thousands. Such men are ministers of mercy to the most wretched; give light to the blind; relieve the leper, heal the sick, and greatly smooth the path of the aged to the grave. They should be cordially assisted by Government. Every medical man should have a carte-blanche to open dispensaries for the poor, under check, as to medicines, *only* of their immediate professional superiors.

The truth of our sentiments as to the prospects of Indian army doctors is demonstrated by the fact that the candidates for employ at all the recent examinations in London, have been hardly as numerous, as the vacancies awaiting them. The well educated young doctors of England have discovered the East India Company's Service *not* to be the best field for talent and energy.

Did space permit, we should have much to say on the morality of the Indian army. The native portion gives no trouble. No Soldier ever existed more patient, more sober, more obedient than the Hindoo sepoy.

The Hindustani Mahommedan has more energy but is scarcely less tractable under a firm but considerate Commandant, both classes offer examples for any army. A petty theft, an occasional religious brawl, and a less frequent murder, originating in revenge, form the full Catalogue of serious crime. In some regiments years glide by without a necessity for severe punishment.

The European soldier is a different creature, and requires a stricter discipline. The day of great severity has happily passed away; the day when the remedy for every error was the lash. The law of kindness has however yet to be tried. Let British soldiers be dealt with as reasonable beings. Relieve them from espionage, keep them strictly to their duty, but let them have all reasonable indulgence when off duty. Let Jacob's scheme be tried with European soldiers, as with native horsemen, with rifles, and with cannon. We are glad again to quote Jacob's words :—

"The attempt to govern English soldiers by fear of bodily pain, is as wise as is the cramping of our men's bodies by absurd clothing and accoutrements. * * * * Appeal to the highest and noblest faculties of man."

Jacob thinks that fifty thousand *elite* English peasantry and

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yeomen in the ranks, treated, and trained and armed on rational principles, "would be a match for a world in arms." Again we go very far with Colonel Jacob, and heartily wish he were "the Lord Panmure" of India.*

Barrack married life is one of the greatest Military difficulties. The expense of keeping and moving large numbers of women, must always be a bar to the positive encouragement of matrimony. On the other hand, the improved health and steadiness of married men, should be considered in all calculations of expense, and should at least modify its discouragement. We agree cordially with a recent Bombay reviewer,† that "the percentage system of indecency, and the rejection of all beyond the percentage (six, on embarkation,) should at once be knocked on the head."

With him we urge that whatever be the number of women allowed, they should be cared for and dealt with as *Christian females*. At present, they are hardly allowed to be respectable; they are not treated as if they were. A shawl, a bit of cloth, separates families. Obscene language ever rings in their ears, obscene sights are constantly before their eyes. The result is too

* Since the first part of this article was in type we have fallen upon the following extract from the *Times* relative to the efficiency of the Enfield Rifle and its advantages over Artillery. This experiment goes far to support Colonel Jacob's views on this subject, more especially when it is considered that Jacob's Rifle is a more deadly and larger ranging piece than the Enfield Rifle.

"An interesting experiment took place lately at the School of Musketry at Hythe. Some condemned tumbrils and gun limbers having been lately procured from Woolwich, on Monday morning last one of each of these was taken to the target practice ground. To the tumbril were attached six horses with riders made of framework, covered with canvas, and stuffed with straw; the whole the size of life. About the gun-carriage were stuffed figures representing men unlimbering and bringing the gun into action. At a distance somewhat beyond 600 yards from them, about 60 of the men under instruction at the School of Musketry, were drawn up in two divisions, the one extended in skirmishing order, the other supporting. One round was first fired by the front rank only of the skirmishing party which may have consisted of about 20 men, and the result was that a bullet had passed through almost every horse, as also through many of the riders and men employed at the gun. The support was then ordered up to reinforce skirmishers, and the whole fired three or four rounds in skirmishing order, which completely riddled horses, riders and footmen. The party was then closed on its centre and retired to a distance of above 800 yards, when volleys were fired at the supposed artillery, first by sections, then by sub-divisions, and finally by divisions, the whole with an accuracy perfectly wonderful. The experiment clearly proved that in the hands of well-skilled soldiers—men who, having been taught the principles of rifle-shooting theoretically and practically, have obtained a perfect confidence in their weapon—the Enfield rifle must prove more than a match for any field-guns of the present day."—*Times*.

† Bombay Quarterly, No. vi. Article. Military men and their dress.

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often what might be expected, and then the cry is "the nasty creatures, the hypocrites, the liars." That some respectable women do *live and die* in the barracks *is* a standing miracle. Great should be their reward!

On board-ship and at depots, where most attention is required, least is often given. We have known women sent in open Pattemars, from Scinde to Bombay, in company with bachelor soldiers, without the slightest arrangements for privacy. The hourly scenes at most Depots are too disgusting for description.

The principle of the *Patcherry*, or cottage system, for married soldiers, obtaining in the Bombay Presidency is good, but is badly carried out. Many of the buildings are altogether unfit to be occupied by Europeans, when the thermometer is 100° and even 110° as is often the case during several months of the year. But the principle is good. Indeed we see not why the *Patcherry* system, should not be extended to bachelors of good characters. Let two, four, ten or more friends, under joint responsibility for good conduct, mess and live together, whether in detached cottages, or in partitioned-off compartments of present barracks. The sober and the pious man might then, at least, live unmolested by the jeers and ribaldry of his dissipated comrades. We throw out the hint to the Authorities. A distinguished officer who advocates the measure, has told us that in Scinde he has often, in his rides in the jungle, come upon threes and fours of the 78th Highlanders at prayers, or reading their bibles.

Considering their circumstances and temptations, the early age at which they leave home, and the little check on irregularities by regimental authorities, the morality of the officers of the Indian army is good. It is at least on a par with that of corresponding classes in England. It is superior to that of the Colonies. In many quarters there is much earnestness of purpose, much that is thoroughly good. Gross and open immorality is now most rare: as rare, as forty years ago it was common. While, however, in many corps there is an excellent tone, while in such the Commandant considers and treats the subalterns as his wards, and while the elder officers set an example of sobriety and gentlemanly conduct to the younger; in others, the whole atmosphere of the Regiment is clouded by opposite influences. The proceedings of Courts Martial, as occasionally published, let the public behind the scenes in such matters. And what more uncertain and even whimsical, than the fiats of such Courts? A Lieutenant Barnes at Bombay is acquitted of blame for virtually declining to do duty. A Major O'Grady at Madras, is "severely reprimanded" for denouncing his

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Commanding Officer before the young officers of the Mess, as "an old fool" and "a d—d Jackass." Within a few weeks of these two awards, Lieutenant Patterson, a young officer of previously unstained reputation is dismissed the service for an act of gross violence certainly, but perpetrated on the impulse of the moment, under gross provocation. We are of opinion that two of these sentences might, with advantage, have been reversed, and that the award on Lieutenant Barnes was erroneous. He was undoubtedly guilty of the crime of which he was charged, however he may have been provoked to it, and doubtless he was grievously provoked.

Although then the army is not so bad as Sir Charles Napier and some recent writers depict it, there is, in many quarters, much that needs reform. H. M. 46th Regiment prove that full messes are neither the most moral, nor the most gentlemanly; but in India, as a rule, the largest messes are the most respectable. Major O'Grady set a bad example to his younger brethren, but it is where a number of idle young fellows get together, without the restraining voice of their seniors, that vulgar quarrels and immoralities mostly occur.

The remedy, *again*, is efficient Commanders to regiments. At whatever cost to the State, and at whatever pain to individuals, let there be a *soldierly* man, of *good sense* at the head of every Corps, and let his authority be supported. Better that his authority be in excess, than that he should lack power. For the rest, and from the higher authorities a medium course between that of Sir William Gomm and Sir Charles Napier, is needed. The violent tirades, the hollow and insincere compliments, the biting and damning invectives of Sir Charles are not wanted. Neither Europeans nor Natives require *severity*, they *do* require *firmness*. The soft showers, the kindly and well meant platitudes of Sir William are therefore as little to the purpose as were the thunder torrents of Sir Charles.*

Judicious, without afflictive discipline is required. Such as, while reminding officers, that they must always be gentlemen, will equally impress on gentlemen, that they are and must be soldiers. In Bengal the latter reminder is most necessary. We will not assume the invidious task of deciding where the other is most wanted; in what quarter Mr. Arnold's and Mrs. Mackenzie's Caps best fit.

Such discipline and such surveillance, as we advocate, will be approved by most good officers. Throughout the services the materials are excellent. Some of the best working blood of England is in India. The sons of the middle classes that

* Each General, in his parting address, well epitomized his own administration. Each evidently wrote his own farewell greeting.

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have won and raised England's Oriental empire, will maintain it against all comers and all odds. The task may be easy or hard, according as each individual performs his part.

As one example is at all times more effective than many homilies, we commend to our readers the "memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, H. M. 97th Regiment"* who, after a short but brilliant career, died a hero's death in the trenches before Sebastopol. Stern soldiers wept at his death : many recorded their lamentations. One sentinel wrote "as our Adjutant, he was loved by every one in the regiment, and as Captain of No. 4 Company, he was more so by his Company."

Officers of all grades and arms from Lords Panmure and Raglan downwards, lamented his fall. One, a kindred soul,† who at the age of twenty was Adjutant of the 97th regiment, and twice fought his way into the Redan, on the fatal 8th of September, and was there found, "far advanced on that red ground lying by a cannon, in the sleep of death," thus wrote of Vicars the day after the death of the latter in a private letter to his *own* mother.

"Such a death became such a life,—and such a soldier. The most gallant, the most cheerful, the happiest, the most universally respected officer, and the most consistent Christian soldier, has been taken from us by that bullet." * * * * "I had fondly hoped that we should live to go home, and that I might bring my dear departed friend to you, and proudly show him as a specimen of what a model soldier should be." * * * "Noble fellow! he rushed in front of his men, and his powerful arm made more than one Russian fall." * * * "How he fearlessly visited and spoke to the men in the worst times of the cholera ; but as he told me, he got his reward, for the soldier's dying lips besought blessings on his head."* * * "Our men got great praise for the fight last night, but *who would not go any where* with such a leader ?"

Yes, we can vouch to all who will "go and do likewise," that such a man, the soldier's friend, the brave in battle, the gentle in peace, will be followed to the death by every British soldier and by every Sepoy. Sympathy, kindness and gallantry are no where more appreciated than in the Indian army.

We are happy to perceive that, for once, peace has not thrown the home authorities off their guard. There can be no lasting peace. The time has not come. The war of principles has yet to be fought. Russia *must* have her revenge and America *must* try her strength, her gigantic frigates, and her ten inch guns :

* James Nisbet and Co. Berner's Street, London, 1856.

† Lieut. Douglas MacGregor, H. M. 97th Regiment, Nephew of General Paul MacGregor, and Cousin of Lieut. Colonel George MacGregor, Bengal army.

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we are accordingly delighted to observe that the *peace* establishment is to be 140,000 men, on a footing admitting of speedy increase: above all that twenty thousand Artillery-men are to be maintained.

We regret, however, that nothing was done on the treaty of peace, to control Russia in Asia. We are aware that there were difficulties; but the right of having a Consul at Meshed and trading vessels on the Caspian might have been obtained. Information on Central Asian matters is greatly wanted. Insensibly and almost by a coup-de-main, the Russian empire has been extended for *thirteen thousand miles* across the whole Continent of Europe and Asia, and for twenty degrees over America. Curbed to the south and west, Russia has not waited an hour to push forward her soldiers, her sailors, her savants, her engineers and her labourers to the Caspian, to the Aral, and even to the mighty Amoor. Her old policy will now, more vigorously than ever, be pursued, and though the dream of a century will never be realized, her position in Persia will speedily be strengthened, and posts will be established in Central Asia and even in China. Bomarsunds, if not Sebastopols, will arise at Orenburgh, Astrakan and Astrabad, perhaps even at Balkh and Herat. The wave has receded, to return with redoubled force, though at a different angle.

Such has ever been and will be Russia's policy. There will be no Russian invasion of India, nor probably will the tribes be impelled on us. The latter now understand our strength; Russia has long understood both our strength and our weakness. There will be no foolish raid *as long as India is united, in tranquillity and contentment*, under British rule. Russia well knows that such an attempt would only end in the entire destruction of the invaders. India *has been* invaded some forty times, but always by small armies, acting in communication with domestic parties. A small Russian army could not make good its way through Affghanistan; a large Army would be starved there in a week. The largest Army that could come with Affghanistan and Persia in its train, would be met at the outlets of the only two practicable passes, and while attempting to debouche would be knocked to pieces. A hundred thousand Anglo Indian troops might, with the help of railroads, be collected at each pass in as few days, as it would take an *unopposed* Russian Army weeks to traverse them. Hundreds of eight inch guns would there be opposed to their Field pieces. The danger then is imaginary. Herat is no more the key to India than is Tabreez, or Khiva, or Kokan, or Meshed. The chain of almost impenetrable mountains is the real key to India. England's own experience in the western passes, and in the

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Crimea, have proved the absurdity of the tale of Russian invasion. No, the dream is idle: England's dangers are in India, not without; and we trust that it will be *in India* they will be met, and that there will be no *third* Affghan campaign. Such a move would be playing Russia's game. We are safe while we hold our ground and do our duty. Russia may teaze, annoy and frighten us by her money and by emissaries. She may even do us mischief, but she will never put foot in Hindostan.

What America may venture, sixty years hence, when her population numbers a hundred millions, and when vessels of ten thousand tons ply the ocean, is another, and may possibly be considered a wilder question. But that America *will* strive for Oriental Sovereignty is certain. She is welcome; there will be room for centuries, for the whole Saxon race. Let England work out her destiny, let her govern India for the people and, as far as possible, by the people, and neither England nor India need fear Russia or America, or both combined.

To recapitulate. Our object is to direct attention to Wellington's dying legacy, and to our greatest living warrior's equally solemn enunciation,

"Woe to the nation that forgets the military art! Woe to that nation,—woe to that nation which heaps up riches, but which does not take the precaution to defend them."

Such were the impressive and truthful words of the hero of Kars, on the day he landed in England; such the warning addressed by him to the thousands who hailed his return. And the lesson his words inculcate, based as it is on a mournful experience, cannot be too often or too earnestly urged upon the minds of those who truly and unselfishly love their country. Let us not for ever learn *only* from disaster. Let us use our opportunities.

To conclude: Our recommendations are to have one strong fortress in every province, and a redoubt in *every* cantonment. All may be of mud, at very moderate expense. No man, black or white, to be permitted merely to cumber a muster roll, a cantonment, or a battle field. Only the young and middle aged to be in the *service* ranks. Elderly men to be in garrison, and in veteran corps, *commanded by hale and efficient soldiers*. Old men to retire to their homes. Similar rules for European officers and soldiers, as for natives, without favor or affection. It is sheer madness, on the plea of economy, mercy, or aught else, to keep inefficients, from whatever cause, in the *service* ranks. It is worse, it is a crime to keep such men in authority, high or low. Their fitting places are the Invalids, the pension list, the clubs, their English hearths.

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Legitimate outlets for military energy and ability in all ranks, and among all classes, *must* be given. The minds of Subadars and Resseldars, Sepoys and Sowars, can no more with safety, be forever cramped, trammelled, and restricted as at present, than can a twenty foot embankment restrain the Atlantic. It is simply a question of time. The question is only whether justice is to be gracefully conceded or violently seized. Ten or twenty years *must* settle the point.

Our view is also that regiments *professedly* officered by Europeans should be *really* so, that officers should *really* do the duty they profess to do. That the work should not be left to Havildar Majors and Pay Orderlies. We accordingly propose that at least two European officers per company, be posted to each of such regiments; that there be no native officers, unless indeed one Anglicised Jemadar (as Ensign) be attached to each company, to learn his duty as a Captain, (Subadar) when he may be transferred as such to a regiment officered by natives.

We further propose that certain Cavalry and Infantry regiments be wholly, and others partially, officered by natives.

That the veteran service be made one of honour and comparative ease.

That honorary rewards be increased, and that pensions be given earlier, and in particular cases, on a more liberal scale. Whether pensions be by deferred annuities, or, as at present, there can be no better safety valve to the service than the pension establishment. Comparatively few attain it; all look to it. The vista is long, and the cottage in the distance *very* small; it is nevertheless the day and the night dream of thousands. To the native soldiers, *home* is not, as with Europeans, a simple resting place after life's task is done; it is the return to, and union with, the relatives and friends of earlier years. The whole domestic existence of the sepoy is limited to the few years of pensioned and furlough life. His peculiar customs deprive him of such happiness while in the ranks.

The scientific branches of the service to be kept complete on the most liberal scale. This is the best economy. Sappers and Artillery-men, will, on an emergency, make fair Infantry, but Sepoys cannot reciprocate the obligation, nor is it perhaps expedient that they should be taught.

The numerical strength of the European troops should never be less than one fourth of the Regular Native Army. One third would be a better proportion. Year by year, the proportions have decreased, though the contrary would have been the wiser policy. Familiarity no where engenders reverence. A hundred years ago a company was looked on by the enemy, as a regiment is now, and yet at Seringapatam, the proportion

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of Europeans was very much greater than it has been during more recent wars.

The arms and accoutrements of all, but especially of the Europeans should be of the very best description. Our Infantry arms at Sebastopol were better than those of the Russians. The minie rifle probably saved Inkerman, as the change from six to nine-pounders may have saved Waterloo.

A staff corps to be formed of officers who have served from two to four years with their own arm, and for at least *one* with every other. The staff not to be *exclusively* drawn from this corps. Examinations to be required for *every post*, and for *every grade*, up to given points. Staff corps men, as others, to undergo such examinations. Literary attainments to be slightly considered ; *Military science, rather than mathematics* to be the desideratum. In short, strictly *practical and professional* knowledge with soldierly bearing, and good characters to be the main points. We are quite sensible of the difficulty of the public service, not the welfare of individuals, is the point at issue.

Another of our suggestions is quietly and unostentatiously to oppose class to class, creed to creed, and interest to interest.— We have also argued, that this can be best done in the army, not as at present, by a mixture of sects in each Regiment, but by separate Regiments each consisting chiefly, though *not entirely*, of a single sect.

Annual "Chobhams," and "Aldershotts" to be established at each Presidency, where officers, soldiers and sepoys, should be taught to work, *as before an enemy ;* to make gabions and fascines; to dig and delve; to throw up works; to attack and defend them. In short for two or three months of every year, soldiers should have the opportunity, as far as practicable, of learning what war is, and should also learn to take care of themselves in the field in all weather.

On somewhat the principles above enunciated, and with one *unmistakeable Pay Code* for all India, the army* might be made doubly efficient for war or for peace, at an expense hardly exceeding half a million in excess of present expenditure. Officers would no longer doubt their own men,† the men would have

* We have purposely left untouched the question of *one* army or *three* armies, or of a general amalgamation with the Royal army. But in whatever hands the Indian army remains, its officers should be available for service *throughout the world.* All the arguments that apply to the necessity of a *large* field for selections for Indian army staff apply equally to the Royal troops. Free employment *for all*, and liberty of exchange between the Queen's and Company's troops should be the rule.

† We refer especially to such times as those of the Madras Mutiny.

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less reason to complain of their officers. The latter would do what they hardly now profess to do, they would look into the details of their regiments and companies, not leave them to native officers whom they despise, or to non-commissioned natives, who have no legitimate authority. Each man high or low, in each class of regiments, would have his place and his duty. Each man would accordingly have more contentment. The staff appointments from corps being few, and regimental commands being earlier obtainable, and *given by merit*, as much as by seniority, there would be fewer, and less loud aspirations for Staff employ. The contentment of the officers would alone go far to content the sepoys. Pleasure and pain are catching. The murmurs of messes quickly reach the Quarter Guard, as do contrary feelings. We conclude with our oft repeated remark, that it is not a numerically strong army, but a contented one with efficient officers, that is wanted. Our duty is now done, let others do theirs, and a reproach, possibly a danger, will have been removed.

A paragraph in the *Delhi Gazette* announcing that the Oude authorities are disposed to dispense with the service of the regular regiments for Lucknow, tempts a few further words of caution—though we do not altogether credit the newspaper report. The earliest days of annexation are not the safest. Be liberal, considerate and merciful, but be prompt, watchful and even, *quietly* suspicious. Let not the loose characters floating on the surface of society, especially such society as Lucknow, be too far tempted, or trusted. Wellington's maxim of "keeping the troops out of sight," answered for England; it will *not* answer for India. There must be *trusty* bayonets, within sight of the *understandings* if not of the *eyes*, of Indian subjects, before they will pay willing obedience, or any revenue. Of late years the wheels of Government have been moving very fast. Many native prejudices have been shocked. Natives are now threatened with the abolition of polygamy. It would not be difficult to twist this into an attack on Hinduism. At any rate the faster the vessel glides, the more need of caution, of watching the weather, the rocks, and the shoals.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

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ART. VI.—*Bradshaw's Continental Railway Guide*, 1855-56.

THERE was probably never a time in which it was more difficult than at present for prudent prophets to maintain a reputation. Vague forebodings of future evil are indeed common to all ages, and to all countries in which the evil omen is not vigorously prohibited from manifesting itself. There were many to declare that England's glory was departed on that solemn morning at Whitehall, when Charles 1st taught a lesson to all sufferers, and the man in the mask taught a lesson yet more important to all kings; the same story was repeated by partisans of the other side when a Stewart was again called King by the Grace of God, and a prelatic Hierarchy was again decked in white surplices. We were ruined, as Mr. Macaulay informs us, after the peace of Ryswick, and subsequently with every war and every peace which involved any addition to the National Debt. In these latter days we all know how the Eldons and the Inglises wept for their country, more and more enslaved by each concession to religious liberty, by the enfranchisement of the Roman Catholics, or the endowment of Maynooth: and the mantle of prophecy has descended through an unbroken succession of grandmothers to those prophets of to-day who see in the playing of a pipe in a Park, or in the prohibition of such a melody, and who affect to see in a war wherein the course of success was marred by only one failure,—in a peace perhaps the most unselfish ever concluded by a great nation,—unmistakeable signs that the downfal of England is coming—nay is already come. Such prophecying is never difficult—and such prophets will always be plentiful till the happy day when fools are scarce. But there have always been seers of a more respectable class, who do not shrink from committing themselves to definite issues. That this or that new invention will succeed or fail, was formerly a question on which scientific men might hazard an opinion with some safety. But since the memorable discomfiture of Dr. Lardner, steam and electricity have so confounded all anticipation, that the well informed no less than the ignorant decline to give an opinion as to what may not happen next. Even Dr. Cumming is left almost unanswered, to promulgate his very bold prophecy that the world is coming to an end in 1864, a year which it would seem impossible, at any rate for the world and the doctor's reputation to outlive together. Mr. Brunel finds many to share his enthusiastic confidence in the success of his marine monster; although we observe that as the day of launching draws near, we hear something less of those promises of steaming from Plymouth to Calcutta viâ the Cape in thirty days; but that the Great Eastern is to laugh at the waves of the Atlantic and to

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remedy the hitherto irremediable agony of sea sickness—is what many boldly proclaim, and none of a generation which has seen sailing packets between France and England—and sees steamers plying between Liverpool and Melbourne will venture to deny. The "Calais and Mooltan" still sounds like a joke; but the scheme has been considered by Governments, been approved by princes, been sanctioned by famous Engineers who now-a-days are greater than princes. Mr. Stephenson agitates for it. The *Times* advocates it; many point out its practicability; and who shall say 'it is impossible?' Was it not since the commencement of the present century that Niebuhr speaking of a journey from London to Edinburgh, after eulogizing the comfort of the old Edinburgh mail, added his complaint that "of course travelling at that tremendous pace—full seven miles an hour, it was impossible to see anything of the country?" Have we not ourselves in the middle of the century gone from London to Edinburgh in eleven hours? and shall we venture to deny that our children may, before the close of the century, glide rapidly through the wilds of Beloochistan, look out of the windows of a first class carriage at the corn-fields of Mesopotamia; hear the steam whistle on the banks of the Euphrates; avail themselves of the ten minutes allowed for refreshment on the shores of the Bosphorus—and then pass on over the old well-worn already existing rails to Calais and London?

We have already in the pages of this *Review* given in our serious adhesion to the World's Highway; but we cannot always afford to be spending our energy on such vast schemes; we have said enough in behalf of posterity, let it be lawful for us to bestow a little advocacy in the interests of ourselves. We shall not even take up that second plausible scheme, which has justly been described as a mere reduced adaptation of the first; we shall let the Persian Gulf alone, and stick to the Red Sea. We mean by the Overland Route that commonplace well rutted track by which our letters come and our papers ought to come, but sometimes do not; without any disparagement of what Mr. Stephenson may and will do for us hereafter—we want to relieve ourselves of a groan over that tyranny which we suffer now. The faith which can see an express train running by Babylon, need not shrink from the prospect of the Peninsular and Oriental Company being brought to terms.

Things have now come to that pass, that whatever may be the future state of communication between England and India, the present route is in the hands of one Company. There are or have been at different times three candidates in the field. The Honourable Company, the P. and O., and the Austrian Lloyds. We all remember the stream of sustained eloquence under which the

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first dignified Company was driven out of the competition. Government were very unjustifiably checking private enterprise, by doing the Mail Service badly, they prevented that spirited Company the P. and O. from doing it well; their old used up men-of-war kept off the line those splendid ships which the P. and O. were only eager to place at the disposal of the public.

We do not wonder at the indignation felt towards the Government Mail Service. No Englishmen like to be treated as inferiors when in the position of customers; nor do they like incivility in any position whatever. It was mortifying to a man who had paid sixty pounds for a fourteen days' passage to be treated as one who was receiving a prodigious favor; there were of course exceptional instances of courtesy, but general testimony will bear us out in the assertion that the comfort, nay the decent treatment of passengers, was the very last thing studied on board the Government Mail packets. The officers, with all the sensitiveness of an uncertain social position, were not ashamed to own that they were above their work: forgetting that nothing so compromises a man's dignity as to profess to despise a work which nevertheless he is obliged and consents to do. That there is nothing degrading in the office of Commandant of a Mail Steamer, the character and social status of the Ship Captains of the great Commercial Companies amply proves; but there is something infinitely ludicrous in the mixture of the Post Captain and the twopenny Postman; in playing at man-of-war etiquette on board a ship which is kept for the express purpose of carrying the public post, and by which every individual who chooses to pay a heavy fare has as much right to travel as the Captain. We do not wonder that grievances of a personal nature led to a loud demand for the withdrawal of the Government Steamers from the Bombay Station. But we are not sure that the indignant public has after all taken much by its motion. The fable is reversed. We have lost King Stork, and appear likely to be blessed with a long reign under King Log. With the courtesy towards the public, which it would be unjust to deny to the P. and O. Company, is mixed that growing apathy which marks the monopolist, as surely as corpulence does the indolent man. The energy of this great Company, to which India and England both owe much has been crowned with vast and deserved success. A steady dividend of eight per cent., a growing reserve fund, a self-developing traffic with favorable contracts in the direction of Australia; an undisputed supremacy in every port and on every route in or approaching to India—what does the P. and O. want more, and what therefore should the P. and O. do more? For we hold it to be the vainest waste of words to

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lose time in preaching what a Commercial Company ought or ought not—is bound or not bound to do. Of course every individual member of a Company is bound, like the rest of the unappreciated world, to be an honest man ; and in driving a bargain must be guided by other considerations besides those of mere profit. But it is a mistake tending to endless confusion to try and fix a conscience on a corporation. If we appeal to Mr. Smith or Mr. Brown, shareholders in the P. and O., as benevolent individuals, to give up half a year's dividend to some charitable purpose, it may doubtless be their duty to listen to our appeal : but if we beg the Secretary of the P. and O. as a matter of conscience to try and get the fares lowered, for that they press heavily on poor men, and illustrate this position with rhetorical force and piteous instances ; it is undoubtedly the Secretary's bounden duty to reply that he and his Company know nothing of rich and poor men, that they recognise not individual cases of calamity, that their business is to carry the public at remunerative rates. And clearly remunerative rates are the highest for which they can fill all their ships. If the traffic between India and England is fully developed, if no more ships are required—and the present ships are well filled ; then it is evident that the balance between the Company and the public is fairly struck, to the profit of the former and the real advantage of the latter ; and in this case the demand for lower fares is a mere sentimentalism, to which the Company is bound to pay no attention. But if the reverse of all this is true ; if the field of marine enterprise between England and India is not fully occupied ; if there are many people who do not now go to England or come to India solely on account of the dearness of the transit, then it is certain that the fares are too high, and the Company is guilty in the only sense in which a Company can be guilty ; it is perpetrating an anti-economical error, slowly but surely destructive of its own prosperity. This is the real safeguard of the public against that unconscientious abstraction, a corporate body. The poor officer who defers his voyage to Europe till the ties which bind him there are broken, because he cannot pay the passage money, does not utter his complaints all in vain. It is the accumulation of these complaints which invites competitors, and breaks the back of a monopoly which would not be wise in time.

But if fares so high as to be in great measure prohibitory were the only or the worst injury inflicted on the Indian public by the P. and O. Company, we should not be sanguine as to the speedy invasion of their rule. But that Company is practising systematically a strange defiance of the laws of nature, which no Company can practise long with impunity. We call it a violation of the laws of nature to prevent water from flowing down hill ;

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and scarcely less so to prevent an Anglo-Saxon from getting to his destination by the shortest practicable route. But it is this latter attempt which the P. and O. Company has long made and is making with great success. It is obvious to any person looking at the map of Europe, that when the Mediterranean is covered with Steamers, its shores lined with Harbours, and Europe traversed by Railways, the Overland traveller has no more business at the rock of Gibraltar than he has at the Cape of Good Hope. When poor Lieut. Waghorn ran his great race across the world, and proved the essential superiority of the Trieste route, he doubtless thought that it only needed the Railways—now made—to make that *the* route to India. He did not appreciate the powers of resistance of a strong Company, nor the long suffering of an English, still more an Anglo-Indian, community. This resistance has been aided, and this long suffering has been rendered yet more passive, by a certain undefined dread of the difficulties of Continental travel, natural to a society which has been prevented by exile from knowing much or anything of the Continent, and in whom the knowledge of Hindustani renders quite excusable an ignorance of French. But this dread with the causes which produced it, is diminishing daily. It is not too much to say that the great majority of those Anglo-Indians who have visited Europe in the last ten years have some acquaintance with the Continent; and we know that merely to have crossed from Dover to Calais is enough to dispel the unquiet consciousness to which we have alluded. Perhaps a certain traditional anxiety respecting the Austrian police and Custom house may still linger, but this too is subsiding before repeated testimony, and the P. and O. begin to occupy more and more conspicuously the undisguised position of a Company trying for its private profit to obstruct the public interest; and for such efforts the sure economic Nemesis provides one certain retribution; another Company steps in, opens the outlet which monopoly had barred; the stream of traffic flows placidly on in its natural course, and has no care or thought to bestow on the stranded Company which lies forlorn in its abandoned Highway, an addition to the long list of unwilling witnesses, that the mutual good of the many, and not the fancied good of the few at the expense of the many, is the end towards which Nature is always working: is the law to which the successful Company—successful only while in accordance with nature,—must conform or fail.

We trust that our readers will bear with us if we endeavor to make plain by illustration those great improvements of which the present route is susceptible; if journeying in spirit from Ladak to London, we briefly dwell in passing, on those practical improvements which, without the aid of Mr. Stephenson, and all

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the Governments, we may hope to see carried out in the lifetime of the present generation.

Great as has been the spread of European civilization in the last twenty years, it has not penetrated Ladak. But the traveller in that wild region who sets his face homewards, and in May writes with confidence to his friends in England that he will be amongst them in September, evinces by that act of faith how much civilization has done to tame the terrors even of the wilder-nesses which as yet it has not reached. His immediate situation is indeed little suggestive of rapid locomotion. It is enough if ever he surmounts that snow crowned ridge which make the plains of India seem to the imprisoned fancy far distant; the shores of the ocean infinitely remote, Europe in another planet. But fancy is allowed no voice in the matter; this little corner of the earth suspended as it is, isolated as it seems from all the world; is only five and thirty marches from Lahore, and thirty-five marches represent seven weeks. Not without reluctance the traveller turns Southward; it is not without self-denial that he leaves unexplored the vast steppes which Northward rise still one above another; those black lines marked with much boldness, but necessarily with no great precision in Captain Thuillier's Map; till the highest level of the earth is reached, and the world slopes on the other side down the wild steppes of Tartary to the dreary plains of Russia. The traveller turns Southward but he does not leave Europe—no nor the highest civilization—altogether unrepresented in that unfrequented latitude. As he approaches nearer to the habitations of his countrymen, he thinks with some emotion of those two Moravian Missionaries who have pitched their tents in Lahool and given themselves up to preaching the faith which they hold, in regions where they may safely boast that they are "not laboring in other men's line of things made ready to their hand." All Missionaries may as a rule claim credit for readiness to go to unfrequented parts of the earth; and if this be praise these good Moravians may be considered Missionaries of the Missionaries. They have taken up their station, are learning the language, something which we Hindostani talkers dream not of, and quietly conciliating the people. Whatever may be their success in their particular object, it is impossible to think without interest of those two sentinels posted in the very extremest face of the civilized world. The great tide of European life and energy and knowledge which is ever flowing from the heart, the great Western Capitals, is carried in a still diminishing stream to distant Asia; it travels up to the North West; it trickles into the Himalaya Mountains; and here in a wild region far beyond the most remote outlying European Hill Station, beats its last faint pulse. In a small house in Lahool may be found European man-

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ners, the European face, Western learning, and the Christian religion. Leaving these behind, how many thousand miles might we proceed Northward, before finding the other end of the chain ; before stumbling on the first Russian peasant, who might claim in some imperfect degree to represent Europe.

But our Traveller is bound on a less arduous journey : he is within the influence of the ebb, which in the spring of every year, draws back so many wanderers to the mother country. His face is set to London as devoutly as ever was Mahomedan Pilgrims to Mecca. He crosses those lower passes which a mild season and the growing warmth of the sun render practicable to him, and emerges in the neighbourhood of the Chumba Hills. It is now that the inward draught of the civilized world begins to be felt. Those yellow stone streaks which speak of Iron, have been reported in Leadenhall Street—and discussed by Wolverhampton Iron Masters. A Committee appointed to search the neighbouring Hills, has discovered beyond a doubt that these yellow streaks are not fallacious ; that the Hills are full of iron. That the iron is there, and that it can be easily worked, are two certainly ascertained facts ; nor is this the only mineral treasure which these Hills contain. The Staffordshire Potters, and some unknown contractor with the Government of Tuscany are immediately connected with the opening up of Indian routes, and the development of Himalayan resources. Of the thousands who every morning drink out of a China cups, the elegance of which still increases with improving taste and skill, it is probable that few think of the Potteries of Staffordshire, except perhaps those who have travelled the previous night by the North Western Railway, and seen the sky reddened by the lurid glare of the ever-blazing fires, which denote that cups and saucers are for ever being made. Of this reflecting minority still fewer perhaps are aware that in order to give to their China that delicate glaze which is one of its great beauties, is required an article called Borax, which is made of " Boracic Acid," which acid again can at present only be obtained from certain mineral springs at Tasso in the kingdom of Tuscany. These springs are now on lease to a private individual, who accordingly charges what he pleases ; has in fact raised the price on the manufacturers in the last few years from £48 to £95 per ton ; and as the manufacturers justly observe, is very likely to raise it higher,—for the English will have glazed cups : so the cup-makers must have the Borax, and the Tuscan contractor must have his own price. The only discovered substitute as yet is Tincal, which indeed appears to be very much the same thing as Borax. A certain officer going home on furlough took some Tincal in his pocket ; the Staffordshire Potters got hold of him ; requested him to attend the Chamber of Com-

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merce at Stoke-upon-Trent ; satisfied themselves that Himalayan Tincal would give them the weather gage of Tuscan Borax, and immediately wrote off a memorial to the Governor General begging him to develop the Tincal traffic immediately. The request was a little vague, and involved making a road of some hundreds of miles over the Himalaya ; but the Staffordshire Potters did not mind waiting, and the Marquis of Dalhousie was never deaf to the cries of legitimate commerce. All our readers know about the Hindostan and Thibet road ; we hear on good authority that Borax is coming down to Simla in quantities calculated to make the Tuscan contractor's heartache. That it exists in the more Westerly Hills is as certain as that iron exists ; the problem as to both is, how to carry them to market. But if we descend from the mountains to the beautiful valley of Kangra, we feel sure that this is a difficulty which must in the course of years disappear. It is as impossible as that the P. and O. should continue to carry us round by Gibraltar, that the grain and the rice with which this most fertile and most lovely district abounds should not find their way to the mouths of hungry men. The Tea plant carries with it the same promise, and is as threatening a foe to the Chinese, as the Tincal to the Tuscan. Whether Europeans will ultimately come to Kangra, or the produce of Kangra will be carried to Europeans we do not venture to assert ; but that one or other event will take place we are quite certain ; and either must lead to a great improvement of the Overland route ;—we use the phrase, it will be observed, in an extended sense, as stretching not merely from post to post, but from London to Ladák ;—as comprehending that much required improvement a great highway from the hills to the plains. This however is still a hope for the future ; not certainly remote, but we fear not immediate.

It is not till we reach Umritsur that we find the first great practical improvement of the existing Transit undergoing serious consideration. The Calais and Mooltan may be a joke, even the Mooltan and Umritsur a project too large for our minds to grasp ; but the Lahore and Umritsur falls within the speculative compass of the feeblest imagination. The two largest cities in the North of India are separated by 35 miles of level road. There probably is not an easier tract in the world to carry a Railway over ; there are certainly no two isolated points between which there is a greater trade to convey. Government is in the field already : it is counting the carts ; the small two-wheeled one-horsed, bell-tinkling, ricketty vehicles which at present monopolize the native passenger traffic of this brief but important line. The English passenger traffic is accommodated by one mail cart or palki gharri per diem. There is nothing to complain of in the pace.

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The Railway would probably not bring much improvement in this respect : the average rate at which the mail is conveyed between Umritsur and Lahore exceeds the rate at which it is carried by the Railway between Calcutta and Raneegunge ; but when the one mail cart, or the one palki gharee is bespoken, the descent is sudden and great, for there is then nothing left but the old fashioned palanquin and bearer jogtrot. It is barely possible that the local traffic may be thus accommodated, but if we are regarding the 35 miles from Umritsur to Lahore as a link in the chain of the Overland route, it is clear that one unfortunate horse (nay scarcely the half dozen unfortunate horses which might be found, were there three private companies in competition with Government) cannot do the work. We repeat that Government has already been engaged in counting the carts. This preliminary operation has we believe been happily accomplished, and the result will shortly be published. In anticipation of such publication we will not commit ourselves to figures which could be but loosely given, but we believe it may be confidently asserted, that one conclusion has been established by this traffic census, as firmly as any conclusion can be settled by any a priori argument, viz. that the rate at which the Railway can be made is so moderate, and the existing traffic is so great, that there is not the least doubt — without making allowance for any great increase of the existing habits of locomotion, supposing that the line were to be isolated and not connected by Rail, as it certainly must be ere long—with Calcutta on the one side and Kurrachee on the other ; that even under such unfavorable circumstances the undertaking would be highly remunerative. The sole question remains, where is the money to come from? There is capital enough in Umritsur to make the line six times over ; but spirited men as the Umritsur merchants are in their way, they have not yet attained that confidence in the resources of science which shall enable them to subscribe their tangible Rupees to an object unseen, unknown, unheard of. When the Railway is made they will travel on it in flocks ; they will use it more habitually than the English do ; they will invest their money in it, though at a sacrifice, when once they see the money collector selling tickets behind the counter : but at present they applaud the scheme faintly ; praise the unceasing energy and skill of the paternal government, but evince a most unmistakeable intention to leave the paternal government to make the Railway. The natives have no faith in Railways which they have not seen ; and English Capitalists have little right to laugh at them, for these latter have no faith in India for precisely the same reason. The aristocracy of the stock exchange have but a limited vision after all ; they dislike quite as much as the Umritsur Brokers to let their money go out of

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sight; were it not so, they would not lose so favorable an opportunity of making a golden investment. A moderate man, not used to visions of cupidity, cannot but feel exalted as he pictures himself a Shareholder, some years hence, in the Lahore and Umritsur, a cheaply-made well-paying easy line, making its own terms with the two main lines to both of which it is absolutely essential. Failing however both English and Indian Capitalists, and neither the example of the Crystal Palace Company nor the permission of limited liability having yet taught us the lesson of associating ourselves without the aid of the Capitalist's crutch, and making many short purses do the work of our long one; enthusiastic advocates of this tempting scheme are driven to the last refuge of the destitute;—the Government must do it all. The old arguments are repeated: the old invectives are not wanting. Men who have spent their lives in getting as much as they can out of India, and giving back as little, are heard preaching with ludicrous gravity the doctrines of philanthropy. The duty we owe to our native subjects is extolled with unresting ardor. Others will put Manchester to shame and out Yankee Yankeeism by the energy of their go-a-head policy. How blind the Government is to its own interest! How reluctant to make a little present sacrifice for so certain and so noble a profit! If Government has not got the money let it borrow: it is always ready enough to borrow for unprofitable wars, why this prudence when the profitable works of peace call for liberality; when the conquered ryots—and the argument again passes off into a stream of philanthropic rhetoric. Meanwhile the Government keeps its pockets buttoned up, and for this cautious attitude we cannot blame it. Certainly it is not by flowers of philanthropic rhetoric that one of the most difficult conceivable financial problems is to be solved. The Lahore and Umritsur Railway, the development of the mineral resources of India, the extension of Canals; in a word the whole question of Public Works *versus* expenditure, turns on this one point; to what length is a Government justified in going in a course of borrowing money for useful works? We are glad to see that the press of India is addressing itself with freedom and spirit to this most important subject: but we confess that it seems to us that this is precisely one of those questions on which we might well avail ourselves of our nearer relations with England, to obtain the benefit of English experience and statesmanship on a great State question. If the point were reduced, as it easily might be, to some sharp definite practical issue such as alone Parliament can deal with; could Lord Albemarle leave alone the salaries of Civil officers, or could Mr. Bright be induced to celebrate his return to health and the House

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of Commons (a return which all lovers of the House of Commons rejoice in,) by the adoption of a nobler and more useful relation to Indian Politics; and instead of declaiming on details of which neither he nor his hearers can possibly comprehend the real merits, were to invite the House of Commons to examine thoroughly a great general principle of Government; we should listen in this country with respectful attention, and should begin to think that we were at last reaping some practical benefit from the India Bill of 1853. A studied speech from Mr. Gladstone on such a subject would be invaluable: a man who, whatever may be his faults, as a politician, does undoubtedly hold the very first place among modern English statesmen as a Financier.

If the Lahore and Umritsur Railway has to wait till the Public Works question is scientifically settled, it will, we fear, wait a long time; but the Public Works question will probably not be settled but only nibbled at; each particular case will be separately dealt with, and few perhaps will have a stronger claim than that under consideration. At any rate the making of the Umritsur and Lahore Railway is the first great improvement of which the existing Overland route is capable.

The second improvement which we may hope to see even in our day is the Lahore and Mooltan; and there is no link so essential as this to the perfecting of the Overland route to Western India. They may send steamers to Kurrachee, they may improve the navigation of the Indus, they may make Railways to Hyderabad and from Hyderabad to Mooltan; but Mooltan itself is at present a *Cul de Sac*. We speak of passengers. The mails are carried on horses, parcels are conveyed by Bullock Train in five days; but for passengers it is the Mail Cart or nothing. The Mooltan road has been briefly described in a recent number of the *Review*, and we do not intend to travel over the same ground now. Indeed it is ground which no sane man travels either in body or spirit when he can keep off it. But it bears on our present subject to notice the two hundred miles between Lahore and Mooltan as a lamentable hiatus in the great chain of communication. It was truly remarked lately by the *Lahore Chronicle* on the occasion of the death of the unfortunate Lieut. Campbell in the wilds of the Punjab, that the magnificent works between Jhelum and Peshawur cannot be accepted as a set off against the utter absence of all facilities of travel in the Mooltan and Leia Divisions. We do not take poor Mr. Campbell's unhappy case for more than it is worth. He may have been ill—he may have been of a weakly constitution; there may have been many circumstances which neither we nor the public know of; but this fact must remain after all abatement, that travelling on the public service, not on any emergency in which as in action an officer may fairly be called on to risk his life,

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but in the ordinary course of duty, he died for lack of civilization. Men do not die on the Mooltan road: indeed there are Dâk Bungalows every forty miles: but there are no bearers, and as between Umritsur and Lahore, one horse and cart a day, though it travel at the rate of ten miles an hour including stoppages, is not sufficient to accommodate the English passenger traffic of the North West. We believe the practical question just now is, whether to have metal technical or metal literal; *kunkur* or iron;—a good road or a Railway. It is acknowledged on all hands that no half measure will make that wilderness of sand even tolerable; but the expense of metalling the road would be enormous, for kunkur is not to be had, though zealous search has been made for it at both ends of the line. An immense expense being then essential in order to make this important road tolerable, it is argued with great plausibility that it is better to incur an expense greater indeed than is absolutely necessary, but final: better to spend fifteen thousand pounds a mile for a railway which shall be a possession for ever, than ten thousand for a road which however excellent must one day be superseded. This question is before the Judge—and pending its decision, sand is rampant, and the natural route from Northern India to England is grievously marred. Some people indeed cut the knot by floating down the Sutlej in a boat. We have nothing to object to this mode of locomotion:—it is philosophical: the man who makes two such voyages has more leisure than occurs to most of us in this railway age, in a lifetime. But furloughs are short in these days: and the man who has to leave Lahore in January and return to it in June, having visited his friends in the Highlands of Scotland in the interval, cannot spare time for such dignified locomotion. Moreover a route must work both ways. It is all very well to go down the Sutlej, but it is a dreary business to be "tracked" up it.

Arrived at Mooltan we have no choice but to float to the Indus. The majority go by the monthly steamer down the river and through the tidal channels to Kurrachee. The objections to this mode of travelling are, first, the great uncertainty of the Steamer, which reaches Mooltan at such time as the Captain considers the patience of the upward passengers has been sufficiently tried, and his own profits sufficiently multiplied by the operation of friendly sand banks; so that the uncovenanted officer availing himself of his newly granted privilege of a six months' leave from station to station, may find three or four weeks of his very brief furlough consumed in looking out of the windows of the Mooltan Dâk Bungalow, leaving him five months to go to Kurrachee, thence to Bombay, thence to Europe, and back again to Dera Ghazee Khan. Secondly, the vexatious regulation concerning table allowance above referred to, which gives the Captains of

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the river Steamers a direct pecuniary interest in making the voyage as tedious as possible; and thirdly, the danger which is inseparable from the transit by a small flat bottomed Steamer, of the arm of the sea which separates the last outlet of the Indus from the harbour of Kurrachee. No accident has happened yet that we known of, but every sailor knows well enough that the danger is there. Those who will be independent of the Steamer and go down to Sukkur and Hyderabad in a country boat, may have the laugh on their side as far as Tatta, but there an evil fate awaits them. They are thrown on that barren shore; the great Indus, now only 60 miles from its mouth, flows deep and silent by not less than two miles broad. The high head-dress worn by the Natives, and the strange language reminds them that they have floated into a foreign land—and are cut off from their own Presidency, which in this country, is the one substitute a man has for a home. The gloom of the landscape is not cheering, and more depressing still is the effect when we enter the town of Tatta. It seems a very city of the dead. He who has seen Tatta, shrunk inwards as it is, the lovely deserted suburbs, and the little life which remains in what was once probably the great mart of the Indus, huddled together as if to keep itself warm in the centre, is in some condition to realize Mr. Macaulay's famous image—of the New Zealander on the broken arch of London Bridge, sketching the ruin of St. Paul's. He is sixty miles from Kurrachee, between him and it is a wilderness, and he knows not how to cross it. We have indeed seen it somewhere asserted that bearers have lately been placed along this route. If so, it is a great improvement, and if a Dâk can be laid with certainty, the passage by boat and doolie from Mooltan to Kurrachee may be calculated not to exceed in a favorable month fourteen days. The traveller then who has had his boat got ready beforehand at Mooltan, and his Dâk laid from Tatta may reckon the time to be consumed between Lahore and Kurrachee at twenty-eight days if he marches to Mooltan, sixteen if he goes by the Mail cart, or is fortunate enough to secure the one Palki Ghari. This delay and uncertainty are sufficient to send most passengers from the North West round by Calcutta: they prefer the certainty of an eight days' longer passage—to the many unknown quantities contained in the Indus route. But the third practical improvement of existing communication will take place when the Scinde company, already in esse as regards Hyderabad and in posse as regards Mooltan, open their line from Kurrachee to the latter city; there they will be met by the Mooltan and Lahore, and the whole distance from the capital of the Punjab to the Port of the West may be easily traversed in three days.

Arrived at Kurrachee the long exiled Englishman rushes to

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the Sea side. He goes not merely to indulge that appetite for natural beauty which has been so long denied all gratification in the plains of India, though it is not without pleasure that he sees from Kamara point blue waves and white crests, instead of brown ridges of eternal sand ; it is not only that he may feel his deliverance from exile, though a weight is taken off his heart as he looks on the enfranchising Sea, and thinks that there is no barrier between that muddy current which is flowing among the dirty fishing boats of Kurrachee, and the bright waves which are breaking on the rocks of Cornwall or washing the sands of Norfolk ; it is not to indulge Byronic raptures, though he too acknowledges the force of that English love for the Ocean, the happy expression of which is the crowning glory of Childe Harold ; but all these motives together compel him. After ten years spent in an inland wilderness, the taste of the saltwater—the ebb or flow of the tide have the charm of novelty, the ever-moving waters the attraction of beauty ; and it may be too that the least sentimental are moved by some touch of patriotic sentiment : they know what they owe to England and what England owes to the sea. The country of overland routes, of Indian empires, of great exhibitions, is not more indebted to the great highway of nations for its facilities of locomotion, than the country of Puritanism, of Conservatism of "Ancient Manners" is to the angry sea for its power of insulation. And it is this last quality of being isolated, which Englishmen most value in their country ; which forms we believe the secret foundation of their grateful attachment to the sea. Even in these days when every body travels, and a continental mania is as rabid as it was among those young men who had made the grand tour, and whose absurdities we laugh at in the novels of the last century ; when it is considered a mark not so much of fashion as of intellectual superiority to disparage every thing English and extoll every thing foreign, even in these days we are consoled to observe occasional symptoms that John Bullism, with all its unreasoning unreasonable accompaniments, is neither dead nor dying. We are very fond of our gallant Allies, but we like them, as a discreet Jacobite did a Stewart King—over the water. For our own part we have suffered our full portion of the common agony which befalls men in the Straits of Dover ; but never have we in the middle of that channel so unfriendly to Landsmen, been tempted to so traitorous a wish as that the watery space were diminished by a single foot.

But Kurrachee possesses other attractions for the wanderer than those which are suggested by romance or patriotism ; there smokes the Steamer which is to take him—to Aden ? Alas no—but to Bombay ! The fourth practical improvement of the existing route, the establishment of a direct steam communication be-

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tween Kurrachee and Suez, has not yet been accomplished; but of all which have been mentioned it is the one which will soonest be carried out. It was all but done last year, and will in all probability be effected this. The Reform was indeed decided when the "Duke of Argyll," an English merchant vessel of 1000 tons, brought troops direct to Kurrachee in 1852. It was confirmed when the formidable bar of hard rock at the mouth of the harbour was found on examination to subside into soft mud. It is strengthened by the attempt being made, we believe for the first time this very year, to demonstrate the practicability of Kurrachee as a port, by keeping up the communication with Bombay all through the monsoon. It will be carried out to its full length by the spirited association lately formed for the development of Steam Navigation between Kurrachee and Suez; which may be regarded as among the first fruits of limited liability in India; the most important application yet made of the joint stock principle, which is destined we trust to solve without the interference of Government the great problem of Indian Public Works. Under these circumstances it is not unnatural that Kurrachee should assume some of the airs of a "rising town," and Bombay express some of the selfish anxiety of a mart of which the monopoly is threatened. With regard to the promised prosperity of Kurrachee we will imitate the prudence which we have already commended, and utter no prophecy. We admit that there is everything to justify the most sanguine expectations; but on the other hand experience seems to prove that "a rising place" nascitur non fit. When a place has risen we can easily trace the causes, but it is not always safe to predicate that certain causes will produce a rise. Few people supposed even twenty years ago that Southampton was destined to become the most important mail and passenger port in England; again there was no limit to the prophecies of the prosperity which was to attend Birkenhead. Birkenhead itself looked proudly over the Mersey, proclaimed to all hearers that "it was going to begin," and warned Liverpool to look to herself. It is difficult to say what a rising place could want which Birkenhead did not possess; still it remains to this day not much more than a suburb of Liverpool. But whether or not Kurrachee rises so far as is expected, we do not share the fears which are expressed for Bombay. Not indeed but the most hard-hearted Kurrachee house speculator could wish otherwise than well to that beautiful city and Harbour. But experience proves continually that nature is far more liberal than our selfish fears. The prosperity of one place by no means always involves the ruin of another; the agricultural interests maintain a plethoric prosperity though foreigners may import their corn for a shilling duty. Were it otherwise, indeed, the corn must still have been imported free, though farmers

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had suffered; and we must in any case go to England by the best route though all the Bombay merchants walk in sackcloth; but it is satisfactory to believe that in this as in many similar cases we may both eat our cake and have it; may reduce the voyage to England by six days and yet not see the glory depart from the Harbour and Island of Bombay. But the opening of the Kurrachee and Suez route though immediately to be expected, is not yet accomplished; at present the traveller must make a four days' voyage to Bombay and wait at the Hope Hall, the best of Indian Hotels, till the departure of the first Steamer for Suez.

We are not in a condition to testify how the P. and O. Company treat our Bombay brethren. We have always thought the complaints regarding accommodation and provision on board these large Steamers exaggerated; but that the pace of some of the vessels still plying between Suez and Calcutta is wretchedly slow no body denies, nor can it be tolerated now that the Russian war, which the English Government was weak enough to accept as an excuse for the non-performance of a notoriously too favorable contract, has been brought to a conclusion. But it is not the quality of the food, nor the size of the berths, nor even the tardy revolutions of the paddles of the "Oriental," of which the Indian public has most right to complain. Nor is it even the monstrous fare of £120 from Calcutta to Southampton which chiefly invites adverse competition. This £120 is a fair, just, reasonable, moderate charge, when compared with that prohibition by which in the heyday of its prosperity, the P. and O. Company vainly hopes to close the Trieste route against Indian travellers. The fare to Southampton, including the Egyptian transit, is £120. The fare to Marseilles (now that the P. and O. occupy the Maltese station) is reduced to £115—and as the first class fare from Marseilles to London is £6—there is only £1 difference between the cost of these two routes. But the fare from Calcutta to Suez is £100; the traveller has then to pay £10 for his transit through Egypt; thus the whole fare from Garden Reach to Alexandria is just £10 less than the fare from the former place to Southampton. In fact the P. and O. Company asserts in distinct terms, the Indian public shall go by that route which our Steamers pursue and shall not go by any other. Now we repeat, we do not complain of this as unjust, or blame it as immoral: we condemn it however as impolitic, and we do contend most strongly that it is a bondage from which the public should most earnestly desire to be relieved. Relief can only come to us in the shape of competition, and the only two quarters from which competition can be hoped for, are America and the Austrian Lloyds Company. We can never wish to see an English driven out of the field by an American Company, but national sentiment cannot

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stand in the way of cheap fares. As to the Austrian Lloyds, whoever has travelled by their Steamers in the Mediterranean, would be glad to see them running in any part of the world. But we hear with great regret that the Austrian Lloyds Company is becoming disheartened by its long and unsuccessful efforts to secure its fair share of the Indian traffic; and that not only is the scheme of running on this side abandoned, but there is some fear of our losing their Steamers in the Mediterranean. May the Government avert the omen! we say the Government advisedly; for this is not an ordinary case of competition: it is not a fair field with no favour; were it so the P. and O. would have lowered their tone long ago: most unfortunately Government steps in to derange the running by a most arbitrary handicap, and every Company except the fortunate P. and O. is heavily weighted. If that be true which we have heard asserted on good authority, that a P. and O. Steamer can afford to run from Calcutta to Suez without a single passenger, paying her way by the mail contract, then two conclusions obviously follow: first that no independent Company can have a chance against such odds; secondly, that Government was deluded into giving or jobbing away their mail contract, on terms most unfair and disadvantageous to the public. This is now generally allowed to have been the case; and it is an error to which the Anglo-Indian public, and the English public also has a strong interest in getting corrected on the first opportunity. At present we see no signs of a reform. On the contrary the hands of the P. and O. have been lately strengthened by a renewal of the Australian* contract in which they have failed once already; nor has the subject of the Indian Mail contract been once mooted in the House of Commons during the past Session. If it be true that competing interests should be left to adjust themselves without the interference of Government, it is certainly not less true that when Government does choose to interfere, it should be as far as possible for the benefit and not the injury of the public. We should be glad to see the commercial community of Calcutta and Bombay exercise a gentle pressure on Lord Canning on this subject. His Lordship probably knows more about mail contracts than most of us; and the experience acquired in St. Martins le Grand may be most usefully employed for the acceleration of the Indian Mail, and the deliverance of the Indian public from a very galling monopoly.

This then is the 5th practical improvement to be effected in the existing Overland route; to induce Government by throwing its mail contract open to a fair competition, to deliver the public from the tyrannical tariff of an unquestioned monopoly.

* Since the above was written we have been delighted to see it stated that after all the P and O. have *not* obtained the Australian contract.

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Grumbling at the loss of a hundred pounds, but determined not to be deterred by going viâ Trieste, we make the best of our way to Aden: we make soon afterwards that great turn to the right which brings within the compass of our vision a main feature in the configuration of the globe: the creaking of the tiller, and the disturbed water in the wake of the ship intimate that we are setting our faces Northward, that we are approaching the dangerous Strait of Babelmandeb, and are about to enter the Red Sea. We fear that the abatement of the terrors of this crucial point of the existing route does not fall within our anticipated category of Overland improvements.

On reaching Suez we notice one of those alterations which slight and inexpensive as they are, go a long way in improving communication. From the roadstead to the Quay, a distance of little more than three miles, the passage used formerly to be performed in open boats. Some years ago a small Steamer was substituted, which carries passengers right up to the door of the Hotel; and to say nothing of the comfort of such an arrangement, it is probable that it saves half a day in the Egyptian transit. Were the comfort of passengers the main subject of this article, we could dilate on the wretchedness of Suez and the rest houses in the desert. Every body who remembers the accommodation to be found in the desert ten years ago will bear witness to the great deterioration which has taken place. But it is superfluous to complain of a grievance the days of which are already numbered. Already the most troublesome part of the overland journey, the passage of the Nile, is done away; and the Railway will shortly supersede the vans as it has done the Steamers. This latter change will not be so entire a subject for congratulation as the former. There will be few who will not regret the fun of the desert journey; that one day so utterly unlike all the other days of their lives; some will miss that long descent into Cairo, which enabled them to survey at leisure the City and the Pyramids. It is not impossible moreover that the Railway will deprive us of what always strikes an observing traveller; of the most marked contrast which occurs in the whole kaleidescope journey from Lahore to London; the absolute line of demarcation between Asia and Europe which is drawn at Suez. Poor Africa, always slighted, is lost sight of even on her own soil. It is at Suez that the homeward bound traveller takes leave of India. It is there that he eats his last leathery fowl; it is there he speaks his last word of Hindustani, it is there that he passes his last rupee. Up to this point India has been the only part of the world contemplated by the providers of travelling accommodation; but thenceforth the Indian passengers are but one important element in the mixed tide of universal travel. At Suez every man is journeying on

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business, at Cairo the Table d' hote is half filled by Englishmen and Americans journeying for pleasure. And by the time the Bengalee reaches Alexandria, he has shed his Indian skin altogether; the man who yesterday called for beer at tiffin, is to-day drinking wine at luncheon. But if our travelling is destined to become less picturesque, we are consoled by the fact that it becomes easier and more rapid: nay we have even a firm faith that much abused as Railways have been for their hostility to taste and beauty, they will be found in the long run to supply quite as many objects of interest as they take away; and to contribute their full share not merely to the ease and speed, but also to the pleasure of travelling. Be this as it may, what we want is to get home quickly; and it will be a notable step towards the fulfilment of this desire, when the sixth great improvement in the present overland route is wholly as it is already half completed: when the opening of the railway from Suez to Alexandria reduces the time of the Egyptian transit from three days to one, and enables mails and passengers to be landed one evening on the shore of the Red Sea, and embarked the next evening in the Mediterranean.

If the march of comfort keeps pace with that of progress, we may hope some day to see a tolerable Hotel at Alexandria. Certainly there is none at present; the square barrack at Cairo being the one oasis of comfort which the traveller finds in the whole of the Egyptian wilderness. Hotel keeping is likely to be an indifferent trade at Cairo, when the railway is completed, and we hope to see the spirited proprietor of the aforesaid barrack migrating to Alexandria for his own benefit, and that of afflicted passengers. But in truth it is not in a bad Hotel to afflict the Indian passengers when they find themselves on the shores of the Mediterranean; when every repetition of its name and every ripple of its blue waters is so laden with associations of that Europe which has so long been to them but a distant vision. Two Steamers lie smoking in the offing; one is huge and has the swollen look of a monopolist, the other seems stunted in its growth for want of proper support. The big ship belongs of course to the P. and O.; she is very large and very fast, being one of those vessels which are always kept on the home side to show the English Public what a magnificent fleet the P. and O. Company possesses, and to induce them innocently to conclude that vessels of the same class and capacity are to be found at every station of the overland route. To this large Steamer, those who are inclined or obliged to be comparatively economical, those who do not know the misery which awaits them between Malta and Marseilles, those who have a vague dread of the Austrian Police, and those few people of peculiar idiosyncracy who like the Bay of Biscay—now betake

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themselves. In four days that large ship will reach Malta; and those who there leave her for the Vectis or Valetta will learn what discomfort on board ship means. It is confessed however that this discomfort is cheaply purchased by landing after a three days' further voyage at Marseilles, by parting company with the P. and O.—by the rapid flight through the region of the olive and the region of the vine; by historical Avignon, by wine growing Dijon, by the blue Rhône, by Lyons, now alas lying desolated by the great water floods, but soon we trust to be restored to its normal beauty, industry and prosperity; through the rich valley of the Yonne to ever new, ever happy, ever recreating Paris! To the other victims of monopoly even the magnificent rock and still more magnificent Straits of Gibraltar; that passage of the pillars of Hercules perhaps the most interesting geographical feature of the world; that great turn to the right, yet more satisfactory than the turn made at Babelmandeb, for now the traveller for the last time sets himself Northward, and steers right on to the cold but welcome breezes of the English channel; all this is not enough to compensate those who suffer from the common misery, for the wretchedness of the Bay of Biscay.

Meanwhile the traveller who could not be diverted by the injurious arts of the P. and O. from pursuing his journey in a straight line, stands on the Quay at Alexandria, and looking not without a qualm of doubt at the receding English Steamer, counts the cost of his resolution. It is not to be denied that it will cost him something. That wicked fare £100 to Suez has been already paid: it cost him £10 to cross the desert. For £10 more he might have been landed at Southampton: but now his fare to Trieste will be £16—and from Trieste to London he cannot expect to travel for less than £15. His mere railway fares, if he travels second class (as he will) from Laibach to Cologne, and first class (as he must) from Cologne to London, will cost him £10, and cabs, Hotel-bills, fees—and the general effort to keep body and soul together will run away with £5 more. Allowing that it costs the Southampton voyager twenty shillings to get from that port to London, the penalty charged on the Trieste traveller for not going the way the P. and O. Company bid him, is not less than twenty pounds. But he who endures to be thus mulcted will certainly have his reward. He obtains a Consul's passport at Alexandria, and goes on board the "Bombay" Steamer. There are probably no more comfortable passenger ships in the world than those of the Austrian Lloyds. To the general courtesy which characterises all German and especially all Austrian officials, is added the particular civility paid by all along the line, nay, the special privileges allowed by the unconceding Austrian Government to passengers of a class whose custom they

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are so anxious to secure. We spoke of obtaining a Consul's passport at Alexandria, but this precaution though advisable is not necessary, for passengers by these ships are of all people in the world, alone allowed to set foot on Austrian soil without a passport. This document, however, must of course be obtained before leaving Trieste, and it is as well therefore to get it, when there is plenty of time to spare, at Alexandria. Those who like what they call being really at Sea; that is with no prospect but sky and water for days together, should by all means go by the Bay of Biscay; but those who when on board ship feel conscious of a lubberly pleasure in keeping land in sight, will find this taste gratified in the Trieste voyage. The first European land which comes in sight is the island of Candia; then are seen the headlands of the Morea, the coast of Albania; and then come the Ionian islands. The sea among these islands assumes the character of a lake; after passing the currant-bearing Zante, the Steamer passes into a narrow strait between Cephalonia and Ithaca. The greater part of a day is occupied in steaming between these islands; then follows Leucadia, and before nightfall the ship drops anchor in the harbour of Corfu, having accomplished three-fifths of the voyage from Alexandria to Trieste. Passengers are not allowed to land at Corfu, a mortifying prohibition, rendered however more tolerable by finding that the ship does not wait there more than six hours, a brief space indeed to those who have learnt on board the P. and O. ships to associate the process of coaling with a halt of twenty-four hours; a prohibition moreover of which they are to reap the benefit on reaching Trieste, for they there find that in the course of their five days' voyage they have performed their quarantine.

A few hours after leaving Corfu, we enter the Adriatic; the waters of which are enlivened by the number of ships passing up and down between Venice, Trieste, Ancona, and the ports of the Mediterranean. The Steamer leaves the Italian coast out of sight, and creeps up the shore of Dalmatia and Illyria. It is on the evening of the 5th day out from Alexandria, that we see the wood fringed semi-circular hill which overhangs the port of Austria, and then the white houses, the increasing size of which denote our rapid approach to the Continent of Europe. Now comes the testing time of the first of our terrors, the rigour of the Austrian quarantine. We will narrate briefly our own experience of this awful process. We have said that the Trieste route is but too little appreciated, and on the occasion referred to, we and our immediate party and an Austrian gentleman were the only passengers on board. We had entered Trieste harbour in the night, and next morning were dressing with a pleasing consciousness that Europe was within a stone's throw of the port, but with a

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counteracting uneasiness concerning the yellow flag whose ominous shadow we could see reflected in the water. Presently we were informed that the Doctor was come to give us pratique. We felt very much as a man does who is going up for an examination, a comparison which in these days is sure to come home to every reader's experience. Presently we heard a voice shouting at us from the deck in language which we regret to say we not only did not understand, but hesitated whether to set it down as German or Italian. We replied in Hindustani, which had the satisfactory effect of inducing our Interlocutor to change his language. We proceeded to the foot of the ladder, and there caught a glimpse of a little man stooping down to try and get a view of us. He then asked in French whether we had the plague. We replied up the hatchway that we were free from that malady. He repeated the question (with due formality with regard to Madame our wife and Monsieur our infant,) and receiving an equally satisfactory assurance with regard to both of them wished us good morning; and by the time we had completed our interrupted toilet, the yellow flag was down, and we were free to take leave of our comfortable ship and her obliging officers. The fact is that the quarantine for these Steamers coming from Alexandria, is fixed at five days from the hour of leaving the Egyptian port; and as this is precisely the period consumed by the voyage, the quarantine is reduced to a practical nullity, operating only at Corfu, where a passenger would by landing break his quarantine and of course lose his pratique.

The first bugbear of the Trieste route being thus disposed of, then remains the Custom House and the Police. We are not going to deny that both luggage searching and passport examining are abominable and barbarous customs. But it is quite certain that the Austrian Custom House is rather better than worse than others; indeed the *amour proper* of the Indian voyager cannot fail to be gratified by the obvious attention shown him, for the reason we have above stated. Every body knows instinctively what articles are contraband. If an officer will fill his portmanteau with cigars or tobacco, he will doubtless have sufficient reason to complain of the Austrian Custom House—and probably the suspicions of one department will extend to another: he will be wearied with doubts and questions concerning his passport; will find the Police as bad as the Custom House officials, and will heartily abuse the Trieste route. But the man who carries his bonâ fide luggage and nothing else, will find that the utmost of his trouble consists in unlocking and relocking his portmanteau. The scrutiny will probably be rigid, for Austrian officials have a natural inquisitorial taste, and are moreover drilled to do their business thoroughly; but he will meet

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with perfect civility, and every reasonable assistance in resettling deranged property. The search will be repeated at the barrier at Vienna, at Bödenbach on the Saxon frontier; on entering Belgium; on entering France, and finally at Dover or London; and the force of the Custom House objection to the Trieste route may be ascertained and arithmetically represented by multiplying the trouble of arranging a disturbed portmanteau into five: we do not reckon the Dover search, which is cancelled by that which Bay of Biscay voyagers have to encounter at Southampton.

But the Austrian Police! These terrible individuals are not unnaturally associated in our minds with persecuted patriots, with oppressed Italy, with injured Hungary. But the Police who carry out a Radetskian policy have no authority to molest but rather to help the travellers by the Austrian Lloyd's Company. The worst of it is that an Englishman does not like being helped, whereas the Austrian Government is so accustomed to its paternal attitude that it cannot forbear helping those who would much rather be let alone. But at least this helping interfering system has one advantage. Let a man land at Trieste knowing no word of any language except English and Bengalee, let him have his passport and five pounds to his pocket,—let him set his face as one that would pass through Austria—and we defy him to go wrong till he is across the frontier. Let him take his ticket and thenceforth be at ease. He is a parcel and may be quite sure he will be delivered as addressed. It may be degrading to be treated as a chattel, but it saves a world of trouble and anxiety. Three things only a man must not do; he must not lose his passport, he must not lose his purse, and he must not smuggle. Of course if a man understands French, so much the better, and if German, better still. He will then find Austria the easiest country in the world—we do not say to travel *in*—but to travel through. But were the terrors of the quarantine, the Custom House and the Police really as great as they are sometimes supposed to be, it would be worth some trouble to get rid so soon of the Sea, to ascend slowly the long hill out of Trieste, looking right across the Gulf of Venice, and on a fine day catching a hazy view of the Queen of the Adriatic herself, to pass over those wild swelling ridges of the Julian Alps and into the magnificent gorges of Illyria. But beautiful as is the drive of 70 miles from Trieste to Laibach, it is not to be concealed that it is here we have to look for the seventh practical improvement of the present route. The country is difficult for a Railway, and the resources of the Austrian Government were exhausted by making the yet more difficult line from Laibach to Vienna. But though the Austrian Government, has not been able to make the Railway

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itself, it is far too paternal to suffer any body else to do so : the Germans, good easy folks, have not yet contracted that insatiable desire for going fast which pursues the English and Americans, and now every day with increasing force the French, and urges those nations forward like a fate : they do not yet seek "*Quadrigis bene vivere :*" they are perfectly content to travel 70 miles by post, and wait till such time as the Austrian Government shall have finished the task which it performs with studied and politic tardiness. To our more impatient Anglo-Indians it is satisfactory to know that the work is and has been for many years in progress. In 1854 it was stated that the railway was to be opened in four years. How far this promise is likely to be kept, we have no means of knowing ; our only recent authority, the great Bradshaw, excellent, painstaking, and accurate as the foreign guide for the most part is, being singularly deficient in information concerning the Austrian lines. But allowing the usual percentage for contractors' promises we may fairly hope to see the work completed in 1860, and then the iron bars will run in an unbroken sequence from Trieste to Calais. At present the Railway starting place is Laibach : and a traveller returning from India could scarcely light on a more remarkable illustration of European skill and energy, than this wonderful railway through Illyria. If ever there was a country which romance might seem to have separated for its own, it is this. For our own part we were not prepared to admit that an occasional wreath of steam gliding through these narrow valleys need offend the fondest lover of nature. But if the very existence of a railway be an offence to the picturesque, it is sad to find that high hills, narrow gorges, rushing streams and solid rocks are powerless to keep a railway out. The last wonder of this wonderful line is the passage of the Semering mountain. For several years this obstacle separated the Austrian from the Illyrian line by an awkward interval of twelve miles, which had to be crossed in carriages over a mountain pass. The railway Engineers paused, but did not hesitate. We do not doubt that every wild scheme which could occur to a scientific imagination was suggested and discussed. At last when all seemed hopeless ; when tunnelling and circumventing appeared equally impossible, the perplexed mind returned from its hunt after the remote to the contemplation of what lay straight before it. Why not do as the carriage road had done, and go right up and down ? There is an orthodoxy of Engineers as well as of divines, and the heretic of Railways is the advocate of a bad gradient. To go right up and down a mountain, like a vulgar cart track, was below the dignity of science. It was however the only way to carry a railway across the Semering. And it has been actually done. The traveller descending on the plain of Glognitz, sees many hundred feet below him another train toil-

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ing up one of the zigzags of this extraordinary pass. What may be the cost of wear and tear involved by this successful defiance of mechanical laws we cannot tell, but far less doubtless than was caused by the twelve miles *hiatus*. The passenger will not expect to travel up and down the Semering at the pace of the Great Western Express; but to enter a carriage at Laibach which he need not quit till he reaches Vienna; nay to see that bold innovation on all existing railway practice, is enough to extort from him a hearty commendation of the gallant Engineer, who in so preposterous a manner defeated the Semering.

But if our admiration of the engineering of this Austrian line is great; if our delight in the surpassing beauty of the scenery is equalled only by our wonder that its fame is not more wide y spread, it is impossible not to feel also something like respect and esteem for the Austrian Government. There may be some who will see in the tranquil, placid, and perhaps subdued air of the people, nought but the accursed traces of absolute power: as there are certainly some who can loo on these peaceful villages with their church spire and cross, so conspicuous an object, and the quiet grave yards overshadowed by the protecting crucifix, with no other feeling that resentment at the power and extent of an abominable superstition. But it is possible also to regard those secluded villages set in such a landscapes of beauty with other thoughts than these: to acknowledge that the phrase "paternal government" contains in it something that is not to be sneered at: that however impossible a form of government for the Anglo-Saxon, it may not be altogether unsuited for all the races even of Europeans. If we think with just pride of our own free institutions, and say—as we well may—that these are indeed the meat by which strong men should live; yet it is possible to admit when we notice the solidity which characterises every public work, the accuracy and method, slow but very sure, which accompanies the working of every Public Institution; and above all the air of old world, simple, cheerful, pious, contentment which marks the people and their villages, that these Southern Austrians would possibly be no great gainers by exchanging their attitude of depending confidence on a strong paternal Government, for the agitated search after political power; nay that it is even possible that those crosses on the Church spire, those crucifixes in the church yards, may exercise some other than a baneful influence on the hearts of a simple people. We are not going at this time of day to commit ourselves to so foolish a paradox as the praise of absolutism: but it may be just to recollect that odiously selfish and hostile to freedom as the foreign policy of Austria is and almost always has been: deep as is the

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interest of every good man in seeing her expelled from Italy, and punished for her crimes towards Hungary; yet few governments are perhaps more free than that of the House of Hapsburgh from reproach as to its relations towards its own natural subjects; that if Austria as a foreign power be the legitimate object of our suspicion and dislike, she may yet be entitled to the praise of having carried out the Know-nothing Doctrine of "Austria for the Austrians:" that that absolutism may not be altogether evil which is repulsive to the foreign spectator rather than to the governed citizen. The Anglo-Indian may take another and a better lesson with him across the Austrian Frontier than mere declamatory indignation against political servitude. He may well indeed thank God that he is not as an Austrian is, but he may also remember that to England of all countries in the world he has no need to carry the doctrines of political freedom: that the danger there is rather that of anarchy among a people whose liberties are so secure as to make Government a difficult task; he will see in England with reverent patriotic gratitude the blessings of political liberty; it will be well if he has had some admiration to bestow in Austria on the blessings of a strong Government.

We are not writing a guide book (though a guide book of the Trieste route is much wanted) and cannot therefore give our readers that information respecting hotels, cab-fares and the like which belongs to the province of Messrs. Murray and Bradshaw. Neither can we follow out the route: but we may notice that long curve of the Railway above Brünn, delightful as the sweep of the Steamer into the Red Sea; for it indicates that the turn to the left is being made at last; that the traveller whose geographical notions have been disturbed ever since he left Trieste by finding himself still moving Eastward, has now set his face to the North West; away from Russia, towards the centres of civilization and—what he values more—his home.

The combined Oriental and Western beauty of Bohemian Prague; the line of demarcation at Bodenbach, on the bank of the rushing Elbe, between Austria and Saxony; the glories of the Saxon Switzerland, as the train passes through a deep ravine where the gloom of the grey forest-covered crags overhanging either side of the narrow gorge, pierced here and there by deep clefts, is relieved by the sparkling waters of the Elbe and the bright belt of green turf which separates the river from the wooded rocks; and presently debouches, before the passenger has had time to become satiated with excess of this beauty on the sunny plain of Dresden; the charms of that exhilarating city; the literary claims of Leipzig; the once battered walls of Magdeburg, where we take our leave of the Elbe, and passing through

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Brunswick and Hanover—the homes of our kings, find ourselves more than compensated for the loss of the Elbe by the presence of the Rhine; the entrance to the city of the vast Cathedral, having crossed the last of those great rivers, the Nile, the Danube, the Elbe and the Rhine, which lie between the Indus and the Thames,—all these things belong to Bradshaw, and there they are written.

On quitting Cologne, with a ticket for London in our pocket, we soon leave the valley of the Rhine, and winding and twisting through the beautiful hill district which guards the right bank of the valley of the Meuse, enter on the wide level plains of Belgium. From Liege to Calais is perhaps one of the dullest routes in Europe. Of the great Flemish cities the railway with which we are concerned touches none but Malines and Ghent. At the former we catch a scanty view of the Cathedral tower, of the latter we see nothing. The only incident which breaks the tedious journey is the constant change of carriage. It is characteristic of the effect of luxury on the human mind that the man who cared nought for the difficulties of Himalayan travel, who could laugh when his doolie broke down in the middle of a jungle, who retained his cheerfulness amid the chafing waves of the Indian ocean and the fierce heat of the Red Sea, is now full of grumbling, and thinks himself hardly used because he has to change from one glazed, padded, luxurious first-class carriage to another. It should be some consolation to him that he enters a new country with every new carriage. Indeed it almost repents us to have called the route from Cologne to Calais dull when we recall the strange effect, so utterly unknown to our fathers, of passing in a few hours through the homes of three different and strikingly contrasted nations. It is worthy of remark how national boundaries which seem to be capricious, nevertheless serve to divide national peculiarities. From Herbesthat to Verviers is not ten miles, but in those ten miles we perceive an entire change of physiognomy, dress and language. The traveller who at breakfast is surrounded by bearded guttural-loving Germans, and at supper is cheered by the accommodating "yes, Sir," of an English waiter, has in the interval seen the quaint Flemish names over the shops which remind the passer by that Belgium is not France, and been deafened by the unceasing clamor which attended him from the time he entered to the time he quitted the latter country.

More and more sensibly do we become involved in the force of that tide which sets stronger and stronger as we approach its great heart—London.

The easy-going German railways may have seemed to us a miracle of speed after ten years of palkis; but here is Lille,

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and Lille is on the direct line between Paris and London, the whole of which is traversed four times daily in twelve hours. Again we are shot out on to a platform; again driven for want of other occupation to one of those Railway *Restaurants* the excellent arrangements of which make us admire the taste, while their endless quantity makes us marvel at the appetite of our continental brethren; till it is announced that the Paris express is in, and the Paris express is timed so as to leave no margin for long stoppages.

And now we find as our pace mounts gradually above the three miles of the palki, above the ten knots of the Steamer, above the fifteen miles of the Calcutta or the twenty miles of the German railways, to thirty and forty miles an hour, that we are indeed on the high road to London, and that to London all traffic must be hurried with imperious haste. We have scarcely time to feel we are in France, to catch a glimpse of the old Jesuit towers of St. Omers, to cast a glance at the neglected high-road and think of the days that road has seen: of the English tourists posting along to Paris in those recent times when continental travelling was the exclusive luxury of the rich; of the diplomatists, the special messengers, the armies, the despatches of war or peace, which have been borne clattering over that now desolate looking pave; happily we have scarcely time to agitate ourselves about the wind; to watch with recreant heart the fluttering of the leaves or to estimate with self-deceiving moderation the rapidity of the wind mills; hardly time in short to inflict on ourselves the needless misery of a voyage in anticipation;—when the shrill sustained whistle of the engine, the uneasy motion of the train round a long curve, the sight of an old fortified town, the sudden upstarting of a little wood of masts, informs us that we have reached the Western terminus of the 'Calais and Mooltan,' that we have come down to the Straits of Dover.

Another *restaurant;* then the last rapid interview with the police; the 'permit' willingly accorded and so thankfully received—to quit France, the deck of the Steamer, the bold face, the gradual movement, the first heave which denotes that we are across the bar, the drooping countenance, the common misery.

Wonderful indeed is the misery suffered yearly in those straits; wonderful is the energy of the English race which makes them rush every year in myriads to endure it; wonderful to the home-bound exile is the illustration here afforded of the great secret of life that pleasure must be purchased by pain!

But a man may well bear pain for an hour and three quarters, which is to purchase for him at the end of that time the pleasure of standing on English soil, of speaking freely the English tongue, of seeing English faces, of being asked in the English language

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for an English sixpence, of eating at an English hotel an English dinner.

But it remains to reach London. Two hours and a half are granted by the South Eastern Railway; the difference of French and English clocks gives nearly half an hour more. Three hours amply suffice to do justice to the hospitality of the Lord Warden hotel; to pass luggage through the Custom house by means of an agent; (we hear much abuse of the English Custom house; but surely that is no very terrible ordeal which may be escaped altogether by abstaining from smuggling, and the payment of eighteen pence to a Commissioner) and to walk across to the London station. And now it grieves us to find room for the 8th practical improvement of the existing route in our own country; but there is no concealing the fact that the carriages of the South Eastern Railway Company are a national scandal. Foreigners form a silent but unfavorable judgment, as they contrast the comfortable spacious well warmed carriage which they left at Calais, with the narrow, crowded, cramped, barred and grated den which they are forced to enter at Dover. They judge, falsely indeed but not unnaturally, of all English Railways from the one which they first see: and the London and North Western, the Great Northern and the Great Western Companies, lose credit for their handsome and costly carriages because of the shameless parsimony of the South Eastern. But this grievance is soon forgotten: the cockney who has for the first time in his life made a ten days' trip to Paris and back, is tired of telling people how uncomfortable he feels after the ease to which he has grown accustomed on the Continent; the Indian traveller, who has been forced to confess that his present seat contrasts most unfavourably with that which he occupied from Raneegunge to Howrah, from Cairo to Alexandria, or in the second class carriages of the honest Germans from Laibach to Cologne, is consoled for this first national disappointment by the sight of the rich quiet meadows of Kent, by the consciousness, as he flashes by the stations—from Folkestone to Ashford, from Ashford to Tunbridge, from Tunbridge to Reigate, that after all it is an English railway which alone knows how to go the pace.

Reigate is passed—and Croydon. Many an old Indian looks out into the darkness, trying to catch some light which may point out to his recollection the exact situation of Addiscombe.

Sydenham is past: and the moon just shines sufficiently to show the ghost-like outline of the Crystal Palace; two lines of rail are multiplied into four, and four into six, and six into eight, as the main line is successively joined by those from Epsom, from Sydenham, from Gravesend, from Greenwich. A short train from the last place runs in to the station side by side with the

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Dover express; and the man who has been dining at the Crown and Sceptre, and the man who has come from Calcutta, enter London together. London is reached; the last fragment of the Cologne ticket is given up; a cab is called, and the Indian traveller is one more unit absorbed into the millions of the London population.

It remains for us to recapitulate the points wherein we may reasonably hope to see the existing overland route improved within not very many years, and to state the saving of time which the sum of these improvements would effect. We hope to see a railway from Umritsir to Lahore; another from Lahore to Mooltan. We hope to see the enterprize of the Scinde Company successfully carried out, and their trains running from Mooltan to Kurrachee. We hope to see the shareholders of the Suez and Kurrachee Steam Navigation Company rewarded for their public spirit, and in possession of a fine fleet of steamers between those two ports. We hope to see the Pascha of Egypt keep his word, and the whole length of the Egyptian Railway opened in 1857.

We hope to see the P. and O. Company reduced by a fair competition to their proper position, to be the servants instead of the masters of the public. We hope to see the natural advantages of the Trieste route left to exercise their proper influence, no longer counteracted by the crushing prohibitory rates of a jealous monopolizing company. We hope to be able to congratulate the Austrian Government on the completion of what will rank as one of the most magnificent railway achievements in the world. And we hope to see the disgraceful boxes in which the South Eastern Railway Company carry their 1st class passengers put to their proper purpose, and used for fire wood. The result of these improvements would be that whereas it is now impossible to reach London from Lahore viâ the Indus in less than 56 days, and few do reach in less than 64 days, the journey will—when the route is fairly developed, be accomplished easily in 31 days. This result may sound poor as compared with the magnificent prospect which Mr. Stephenson and others hold out to us for the future, but it is not to be despised when compared with the present. It involves no work of even doubtful practicability; none of very enormous expense. We hope that attention will not be so absorbed by speculations which however magnificent cannot be immediately or even speedily realized, as to neglect those possible improvements which lie close at hand. By all means let our children travel to England in ten days, but meanwhile let us make an effort to get there ourselves in thirty. The P. and O. alone are against us; nature, commerce and capital are on our side.

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Art. VII.—*Unpublished Manuscripts.*

A cloud of mystery overhangs, in the Hindoo mind, the nature and character of the Honorable the East India Company. The people of this country have known Rajahs and Maha Rajahs, Ranees and Maha Ranees as rulers of their destinies; but all these personages and visible divinities (pratyaksha devatas) have had their ascertainable places of residence, their tangible capitals, palaces, and thrones; they have conquered and have been conquered; they have lived and died. Not so the "Kumpani." Her dominion stretches over the whole land; her name is a tower of strength; her fame fills the world: yet no where is she seen in her royal splendour. She appoints Governors great and small, and through them rules untold millions; she gives salt to an enormous army, wages wars, subdues kingdoms, deposes princes, gives laws to nations. But who is, where is, this High Mightiness, that presides over the vast household of Hindustan? Is she some Devi, dwelling high above this nether world in the regions of Kailasa and Vaikunta, or some great Ranee, sitting on a throne of Devendra in a palace of pearls and gold on a Geniiguarded island in the far ocean? Her power is ever on the increase, her glory ever rising, her wonders multiplying in the land. Her chariots run over rivers and through hills by the joint powers of Agni and Varuna, reduced by her to servitude. Her messages fly from sea to sea, outstripping Marut and Vijing with the bolts of Indra. She was never born and never dies. Continual changes take place among the grandees of her empire, but the centre of all power remains unchanged. *Who* is the Kumpani?

The schoolmaster is abroad. The dreams of night and the mists of morning will soon vanish, and the Hindu mind awake to the broad daylight of the nineteenth century. Then it will be seen by all eyes what the Company is. The virtues and vices, the power and weakness, the resources and the burdens of its government of India will be known by all men; and the peoples of Hindusthan may then judge and act according to their knowledge, admire and obey, love and bless the great guardian power of their country, or despise and hate, and throw off the yoke of foreign selfishness. The next volume of the East India Company's history will contain an account of its trial in the face of the world, and of the judgment of God upon its character.

There is, however, some force of truth in the popular personification of the "Kumpani," which has established itself in the Hindu mind. The East India Company's government up to the end of the last and the beginning of this century has had a peculiar character of its own—thoroughly heathen, affectedly half

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Hindu, half Mussulman, as much at variance with the growingly European character of the East India Company of the first-half of our century, as the temper and principles of any ill-favoured mother can differ from those of a daughter born under happier auspices and belonging to a better generation. And there is much hope, that the mind and heart of the Company of the second-half of the nineteenth century will rise to a still higher standard, political and religious. The year 1853 has been the commencement of a new era. The old Ranee of the ancient regime, living in the fashion of the land, ordering salutes in honor of devils, male and female, great and small, almost worshipping holy Brahmans, and their gods, looking complacently on the burning of widows and the destruction of infants, and jealously guarding her domain against the entrance of the Bible and of Missionaries, appears a thorough Asiatic—licentious and brave—avaricious and prodigal—faithless and intolerant. Her daughter of the present century has the air of an European Princess, enlightened, liberal, humane, averse to and disgusted with the abominations tolerated or cherished in her mother's time. She has dared to avow her religion, to open the country to Missionaries, to suppress Sati (Suttee) and infanticide, to import Bishops, build churches, and gradually to withdraw from the open support of idolatry. At the same time she has been nervously anxious to preserve a so-called strict neutrality, and quite zealous in disavowing any care whatever for the spiritual welfare of the millions entrusted to her keeping by the king of kings.—Her daughter, of the present generation, can scarcely be recognized as the grand-daughter of the old godless Begum. She harbours noble thoughts in her mind, and meditates vast schemes of reform, worthy of her high calling. The fear of God and the love of man seem to exercise a holy influence upon her heart; a generous ambition appears to animate her soul, in short, she looks as Christian-queen-like as her Royal Mistress, Victoria.

It was during the latter end of the eighteenth century, that Coorg was first brought within the influence of the East India Company, during one of those great struggles through which the latter has risen to the height of its present power. Old Vira Rajendra Vodeya, for his important services during the war with Tippoo Sultan, was taken under British patronage, received the thanks of the Supreme Government, a splendid sword, a costly bracelet "as an amulet!" (quite in keeping with the character of Begum Company,) and a solemn promise of protection to his favorite daughter and designated heiress, which was not kept. Of Christianity he seems to have seen and heard nothing from his British friends and patrons.

In 1834, during the second period of the development of the

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East India Company's character, Coorg was delivered from the grasp of a chief as cruel, licentious and cowardly as any of the Indian puppets, whom the Company has too long permitted to play their fantastic tricks upon their tottering thrones, and to spread contagion and wretchedness all around them,—by Lord William Bentinck, and transferred to European rule. For 20 years, however, the country has been almost left to take care of itself. The power of the Commissioner for Mysore and Coorg being paralyzed by a most unhappy arrangement by which the Supreme Government kept Coorg under its own immediate control. The consequence was, that the poor principality was almost forgotten by the great men at the helm of all India; doing nothing themselves, for the improvement of their little charge, they prevented, by the customary system of checks and endless references one of their ablest administrators, under whom Mysore has revived and prospered, from extending the blessings of his rule to the unfortunate appendage of the great kingdom under his charge.*

* Lieut. Genl. M. Cubbon, Commissioner for the Government of the territories of His Highness, the Rajah of Mysore, and of Coorg, is one of that race of gentlemen Kings, whom the British nation alone, in modern times, seems to be capable of producing, and certainly has alone the means of aptly employing in the government of dependencies which encircle the globe. A Persian Satrap, an ancient Subadar of the Mogul, a Roman Proconsul may be more attractive to the imagination, in their glitter of "barbaric pearl and gold," their pomp and pride of office, or their stern, invincible power. The statesmen of the East India Company, who are placed in charge of countries as large as great kingdoms in Europe, affect no other character but that of English gentlemen. While the Rajah of Mysore idles away his time with trivial amusements and in despicable company, and squanders lakhs upon lakhs in thriftless extravagance, the real ruler of the country quietly and unostentatiously performs the hard work of Government, leading the life of a country gentleman of property. Half his day is spent in his Cutcherry, where he arrives as regularly as his clerk, and much of his time at home, too, is filled up with hard office work. There is no parade, no assumption of consequence. The Governor of some millions of people is as courteous to all comers, high or low, as affable and kindly in the intercourse with his subordinates, as frank, and urbane in his whole deportment as any private gentleman could be. Lieut. Genl. Cubbon has long ago reached the time, when men generally cease to be equal to the severer duties of life; but age seems to have taken most kindly to him; he has retained much of the liveliness and energy of youth. You may hear him relate from the stories of his unfailing memory, some anecdote with keen relish, introduced by "The other day" The names of the persons mentioned point to days long passed; but you are quite taken aback when you happen to hear "it was in 1805 or 1806," half a century ago. General Cubbon came to India in 1800. Of his merits as a ruler, the Marquis of Dalhousie has borne a better and a more competent testimony, than the writer of these pages could give, in the subjoined despatch.

Dated Fort William, the 7th February, 1856.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 24th November last, No. 84, and the five printed papers, which accompanied it, comprising all the information procurable on the principal points connected with the administration of Mysore.

The Governor General in Council has read with attention, and with very great interest, the papers submitted by you. They present a record of administration highly honorable to the British name, and reflecting the utmost credit upon the exertions of the valuable body of officers, by whom the great results shewn therein have been accomplished.

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In 1852, Gauramma, the favorite daughter of the Ex-Rajah of Coorg, was baptized in London, Her Majesty being sponsor. In

In the past autumn, the Governor General had the opportunity of witnessing some portion of these results with his own eyes, during his journey from the Neilgherries through Mysore to Madras. His journey was necessarily a hasty one. Even the cursory examination of the country, which alone was practicable during the course of a week's visit, enables him to bear testimony to the extent to which works of public improvement have been carried in Mysore, and to the favorable contrast, which the visible condition of that territory and of its people presents to the usual condition of the territory of a native prince, and even to the state of districts of our own which may sometimes be seen.

During the period of 25 years, which has elapsed since Mysore came under the administration of British officers, every department has felt the hand of reform. An enormous number of distinct taxes have been abolished, relieving the people in direct payment to the amount of 10¾ lakhs of Rs. a year, and doubtless the indirect relief given by this measure has exceeded even the direct relief. Excepting a low tax upon coffee, (which is raised on public land free of rent or land tax) no new tax appears to have been imposed, and no old tax appears to have been increased. Nevertheless the public revenue has risen from forty-four to eighty-two lakhs of Rs. per. annum.

In the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice vast improvements have been accomplished regularity, order, and purity have been introduced, where, under native rule, caprice, uncertainty and corruption prevailed: substantial justice is promptly dispensed, and the people themselves have been taught to aid in this branch of the administration by means of a system of Punchayets, which is in full and efficient operation. And in the department of Police the administration of British officers has been eminently successful. In short, the system of administration which has been established, whether in the Fiscal or Judicial Department, although it may be, and no doubt is, capable of material improvement, is infinitely superior to that which it superseded; and has, within itself, the elements of constant progress.

The chief merit of the conduct of this good work, of which the formal record is now before the Government, will, the Governor General in Council, remarks, be assigned by all, without dispute or cavil, to you, as Commissioner.

To your ability and judgment, to your long continued and vigilant superintendence of the interests committed to your charge, and to the vigorous yet kindly control by which you have drawn zealous and willing service from all who were placed under your authority, the Government of India owes in a great measure, the successful issue of its interposition in the affairs of the principality of Mysore.

These services, His Lordship in Council trusts, may yet receive a more honorable recognition than it is in the power of the Government of India to bestow upon them. General Cubbon, by the latest news, has been created K. C. B. It confers as much honor upon the Government to have offered this mark of distinction, as upon the General to have received it. But His Lordship in Council desires me in the mean time to convey to you the sentiments expressed above, and to tender to you the most marked acknowledgments and most cordial thanks of the Governor General in Council.

The Officers of the Commission, in the opinion of His Lordship in Council, are fully entitled to share in this approbation. It is therefore requested, that you will make known to them the great satisfaction with which the Government of India has received the high testimony which you have borne to their merits; and you are authorized to convey to them all, (especially to Major Haines whom you specially name,) the thanks of the Governor General in Council, for their praiseworthy and successful exertions in the administration of Mysore.

The points of detail in your letter will be separately noticed.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) G. F. EDMONSTONE,
Secretary to the Government of India.

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the following year the first Protestant Mission was established among the Coorgs, and one family baptized. Now Engineers are at work, making roads, and carrying the Electric Telegraph line though the forest. A liberal system of education is on the eve of being introduced, in accordance with the spirit of the third era of British Indian Government, the inaugural manifesto of which is the education despatch of 1854.

The affairs of Coorg have seldom, and for short seasons only, attracted public attention. The campaign of 1834 speedily ended in the deposition and deportation to Benares of Vira Rajah, the last of Coorg princes, whose impotent and insolent tyranny was gladly exchanged by the chief men among the Coorgs, for the civilized and equitable dominion of the East India Company. A badly contrived and bootless insurrection in 1837 was quelled without much ado by the chiefs of the Coorgs themselves, under Capt. Le Hardy, the first Superintendent of Coorg. Some stir was created in England and in Coorg by the Ex-Rajah's voyage to England, and the baptism of his daughter; but it has died away gradually. Little Victoria's growing up into womanhood, under the fostering care of her illustrious sponsor, is no matter of public importance, and the Rajah's law proceedings against his over indulgent patrons of Leadenhall Street, for the recovery of a large sum of money (the principal amounted originally to about ten lakhs of Rupees or £100,000) invested about the beginning of the century in Company's paper by old Virarajah, in the name of his beloved eldest daughter, Devammaji, do not seem to be very successful, except in transferring part of the Rajah's remaining wealth to the pockets of some legal friends in London; at all events, they do not much interest the British public.*

A little book, entitled, "Coorg Memoirs," by the Rev. H. Moegling—Bangalore, 1855—contains the first published descrip-

* Poor Devammaji received of her father a treasure amounting to a lakh of Pagodas or £40,000, besides the above sum invested in Company's paper. According to the will of her father, which was solemnly guaranteed by the Supreme Government, she was to have succeeded him; but her uncle, Lingarajendra, the father of the Ex-Raja, contrived to induce the Supreme Government first to acknowledge him as Regent, and then as Rajah of Coorg. On his death, his son succeeded him. Yet nothing effectual was done or even attempted for the ladies, and they died in the Fort of Mercara, a short time before the annexation of the country. It is the property of this cousin, invested in Company's paper fifty years ago, in the name of Devammaji, for which it was somehow managed to substitute Viraraja's name, which the Ex-Rajah now claims from the Court of Directors, together with the interest of half a century. This large sum ought, in strict justice, perhaps to have been given up as prize-money to the troops of the expedition in 1834; or to have been confiscated at once as State property, and generously expended on the improvement of Coorg. By some mismanagement, neither of these courses has been adopted; a separate account is still kept of the deposit of old Viraraja, and thus the wily Ex-Rajah has been tempted to trust in the ignorance of Indian matters prevailing at home, and to claim the property as his own.

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tion of the Coorg country. Copious extracts are given in it from the Puranic history of Coorg, preserved in the Skanda Purana, and from a tolerably correct history of the fortunes of the Coorg Rajahs, since the middle of the seventeenth century, composed under the eye of Virarajendra Vodeya, who died in 1809. A full account, also, of the customs, manners and religion of the Coorgs is presented in a condensed form. The small volume, however, has been printed in an edition of 500 copies only, and, though favourably reviewed by some Indian papers, it can scarcely be said to have obtained publicity. The following pages, therefore, have the advantage of telling most of their readers a new tale.

Coorg is the only native principality which has been added to the territory of the East India Company by Lord William Bentinck, the most liberal, the most peace-loving, and, among the land-devouring Governor Generals of India, the most abstemious. In ancient times the Rajahs of the Coorg Hills were subject to the Ikkeri Government. They were perhaps an offshoot, originally, of that dynasty. Certain it is, that they have imported upon the wild soil of their fief the Shaiva religion and an establishment of Jangams. Adopting the policy of constant intermarriage with daughters of principal families among the Coorgs, the Rajahs succeeded in naturalizing themselves. They, adopted also the superstitions of the country by the side of their own Lingaitic worship; their subjects, however, did not return the compliment, but, with few exceptions, adhered to their ancient worship of the Kaveri Amma (Mother Kaveri) the Divinity of the principal river of Coorg; of the spirits of their departed fathers and grandfathers, (ancestral worship does not go farther back among those mountaineers,) and of innumerable demons and goblins which people their forest-solitudes, pasture-lands, fields and gardens. Brahmanism has spread its polype-tendrils into Coorg. Haviga priests have immigrated from the Tulu country, and established themselves at the sacred fountain of the Kaveri, in the room, probably, of an indigenous priesthood, the Amma Kodagas, (Coorgs devoted to "Mother Kaveri,") who have entirely ceased from the performance of priestly offices, and of whom but a small number of families now remain, as they intermarry only among themselves. Yet Brahmanism also has found the Coorg a tough material.

When Hyder Ali took Ikkeri, which was thenceforward called Hyder Nagara, (Nuggur,) and incorporated the kingdom with his growing territory, he considered himself the liege-lord of Coorg, and, though foiled for a long while in his assertion of suzerainty, at last succeeded by dint of fraud and force, in coercing the refractory Hill chiefs into a state of vassalage. Lingarajah

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of Haleri agreed about the year 1774, to pay an annual tribute of 24,000 Rs. to Hyder Ali. Virarajendra Vodeya, in his Rajendraname, admits also the fact, that one of his ancestors, Dodda Virappa, with the harelip, paid an annual tribute for some towns in the Yelusaviraskime district of Coorg, which he held from Chicka Deva Vodeya of Mysore. But the two awkward proofs of the dependency of the Coorg Rajahs on more powerful neighbours are carefully disguised.

In the year 1780, Lingaraja, who had betrayed the Horamale branch of the family into the hands of Hyder Ali, died, leaving a natural son, Appaji, and two sons by his queen, Viraraja and Lingaraja. Viraraja was then 17 years old; Lingaraja still of tender age. Hyder Ali, who had destroyed the entire Horamale family, now declared himself guardian of the two young Coorg princes, and appointed a Brahman, Subarasaga, who had formerly been in the service of the Coorg Rajahs, Mamaldar of Coorg. In the same year he led his army against Arcot. The Coorgs were indignant at the seizure of their princes and the ascendancy of the Brahman. In the Monsoon of 1782, they broke out into open insurrection. The Mamaldar reported to his master, who replied from Arcot, that the princes must be secured in Garuru, a Mysore fort, but at the same time promised to inquire by and bye into the grievances of the Coorgs. The princes were deported to Garuru, in September 1782. The Coorgs flew to arms, and swept the Mussulmans from the country. Hyder Ali died before the close of 1782. In 1784, Tippoo, after having treacherously seized General Matthews and his officers at Nuggur, and reduced Mangalore, marched through Coorg on his way back to Seringapatam, and compromised matters with the insurgents. The young Coorg Rajahs and their families were kept prisoners at Periyapattana. They were ill-treated and starved, and the small-pox carried off several of the family. Before the lapse of a year, the Coorgs rose again, defeated a force of 15,000 men, sent against them from Seringapatam, but afterwards submitted to Tippoo himself, who treacherously seized large numbers of them and carried them into the Mysore. They were replaced by Mussulman landlords, whom Tippoo supplied with laborers from Adwani in the Bellary district. Nagappaya, a nephew of Subarasaya, was charged with the government of Coorg; but was soon convicted of embezzlement, and condemned to the gallows, when he fled to the Kote Arasa in the Maleyalam.

In December 1788, Dodda Virarajéndra Vodeya, by the help of his Coorg partizans, escaped from Periyapattana with his family, for whom he found a refuge at Kurchi, a sequestered spot in Kiggadnad, near the sources of the Lakshmanatirtha river. He now sallied forth, at the head of his Coorgs, to fight

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the Mussulmans. In a short time he had cleared the country of the usurpers, from Bislighat to Manantwady. Successful plundering expeditions into the Mysore were carried on at the same time, and large supplies of cattle and grain carried away into Coorg, where they were divided among the adherents of the Rajah. During this season, full of daring and successful exploits, the gallant Viraraja once, on his return from an expedition into the Mysore, found the residence of his family, at Kurchi, a heap of ruins and ashes. Every soul of his family had been destroyed, and all the old family treasures carried off. The runaway Mamaldar had shewn the way to a troop of Nair Banditti despatched upon this errand of treachery and blood, by the fiendish foe of the Coorg Rajahs, the Kote Arasu. Tippoo now ordered a large force into Coorg under the command of Golam Ali, who carried fire and sword all over the country. Virarajah must soon have succumbed to the superiority in numbers and discipline of the Mysoreans, had not a revolt of the Maleyalam Rajahs compelled Tippoo to order Golam Ali with his army to the Western coast. The latter was not, however, permitted to leave Coorg unmolested. On his march he was fiercely attacked at the Kodantur-pass, and suffered severe losses. Thereupon Tippoo despatched a considerable reinforcement to Golam Ali's assistance under four Captains. Virarajah lay in wait for them at the Heggala-pass. The Mysoreans left 800 men dead on the ground, and 400 wounded. Their baggage and stores fell into the hands of the Hill men; the whole force might have been destroyed, had not the Coorgs prefered plundering to fighting. Viraraja sent his prisoners back into Mysore. Tippoo was alarmed, and despatched Buran-u-din, his own brother-in-law, with a strong army and large supplies to secure Coorg. Buran-u-din was attacked and beaten on his way from Kushalanagara (Fraserpet.) He escaped into the Fort of Mercara, with the loss of one-half of his military stores. Thus Viraraja sustained a successful contest against his mighty neighbour, in whose eye Coorg had acquired great importance, as a decisive struggle with the rising power of the East India Company was impending, when the possession of Coorg by the enemy might seal the fate of Seringapatam. The Company's Government, on the other hand, was equally aware of the strategical value of Coorg. They had with difficulty, maintained their ground at Tellicherry against the Mussulman forces under Pajal Khan, aided by the treachery of the Bibi; and Abercromby, the Governor of Bombay, who was preparing for an attack on Mysore, from the Westward, knew, that the shortest way for his army from Cannanore or Tellicherry, lay through the passes of Coorg, which, by an enemy, might be closed against him with ease. Virarajah

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dreaded and hated Tippoo, from whom he could expect no mercy, and whose assurances and promises he knew he could never trust. His hopes depended on his success in gaining the support of a powerful ally. His eyes were directed towards the rising star of the Company. The union of Tippoo's enemies was effected without difficulty. Muttu Bhatta, an agent of Viraraja, arrived at Tellicherry, ostensibly for the purpose of purchasing a superior horse and other articles. Robert Taylor, the English chief at Tellicherry, had an interview with the Coorgman, who gave him an account of the long feud between his master and Tippoo. Robert Taylor said: Tippoo is the common enemy both of the Rajah of Coorg and of the Government of the Company. The two latter parties ought to be good friends and allies. Muttu Bhatta carried a letter back to Coorg, containing a proposal for a cordial alliance. Viraraja cheerfully responded to this offer of friendship between the Company and himself. He agreed to procure draught cattle for the Bombay army, and immediately commenced forays into the Mysore, for Tippoo's cattle was superior to that of Coorg. In a short time, he despatched upwards of 500 heads to Tellicherry. Soon after, the Rajah was informed, that despatches had arrived from Bombay with orders to conclude in the name of the English Government, an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rajah of Coorg. Viraraja repaired to Tellicherry in the beginning of October 1790, accompanied by Captain Brown, who had been sent to conduct him to the then head-quarters of the Company on the Western coast.

A formal treaty was concluded with the following stipulations:

1. While the sun and moon endure, the faith of the contracting parties shall be kept inviolate.

2. Tippoo and his allies are to be treated as common enemies. The Rajah will do all in his power to assist the English to injure Tippoo.

3. The Rajah will furnish, for fair payment, all the supplies his country affords, and have no connection with other "topiwallahs."

4. The Company guarantee the independence of Coorg, and the maintenance of the Rajah's interests in the case of a peace with Tippoo.

5. An asylum and every hospitality is offered to the Rajah and his family at Tellicherry until the establishment of peace.

God, sun, moon and earth be witnesses!

Signed: Robert Taylor, Esq. on behalf of the Governments of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal.—Virarajendra Vodeya, Rajah of Coorg. When Sir R. Abercromby arrived on the coast, the

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Rajah was invited to an interview, and was escorted by an officer and a company of Sepoys.*

A passage was prepared through Coorg for the Bombay Army. The route of the Heggala-pass was chosen. Viraraja provided again, in his old fashion, a supply of upwards of a thousand draught cattle from Mysore. When Sir R. Abercromby had ascended the Heggala-pass, Viraraja came from Nalkanad to wait upon him. He had collected a great quantity of grain, which was made over to English officers. Viraraja accompanied Sir Robert before Seringapatam. When the Monsoon of 1791, suspended active military operations, and Lord Cornwallis and Sir Robert retired, the former to Bangalore, the latter to Bombay, the Artillery, stores, and ammunition, belonging to the Bombay Army, were left in the charge of the Rajah, who, during the rainy season, was engaged in purchasing all the grain he could from his own people, and from the Pindari contractors of Tippoo. The latter now condescended to send a confidential officer, Kadar Khan Kesagi, a friend of Viraraja, with an autograph of Tippoo—and letters from Mir Saduk, the Prime Minister, and Purnayah, the Minister of Finance, soliciting Viraraja's forgiveness and friendship. Viraraja shewed these letters to Sir Robert, and replied to Tippoo: "By similar fair speeches and promises, you have formerly deceived and ruined Coorg. God has given me one tongue, with which I have pledged fidelity to the Company. I have not two tongues like you." Mussulman violence and treachery had now their reward. Viraraja remained faithful to the Company, and the Bombay Army had a safe road through a friendly territory into the heart of Mysore. Lord Cornwallis made peace with Tippoo under the walls of Seringapatam, on severe, but still too easy conditions. Tippoo had to pay three crores of Rupees, and to cede one-half of his dominions to the Company, and to its allies, the Nizam and Peishwa, "from the countries adjacent, according to their situation." Coorg was in danger of being overlooked and sacrificed. It required the zealous intercession of Sir Robert Abercromby to induce the Governor General to make an after demand for the cession of Coorg, though not adjacent to the Company's territory, in order to keep faith with Viraraja, and to save him from the fangs of Tippoo, whose first move after the peace,

* He on this occasion, interceded with his new friend, Sir Robert Abercromby, for the poor Bibi and her son. She had made an attempt at decoying to Cannanore, and betray into the hands of the Mussulman army the English detachment at Tellicherry; and Sir R. Abercromby had resolved on deposing her, and sending her with her son prisoner to Bombay. Virarajendra effected a reconciliation, and thus requitted the service, which the Bibi's ancestor, Ali, had rendered to his ancestor, Dodda Virappa with the harelip, by delivering his Captain from the hands of the Charakal Rajah.

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would, no doubt, have been to wreak his vengeance upon his former vassal. The rage of Tippoo was unbounded. "To which of the English possessions, he cried, is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask for the key of Seringapatam?" The treaty was in danger of being broken off; but Lord Cornwallis remained firm. English guns, which had already been sent away, were ordered back, and Tippoo began to prepare for defence. At the last moment he gave in, and peace was concluded.

Viraraja was now asked to give back the districts which he had lately wrested from the Sultan, and informed, that he was expected in future to pay his tribute to the English Government. He was indignant at both these propositions, for he had expected some better reward for his important services. Sir Robert Abercromby did all in his power to pacify the brave ally, who had served him so well, but, of course, the Mysore territory had to be restored, and the dream of an "independent principality of Coorg" could not be realized. Sir Robert humored, however, Viraraja by the drawing up of a document, at his last meeting with the Rajah, in March 1793, when, proceeding from Bombay to Calcutta, he touched at Cannanore. In this paper, the Rajah was permitted to assert, that he had been an independent prince, and had never paid tribute to Mysore, while, at the same time, he declared his willingness "to pay, of his own free will, the sum of 8000 Pagodas to the Company every year, for their friendship and protection." The Company, on the other hand, engaged, to give no molestation to the Rajah, and in no wise to interfere with the Government of Coorg, as the Rajah was quite competent to take care of his own affairs; the tribute of 8000 Pagodas was to be paid at Tellicherry.

From this time to the end of his life, Viraraja remained the trusty friend of the Company, and his affairs prospered. In 1795, the Rajah communicated to the English Government the intelligence he had obtained through some spies, that Tippoo Sultan was concerting plants with the Mahrattas. He himself had to guard against assassins, secretly despatched into Coorg by his mortal enemy. In 1793, Viraraja took up his residence in a new palace built at Natkanadu, and in the following year celebrated there his second marriage in the presence of a deputy from the Commissioner of Malabar.

In the beginning of 1809, the Rajah was again actively employed in assisting the Bombay troops marching towards Seringapatam, with coolies, draught of cattle and elephants, grain and sheep. An hospital was erected for the sick of the Bombay army, whom General Stuart left in Coorg, when he marched against Seringapatam. Viraraja offered to accompany the English force into Mysore; but was politely requested to stay behind with his Coorgs to protect his own country and secure the

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rear. The Coorgs were rather troublesome auxiliaries to a regular army, as bad as the Mahrattas, if not worse. Captain Mahoney, who had been appointed Resident to Viraraja a short time previous to the commencement of the last war with Tippoo, communicated to the Rajah, the Earl of Mornington's proclamation of war, dated Fort St. George, 22nd February, 1799, and asked him, in the name of the Company's Government, to exert himself to the utmost of his power, as he would necessarily share the fate of the English, if Tippoo were victorious. In the early part of March, Tippoo moved with a large force towards the frontier of Coorg, to oppose the Bombay army. He encamped near Periapattana. The battle of Siddapur ensued, when two Battalions under Colonel Montresor and Major Disney held their ground from morning until 2 o'clock in the afternoon against the whole army of Tippoo, and two European regiments, led by General Stuart to their assistance, broke Tippoo's line, and obtained a complete victory, after a hard fight of three hours and a half, over the Mysoreans. On the 11th of March, Tippoo retreated towards Seringapatam. Viraraja was present at the battle of Siddhishvara. While Seringapatam was besieged, Viraraja sent an expedition of Coorgs, under Subaya and Bopu, into the Tulu country, the greater part of which was wrested from the Mussulmans and plundered in Coorg style. On the 4th of May, Seringapatam was stormed, and Tippoo himself killed in the fray. On the 23d of May, General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, sent a letter of thanks to Viraraja, accompanied by a present of one of Tippoo's own horses, one of his palkis, and one of his howdas. The promise was also given, that the country of Coorg would be restored to the Rajah. The annual tribute was remitted as an acknowledgment of the services of the Rajah to the Company in their wars with Tippoo, instead of which Viraraja was requested to send a yearly present of an elephant. Purnaya, the Brahman Minister of Finance under Tippoo, was placed at the head of the Government of Mysore, which the Company restored to a descendant, then a child of six years, of the ancient Rajahs. Viraraja had to restore to Mysore the districts he had occupied during the season of hostilities, and Karanika Subaya had to evacuate the Tulu country. Viraraja did not consider himself well treated, and was mortified by the withdrawal of the Resident, and the request addressed to him, that he should for the future put himself in correspondence with Colonel Close, the Resident at Seringapatam. Yet he never wavered in his faithful allegiance to, and his perfect confidence in the friendship of the Company. In 1801, Rajapumoji, a daughter of Viraraja, by his first Ranee, to Basaralinga, the Rajah of Sode. Viraraja wrote to the Governor General to apprize him of the intended marriage, and of his wish to settle one lakh of Rupees of the pro-

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perty held by him in Bombay Government paper, upon the Sode Rajah, as Rajaminaji's portion. In 1804, Captain Mahoney arrived at Mercara with a letter from the Governor General, informing Viraraja, that six Maganes of the province of Canara would be transferred to him by Mr. Ravenshaw, the Collector of Mangalore, in return for the supplies he had furnished, and the services he had rendered to the British Government during the late wars. The districts, thus added to Coorg on its western frontier, yielded 24,897 Pagodas. In the same year, the boundary between Coorg and Mysore on the Subrah Manya side, was finally adjusted. Before the end of 1805, Rajaminaji, the Ranee of Sode was delivered of a son, who received the name of Sadashivaraja.

Viraraja was now left in the free and full possession of his principality; he lived on the most friendly terms with the Mysore Residents, the Madras Governors, Sir George Barlow, and Lord W. Bentinck, and of the Governor General, the Marquis of Wellesley, from whom he received a splendid sword of honor. About the time his first grandson was born to him, at Sode, he was fondly attached to his new wife, Mahadevaranee, who had borne him two daughters, and might have lived and died a happy man, if he had had a son and heir, if he had not distrusted his nearest relatives, and if his violent temper had not often carried him beyond the bounds of humanity. He lived in constant dread of poison, and it is difficult to say, if the frenzy which seemed at times to seize him, was not caused by drugs administered to him in spite of all his caution. In 1807 he caused a history of his house to be written, which is still extant. An English translation of this work was completed by a "Robert Abercromby,"* probably an officer in the service of the Company, perhaps a relative of Sir Robert Abercromby, on the 10th of August, 1808, at Mangalore. The Rajendraname, in its conclusion, affords a glimpse of the alternations of hope and fear, which agitated the poor Rajah's heart. His last words are—"On the 7th of the Pushya month, Ractaxi year, (1805) Captain Mahoney brought the sword, sent by Marquis Wellesley from Bengal, and fastened it round the Rajah's waist. In the Magha month, (February 1806), Viraraja told Captain Mahoney for the information of the Governor General, that on the day of his second marriage, when he sat on the throne with his Ranee, he had determined, that any son of his by this wife should be his successor; that his wife had borne him two daughters. If any son be hereafter born of her, he would be the heir; but if it was the

* Both the Rajendraname of Virarajendra Vodeya, and the translation of Robert Abercromby, are in course of publication by orders and at the expense of the Government of Madras.

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will of God, that she should bear no son, then the three sons of his concubine, called Rajashekarappa, Shishushekappa, and Chandrashekarappa, should succeed to the throne. Since the above date, two more daughters, in all four, have been borne by Mahadeva Ranee, who died at 3 o'clock on Sunday, the 7th day of the month Jeshta, 4909, Prabhava year. As by her death the Rajah's hopes of having a son by her were blasted, and he was afraid, lest, if the succession devolved on the sons of another mother, they would create trouble to the four daughters of his lawful Queen, the Rajah determined, that of the four daughters, who are named Devammaji, Muddanmaji, Rajammaji, and Mahadevammaji, the eldest should be married, and whatever son she might have, he should be named Virarajendra, receive the Rajah's seal, and the sword which was presented to him by Marquis Wellesley, and be the successor to the throne. If she should, however, have no son, the son of either of her younger sisters, according to seniority, should be the successor, and so long as the line of any of his four above-mentioned daughters continued, none of the heirs of the other mother should succeed to the throne; but, upon the family of his four daughters being extinct, the fittest of the above three sons, or their posterity, should succeed. The Rajah, sensible of the instability of human life and all other things, has thought proper, now to determine and record this matter, in order that no wrong may hereafter occur; and he requests, that the English Sarkar will be the guardian of his family, and see the execution of the above written will attended to.

In order, that the Rajah's heirs may be acquainted with his resolution, he has written a copy thereof, to which he has affixed his seal and signature, and which is lodged in the Palace treasury."

This passage shews distinctly enough the Rajah's fondness for the four daughters of his beloved Ranee, his morbid anxiety for being succeeded by a grandson at least, of his own name, his fears regarding the safety of his beloved daughters in case of one of his other relatives (brothers) succeeding him, and his absolute confidence in the English Sarkar.

In May 1807, Mahadeva Ranee died; and now commenced the last act, full of blood and horrors of the drama of poor Virarajendra's life. His beloved wife had, he suspected, been destroyed by sorceries; he dreaded a similar fate. The spirits of the many victims he had sacrificed in fits of passion, or in whims of suspicion, began to trouble him. A conspiracy in which all his Coorg guards were implicated, nearly succeeded. He extinguished it in a flood of blood; 300 Coorgs were massacred by his band of Africans, in the palace yard. The Rajah himself shot

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dead 25 of the conspirators, from a balcony window. Many of their families also appear to have been destroyed on that occasion. The shades of death thickened around him. From the settled gloom of his melancholy, he was roused now and then only to deeds of cruelty. The only object, for which he yet cared to live, was to obtain the sanction of the Supreme Government for his settlement of the succession, upon which, he thought, the future happiness, yea the safety of his beloved daughter and her sisters depended. His requests were never distinctly granted, but he thought they were. His daughters, however, were solemnly taken under the protection of the Company by Mr. Cole, the Resident of Mysore. The Madras Government took charge of 186,000 Star Pagodas, in behalf of his favorite daughter, Devammaji. His wishes were thus, in a great measure, accomplished. Yet he had no rest. He suspected his two brothers, Appaji and Lingaraja. One morning he sent executioners to fetch their heads. His repentance came too late for saving Appaji's life: Lingaraja escaped. Another day, in a fit of rage, he ordered four of his principal officers to be destroyed, and was overwhelmed with remorse, when, on calling for them, after the cooling of his frenzy, he was informed, that they had been executed by his orders. These deeds, he feared, would be reported to the Supreme Government. He dreaded their displeasure. Twice he attempted his own life, perhaps *pretended* to do so; once he cut his throat with a razor; once he swallowed poison. On both occasions he was restored by Dr. Ingledew. The Supreme Government, in answer to the reports sent to them, pitied, pardoned, and comforted by kind assurances the poor distracted Rajah. All was of no avail. When the gloom of the monsoon 1809 set in, he sunk by degrees. His violence diminished; he felt more kindly towards the Sode Rajah, his son-in-law, and appointed him Dewan during Devammaji's minority. But his mind never fully recovered its tone. On the 9th of June, he sent for his favorite daughter, gave his seal into her hand, and expired. He lies buried in one of the Mausoleums, which grace the hill overlooking the town of Mercara.

His brother, Lingaraja, a man of consummate hypocrisy, and of a depth of cunning extraordinary even among Coorgs, stealthily crept into power. The Sode Rajah, Dewan and guardian of Devanunaji, was frightened away. He was paid off with a lakh of Rupees. Lingaraja contrived to obtain the sanction or at least acquiescence of the Supreme Government, as he proceeded, slowly but surely, to the fulfilment of his schemes. He first made himself Regent of Coorg, and guardian of his niece, the Ranee, (as such Devammaji was acknowledged in a letter of the Marquis of Hastings, dated 2nd April, 1809) before the

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end of 1810. In 1811, he announced to the Government of Fort St. George, that he had assumed the Government of Coorg in his own name. Mr. Cole, the Resident of Mysore, was ordered to make enquiry in Coorg as to the lawfulness of Lingaraja's claim to the throne. The enquiry was not made; it would have been futile. The Resident's own opinion was, that female succession in Coorg was contrary to the Shastras, (Query—what Shastras? the Coorgs have none) and the usages of the country. (But Ranees have reigned in Kokeri, of which Coorg, in ancient times, probably was a dependency, and elsewhere.) The Supreme Government put off the decision of the somewhat intricate question until the Ranee would obtain her majority, when she might prove her claims. There was no protest against Lingaraja's assumption of power. He now tried to obtain possession of three lakhs of Rupees in the Bombay funds, left to Devammaji, by selling the bonds to Messrs. Forbes and Co. But the Government refused the payment of the money, until Lingaraja proved, in a Court of law, that the property was his own. The attempt was not made. He succeeded better at Madras. There he obtained permission to draw the interest of five and a half lakhs, in behalf of Devammaji, through Messrs. Binny and Co. Before the end of 1812, Lingaraja had substantially succeeded in his schemes. He continued, however, to feel uneasy. He dreaded enquiry, and a change in the measures of the Supreme Government. He prevented, as far as lay in his power, all communication between Coorg and the surrounding territory of the Company. The frontiers were guarded, and, nobody was allowed to pass out or in without the Rajah's leave. European visitors were treated with profuse hospitality, and overwhelmed with civilities, but all communication between them and the natives of the country was carefully prevented. During his first years, the Dewan Kshoury Karyappanna, to whom he owed his first successes, was a check upon him; but, when he found himself safely established, he charged one day his patron and advocate with treacherous designs, and tormented him to death with several of his friends nailing them to large trees in a forest not far from Mercara. A great slaughter of relatives and friends of the so-called traitors accompanied the cruel destruction of the principals. In 1820, Lingaraja died, after having held possession of Coorg for eleven long years, at the age of 45. His elder brother had died at about the same time of life. Like him he suspected, that he died a victim to magic arts, employed by enemies among his own people. No doubt, many hated him in secret, and poison may have been administered to him; for poison was as freely used in Coorg (perhaps still is) as sorcery. A little tank at the foot of the hill on which the fort of Mercara stands, the water of which the Ra-

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jahs used to drink, was once poisoned in the time of old Viraraja, and he suffered long from the effects of an unsuspected draught of water. Lingaraja's Ranee swallowed diamond powder in order to escape from the hatred of the young Rajah, and was buried with her husband in one of the above-mentioned tombs.

The present Ex-Rajah succeeded. He was acknowledged by the British Government without any difficulty, it appears. Devammaji's claims, and the promises of the Supreme Government given to her father were overlooked. The resolution of the Marquis of Hastings, that the Coorg question should be investigated when Virarajendra's daughter would reach majority, seems to have been forgotten. The new Rajah was under twenty when he became his own master. His education, in the European sense of the word, had been entirely neglected. He was a proficient, however, in all Coorg accomplishments, good and bad. An excellent rider, a good shot, dexterous gymnastic, a deep philosopher, deadened by the pantheistic Guana, on which he prided himself, to the feelings and scruples of common humanity, surrounded by trembling and flattering slaves, and possessed, he fancied, of absolute power within his own territory, he commenced life, the life of a Hindoo Rajah. No wonder, that he followed the example of his father, and that, being destitute of Lingaraja's caution, and aided, if not led, by an infamous upstart, a creature of his father's, the Dewan Kunta Basava, he rendered himself an object of hatred and contempt to his chiefs, provoked at the same time the just displeasure and resentment of the British Government, and thus forfeited his fief and his liberty in 1834. He is generally represented by the natives as more licentious, but less cruel than his father and his uncle, Virarajendra. On his accession to power those who had, in the lifetime of his father, incurred his displeasure, or thwarted his wishes, were sacrificed to his vengeance. Several of his male relatives, also, seem to have fallen at this season. The idea seems to have established itself in the Rajah's mind, that he would be more secure in the possession of Coorg, if no other male member of his family existed, by whom the British Government could displace him; for, on an occasion, when a Mysore Resident enquired after the members of his family, he replied with evident satisfaction, that he had none but female relatives; I am quite alone, he said—the only male of the family. Chaunavira, a relative of the Rajah, fled into the Mysore territory with his family, in 1825. Viraraja immediately applied to Mr. Cole, the then Resident, for the seizure and extradition of the fugitives, describing Chaunavira as a Coorg farmer, who had fled from justice. Mr. Cole complied with the false request. Chaunavira was seized in the neighbourhood of Periapatna and delivered to the Coorg peons.

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The Resident contented himself with a letter in which he requested to be informed of the man's guilt, and the punishment awarded to him. The whole family, consisting of 22 souls, was destroyed on one day at Kantamuranadu ; and, when Mr. Casamajor, Mr. Cole's successor, in 1826, enquired through Captain Monk, after the fate of Chaunavira, the Rajah told the Captain, that Chaunavira and his whole family had been carried off by cholera. In spite of the strict frontier watch, rumours of frequent executions by the Coorg Rajah spread into the Mysore, and came to the notice of Government. The Resident was instructed by the Supreme Government to demand of the Rajah a regular report of every case of capital punishment inflicted by him. Viraraja protested against this assumption of authority ; but the Supreme Government insisted upon his obedience ; its orders, however, were never complied with. In the beginning of 1832, Mr. Casamajor heard, that the Coorg Rajah had raised a troop of female cavalry, and had shot in effigy a Coorg Nagah, who had fled the country. The Resident thought the young man had gone mad. In the month of September of the same year, Devammaji, a sister of the Rajah, and Chaunabasava, her husband, suddenly appeared at Yelwal, as fugitives from Coorg, and implored the protection of the Company. Chaunabasava told Mr. Casamajor, that they had fled for their lives. The story found full credit, and great interest has taken in the two Coorg refugees. Viraraja immediately demanded the surrender of his relatives. Mr. Casamajor demurred, and wrote for instructions ; the Supreme Government ordered Chaunabasava and his wife to be kept under protection. Now the real state of Coorg affairs gradually came to light, and the Rajah was detested by all who heard of his misdeeds. Aware of the consequences of Chaunabasava's and Devanunaji's escape, the Rajah was irritated beyond measure and was excited to mad schemes. Mr. Casamajor, who resided at Yelwal, was to be seized at night, and carried off to Mercara by a party of Coorgmen. Chaunabasava and Devammaji, who had been removed to Bangalore, were there to be assassinated by some emissaries of the Rajahs. He went headlong into treasonable intrigues ; harboured Suryappa, a rebellious Polygar of Nuggur, plotted with the Rajah of Mysore, yea, sent an Agent to Ranjeet Sing. Messrs. Binny and Co. were now prohibited from continuing to draw, in behalf of the Rajah, the interest of Virarajendra's legacy to his daughter ; still the British Government was reluctant to resort to violent measures. In January 1833, Sir Frederic Adam, Governor of Madras, addressed a long letter to Viraraja, full of sound lessons on good government, and positively demanded compliance, in future, with the

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order of 1827, that all capital punishments, which took place in Coorg, should be regularly reported and explained. Mr. Casamajor carried the letter to Mercara in person, and had several conferences with the Rajah. The latter at first talked, as if he were an independent prince; the Resident reminded him of the tribute formerly paid by the Coorg Rajahs to the rulers of Mysore, and of the elephant Viraraja himself had annually to present to the Company in lieu. When Mr. Casamajor proceeded to hint that strong measures were in contemplation, the Rajah declared, that he was an ill used and much calumniated man, and made great professions of most dutiful allegiance to the British Government. The Resident returned from his bootless visit. The accounts from Coorg continued as bad as ever. Mr. Casamajor recommended the quartering of a native Regiment in the neighbourhood of Mercara, to act as a check upon the Rajah, but Government were still loath to proceed to extremities. Mr. Graeme was despatched from Madras to Coorg, and charged to make a last attempt at an amicable settlement. The Rajah seized and kept in durance a native deputy of Mr. Graeme, would not see the British envoy, and refused to set Kalpavaty Karyakara Menon, at liberty; until the Rajah's relatives were given up to him by the Government. He addressed moreover insolent letters to Sir Frederic Adam, and Lord W. Bentinck, and resolved on going to war with the Company. Troops were collected, (this was a very farce; the blind, and the halt, and the maimed were swept together and assembled for drill on the open space in front of the Mercara Fort) and the Coorgs were ordered to prepare for the fight. The Maharajah of Coorg issued proclamations to the people in the Company's territories, calling upon Hindoos and Mussulmans to rise against the foreign despots, who aimed at the spoiling of castes, and the destruction of the religions of Hindusthan, under the banners of the Haleri dynasty, etc. In order, however, to keep his own person out of harm's way, the Rajah removed twenty miles to the Westward of Mercara, to the palace, built by his uncle, at Nalkanadu, a place almost inaccessible to an army. He took with him his women, his band, his treasures,* and what remained of the members of the Coorg Rajah's families. The Company's

* The Coorg Rajahs were possessed of great wealth. Old Viraraja's lamentation that he had lost every thing he had at Kurchi, is probably far from correct. The Ex-Rajah, before his retirement to Nalkanadu, buried at Mercara, one night, 40 pare (one pare is equal to ten seers) of Rupees. A still greater amount of treasure he buried in the jungle behind the Nalkanad Palace, which has never been detected. The prize money, distributed to the Company's troops, amounted to sixteen lakhs of Rupees; yet the Ex-Rajah has carried away with him great wealth, in jewels. Devammaji's treasure, worth a lakh of Pagodas, a person might have put into his pocket; it filled but half of a small brass vessel, (lota.)

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troops advanced from East and West towards Coorg. Affairs began to look serious. The leaders of the Coorgs, who, in their ignorance, had boasted before the Rajah,* that they would sally forth and exterminate the English, were true enough to their words, and took up their posts at the different passes, where they might have defended themselves most effectually, and would, perhaps, have repulsed the Company's troops, had not the Rajah, incited partly by the hope (founded probably on him unaccountable and really accessive of the British Government,) that a reconciliation was yet possible, partly by the fear, that he might lose all, if matters went to extremities, sent orders prohibiting the Coorgs from encountering the troops of the Company. To this vacillation of the Rajah, the several divisions of the British expedition, then marching into Coorg, were more indebted for their success and even safety, than to the skill and talents of their commanders. Colonel Lindsay, especially, who marched from Fraserpet towards Mercara in his approved style, guns foremost, through the narrow passes blocked up by trees, that had been felled and thrown across—with the greatest difficulty, might have been destroyed, and his ammunition blown up, simply by setting fire to the high jungle grass, which, dry as tinder in April, abounded on his road. When Viraraja had gone to Nalkanad, the Dewans Bopu and Ponappa, who were left at Mercara, considered matters for themselves, and with

* Not all the advisers, however, of the Rajah bragged like Kuntabasava, who may have wished to ruin his master, and eventually to betray him to the British Government. Nor is it unlikely, that the Rajah at last suspected his intentions. After he had surrendered to Colonel Fraser, and returned to the Mercara palace, Kuntabasava, for whose apprehension a reward of 1000 Rs. had been offered, was brought in from the Nalkanadu jungle; but, as the story goes, strangled in the Cutcherry at the foot of the Mercara Hill, by orders of the Rajah, before he could divulge secrets and compromise his master. One moonlight night, a short time before the commencement of hostilities, the Rajah walked with Kuntabasava, and the Parsi, Darashetty, (Daraset) on the Maidan before the Fort of Mercara, accompanied by two torch-bearers, and one of the lads of his band. Viraraja, talked of the war; Darashetty ventured to give hints of caution. Call Ponappa, exclaimed the Rajah suddenly; let us hear his opinion. He appeared forthwith (he was one of the Dewans, a member of an old and wealthy Coorg family of Kiggatnadu; he has a good name in Coorg as an honest man who took no bribes, even under the Company's Government.) He stood before the Rajah in the position required by the slave etiquette of Coorg. The palms of his hands shut upon his breast, the head bowed down almost to the knees. His master asked: what do you think of our war with the Company? they refuse to surrender Chaunabasava, what can I do? Honest Ponappa answered: "It is impossible for us to fight with the Company; they are like the sea; we like a ditch; they are our protectors; the old treaties ought to be remembered." Before he had well finished his short reply, Kuntabasava, with his balled iron fist, gave him a blow on the temple, which sent him to the ground for dead. The torch-bearers wanted to lift him up, but the Rajah cried: "let him alone!" From that moment he was in disgrace. After the Company had taken possession of Coorg, Ponappa became the principal man in the country; he was made first Dewan, and was much respected, both by his superiors and the people.

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their friends, and came to the resolution of surrendering to the Company, and of exchanging, if possible, a master, from whom they had every thing to fear, the life of no man and the honor of no family being safe under his rule, for the just and peaceable dominion of the Company. Accordingly Dewan Bopu with a party of 400 Coorgs, went to meet Colonel Fraser, the Agent of the Governor General, surrendered to him and offered to conduct the Company's troops to the capital. On the 10th of April, 1834, the English flag was hoisted at Mercara. Viraraja in the mean time, had at Nalkanadu, buried part of his treasures, and murdered the remainder of his relatives, with the exception of some aged females.* Life and honorable treatment being offered

* There was a rumour in Coorg, during the ex-Rajahs time, that one of the Haleri princes was still alive, but wandered about in other parts of India. The Rajah himself seems to have given some credit to the rumour. When the palace at Virarajandrapet was built, under Lingaraja, the people said, that the residence was intended for the Haleri Prince; no man, however, in Coorg had seen him for many years. In 1833, the news spread in Coorg, and reached the Rajah, that a Sanyasi, an extraordinary man, went about in the Munjerabad district, (North of Coorg) that he had a number of followers, performed miracles, and composed extempore songs like Dasapadas. Some of his verses were brought to Mercara, and sung in the palace. The Rajah became curious to see the man. At last a report came from the Northern frontier gate, that Abhrambara wished to enter Coorg. He was desired to come to Mercara. On his arrival, he was brought into the palace, and introduced to the Rajah. He was a tall powerful man; his hands reached almost down to his knees; he was dressed very sparingly, and wore a large beard, looking more like a Mussulman Fakir than a Hindu Sanyasi. The Rajah asked him: Who are you? "A man," was his answer. "R. Where is your home?" S. "Here." R. "Who was your mother?" S. "The womb." R. "Who is your father?" The Sanyasi continued to give the Rajah short, contemptuous, and more and more indecent answers, so that he was greatly annoyed, and, though afraid of maltreating him, (for the man had an imposing appearance,) he sent him abruptly away, and ordered him to live near the Rajah's tank, which was carefully guarded, where he should receive, whatever he required for food the Sanyasi, however, wanted very little; he used to eat one or two small brinjals, and a few tender shoots of rushes, every day, without touching any thing else. The tank guards were ordered to have a sharp eye upon him; but on the third morning, about 10 o'clock, after he had performed his ablutions, while the guards were walking about, he suddenly disppeared. Report was made to the Rajah, who caused strict search to be made, and immediately despatched messengers to the different frontier gates. All in vain. Abhrambara was no more seen in Coorg till after the establishment of the Company's government, when he appeared again in the North of Coorg with a retinue of about 100 people, Sanyasis, Brahmins, Jangamas, &c. It is said, that he visited Haleri in order to see his wife, one of the women, who live in the old palace on a pension from the Company; that he there held a kind of Durbar, which was attended by a number of Coorgs and others, who, however, entreated him to leave the country again for fear of the new Sarkar, that his followers gradually increased to 500, whom he fed every day out of one dish of rice, which never failed. Abhrambara's story moves altogether on the confines of reality and myth. Captain Le Hardey, the then Superintendent, heard of the man, and wished to apprehend him; but he was not to be caught. Two of his followers, Kalyanabasava, and Puttubasava were seized at Baitur, in the Maleyalam, and brought to Mercara. Lakshmanarayana, one of the Dewans, began to meddle in these matters, and eventually was sent prisoner to Bangalore. His brother at Sulya was at the hefd of the so-called Coorg insurrection of 1837.

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to the Rajah by Col. Fraser, if he would surrender; he was not slow to avail himself of so favorable terms. On the 12th April he came to Mercara, and had an interview with the Agent of the Governor General. The new aspect of things boded him no good, he had yet pleased himself with the hope of being allowed to remain in Coorg, though, it might be, under sharp control; but he found out, that his deposition and removal were determined upon; he felt uneasy also at the thought, that Kuntabasava, the accomplice of all his acts, was likely to be delivered, or to give himself up to Colonel Fraser. Only after he had succeeded in delivering himself from the wretch, he breathed a little more freely, and commenced to represent himself as a misguided young man, led astray by a wicked minister. Some fighting had taken place at Somavarpet, where a stockade had been incautiously attacked by Colonel Miller, and well defended by Appachanna, afterwards Subadar of Beppanad, and Kengala Nayaka, a reckless fellow of the Bedar caste, who shot the silver-haired Colonel whilst sitting on the ground at the foot of the Hegala-pass, which leads from Cannanore into Coorg, where also one or two officers lost their lives. With these exceptions, Coorg was peaceably taken possession of, and the expedition earned their rich prize-money very easily.

The Representative of the Governor General now entered into negotiations with the remaining Dewans and other principal men, which must have puzzled them not a little, but which they turned to pretty good account, after having comprehended their novel position. They, no doubt, had expected that the principality would, without much ado, be converted into a Company's talook. They were surprized to find themselves treated almost as an independent body. Not being quite sure whether the Rajah would not, in the end, be allowed to remain in Coorg, and, wishing to be on the safe side, they made a proposal to Colonel Fraser to permit the Rajah to stay among them. When they were informed most positively, that he *must* leave the country, they were greatly relieved, and readily acquiesced in the orders of the Sarkar. They were induced, however, to express anxiety for the maintenance of their religion, and especially begged of Colonel Fraser to stop the pollution of their country by the killing of beef for the use of the European troops. Their petition was at once granted; the butchers were ordered down to Fraserpet, a distance of twenty miles from Mercara, and to this day the beef consumed by soldiers and other European residents at that station is carried up from Fraserpet! In other respects also, the Coorgs were treated as if they were the masters of the country, and were greatly pleased with the sudden change from abject servitude to a kind of consequential independence. The upshot was, that Colonel

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Fraser issued a proclamation, which declared that Coorg was annexed, because it was the wish of the people to be ruled by the British Government! It ran thus:

"Whereas it is the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Coorg to be taken under the protection of the British Government, His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General has been pleased to resolve, that the territory heretofore governed by Virarajendra Vodeya shall be transferred to the Honorable Company. The inhabitants are hereby assured that they shall not again be subjected to native rule, that their civil and religious usages will be respected, and that the greatest desire will invariably be shown by the British Government, to augment their security, comfort, and happiness."

(Signed) J. S. FRASER,
Lieut. Col. and Political Agent."

Camp at Mercara, 7th May, 1834.

After a short stay at Mercara, the Rajah had to leave under an escort. He rode away through the town of Mercara, ordering the band to strike up—"The British Grenadier." A number of his wives accompanied him. In their palkis and his own he concealed vast sums of money in gold. On the road from Mercara to the low country, the bearers, who had to carry the women's dhoolies, which were filled with bags of gold, stumbled and fell in difficult places, and refused to carry such heavy loads. In the confusion, bearers and other attendants helped themselves freely to part of the spoil, which was secretly carried away by orders of the Rajah. The latter soon became aware that it was not safe to carry with him such an amount of treasure, for he had been permitted to take away only ten thousand Rupees. On the first halting place, therefore, near the frontiers of Coorg, he had a pit dug in the kitchen tent, by those of his attendants, in whom he placed the greatest confidence. Bag after bag, filled with large gold coins, was piled up in the pit, all the men present swore a great oath to the Rajah, that they would faithfully keep the secret. The ground was levelled again, and kitchen fires lighted upon it. When the escort moved again, the Rajah's palkis were lighter. After a short time, Mandria Uttaya of Nalkanadu, a Karyakara of the Rajahs, returned home; in a few days he set out again with bullocks, and accompanied by a brother-in-law, to fetch Ragi from the Eastern country. The bullocks and men, however, found their way to Sirlekote, to the place of the Rajah's encampment. There the bags of the bullocks, were filled with something heavier than Ragi. In the night, the treasure was carried to a safe place in the neighbourhood of a relative's house at Hudikerinadu, on the Eastern side of the Coorg Hills, and

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thence leisurely transferred to Nalkanad in the West. Before, however, the whole had been brought into safety, the secret oozed out, and Uttaya found it necessary to inform Captain Le Hardey, that he knew of treasure secreted by the Rajah, both in the Hudikerinad, and at Mercara. An elephant was despatched to the Eastward under the guidance of Uttaya, who faithfully delivered to the Company all he had left there. He shewed also the place, where the Rajah had buried the abovementioned 400 seers of Rupees, and received a reward of 1000 Rs. for his loyal honesty! But the treasure he thought he had secured in his home at Nalkanad, got wings; he had taken the precaution of burying the gold bags in different parts of the garden behind his house. His frequent visits in that direction excited the suspicions of other inmates of the house. One after the other had the luck of finding a bag; gold coins were handed about rather freely at Nalkanad. The Pales (a lower caste, generally servants,) got the scent, and came in for their share, so that in the end poor Uttaya had gained little beyond incessant quarrels among the members of his family, who had secretly divided the spoil. Behold the famed honesty of Coorg! The Rajah proceeded first to Bangalore, then to Vellore, and finally to Benares. Channabasava and his wife continued for some time in the Mysore; afterwards, when they thought themselves safe, they returned to Appagalla, their farm, in the neighbourhood of Mercara, where they still live, upon a liberal pension. Virarajah contrived to keep up a secret correspondence with Coorg, and to revive from time to time rumours of his return to the principality. Few men, if any, wished to see him come back, and to exchange the mild and unoppressive rule of the Company for the excitement and the terrors of the old regime. But, whenever Coorgmen are sounded by officers of Government, they are sure to put on a face, and to throw out hints, as if the return of the Rajah was likely to cause great embarrassment to the present Government; when, of course, their services and fidelity would be of great value.

By the deposition of the Rajah, the Coogs have lost nothing and gained every thing. Under the former rulers, the life and property of men and the honor of women were equally insecure. Several hundred Coorgmen, sometimes a thousand, had to attend upon the Rajah at Mercara, and to be absent from home for months. They were all fed out of one common kitchen, filthy to a degree, disgusting even to Coorgs. Forced labor was the order of the day. A Parpatigara's pay was one Rupee per mensem; the allowances of a Subadar amounted to 30 Rs. per annum. The favorite Dewan, Kuntobasava, was a Badaga (a Canarese man of lowest extraction, who had risen from a dogboy to the Dewanship under Lingarajah), who hated the Coorgs, as he was hated

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in return, and maltreated them whenever he had an opportunity. The Rajah, also, perhaps under the influence of Kuntabasava, had no affection for the Coorgs; he mistrusted, perhaps feared them. No one dared to speak a free word, no one even dared to appear in good clothes. A fine coat, if seen by the Rajah, was pretty sure to draw a sound flogging upon the back which had sported it. The new Government did all they could to please them, and though the liberation of the Rajah's slaves (Panyada Holeyam) was rather obnoxious to them; yet the new masters paid their public servants splendidly, giving them as much per mensem as they formerly had received per annum. The common people were free from forced labor; every body's person and property were safe, and the Coorgs were now the pet race of the country. When, therefore, three years after the annexation of Coorg, the miscalled Coorg insurrection broke out, the Coorgs proved themselves the most loyal subjects, for which again they were most abundantly praised and rewarded with enam lands to a great extent, gold and silver medals, guns, swords and knives, according to their merits, or perhaps to the different degrees of relationship and friendship in which they stood to the Dewans.

The causes of the abortive outbreak in 1837 have not fully come to light. One of the Dewans, the above named Lakshminarayana, a Brahman, who was ill-pleased with the ascendancy of his Coorg brother-Dewans, was deeply implicated. A brother of his at Sulya, in the low country, to the West of the Coorg Hills, which had been ceded by the Company to old Virarajendra as a reward for his services during the Mysore wars, was in league with some rich and influential Gandas, a tribe on the Western slope of the Ghats, who resemble the Coorgs in many of their habits, and sometimes intermarry with them. These were disaffected to the Company's Government. After the annexation of Coorg, the districts of Amara Sulya, Puttin and Bantwala, the latter adjoining that of Mangalore, had been retransferred to the province of Canara, from which they had been taken. Under the Rajahs, the assessment had been paid in kind. The Collector of Mangalore, now, demanded cash payment; this was considered a grievance, as the farmers were laid under tribute by the money-changers. The insurgents assembled at Sulya. They were a mere rabble, but they made a successful attack at Puttur on the Collector of Mangalore, and two companies of sepoys. A party of the rebels, whose courage and numbers increased after their unexpected success, advanced to Mangalore, opened the jail, and, with the assistance of the prison fraternity, burnt and looted the Cutcherry and some Civilians' houses, situated on the hills overlooking the town. All the world was seized with a panic. The Civilians, who fled on board a ship, which carried them to Canna-

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nore, were spectators of the conflagration of their houses behind them, and thought the whole country was in arms. The commanding officer held a council of war, usually a very unwarlike thing; and, had boats been procurable, the garrison consisting of a Regiment, much weakened, it is true, by the detachment of several companies, would have embarked and run away before a few hundred Gandas, if so many, and the rabble of the jail. Troops were immediately sent from Cannanore and Bombay; but, when they arrived, they found nobody to fight with. The Mangalore garrison recovered their presence of mind, and had no difficulty in maintaining their ground, and restoring order. This was altogether a Ganda affair. However, from the centre of the movement at Sulya, two other trains were fired, one across Nalkanad and Beppunad, the centre of the Coorg world, to Virarajendrapet, the second town in Coorg, and the principal place of trade;—the other across the districts of Panje and Ballari and Subrahmanya to the northern parts of Coorg, inhabited by Badagas, who had been trusted and favored by the ex-Rajah above the Coorgs. The Dewan, Kantabasava, had his relatives, connections, and his ever ready tools there. Formal proclamations were issued, in the name of that mysterious personage, Abhrambara, who seemed to be everywhere and nowhere. The Coorgs and other inhabitants of the country were summoned to the service of the great prince of the Haleri house, who was about to take possession of his inheritance. A number of Coorgs about Talekaveri and Nalkanadu believed the Nirupas, to which a Rajah's seal was attached, and the assurances of the messengers who carried them. They took up arms, and went down to the head quarters at Sulya. Abhrambara's letters patent were carried to Beppunad. The Coorgs there, officials and others, were taken by surprise, not knowing what to believe, and unable to discern the safer side, they hesitated. After a day or two, a deputation from Virarajendrapet went to Mercara, to see the Dewans, to report to them and ask for their directions. Captain Le Hardey, the Superintendent, was on the alert. After consultation with the Dewans, he left Ponappa at Mercara, and marched with Bopu and a body of troops in the direction of Sulya as far as Sampaji, whether Bopu had received intelligence that the insurgents were moving from Sulya. When Captain Le Hardey, after a long and tedious march, had reached Sampaji at the foot of the Ghats, no rebels were to be seen, and he learnt, that they had moved towards the Bislighat and the North Coorg. It was impossible to follow the insurgents through a tract of forest hills, difficult of passage even for travellers. He returned, therefore, to Mercara, and marched to the supposed rendezvous of the rebels, through the upper districts of Coorg. When he arrived there, still accompani-

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ed by Bopu, no insurgents were to be seen, and intelligence now reached his camp, that the enemy was at Sampaji. He forthwith marched to Sampaji by way of Kadamakall. Again no rebels. The Superintendent began to doubt the fidelity of his Dewan companion. On his return to Mercara, he was told by Bonappa, the Coorg nobleman, who seems to have borne the poor parvenu, Bopu, a grudge, that information had been received in the mean time of several of Bopu's relatives having joined the insurgents. Captain Le Hardey's suspicions were thus confirmed. He called Bopu, and charged him strait with treachery. Go down to your friends, the rebels; be an open enemy; go, and I will come after you, and, if I catch you, you shall be hung. Bopu, who was as faithful a servant of the Company as his friend Bonappa, was terribly alarmed. Appearances, certainly, were against him; yet he was innocent. But how was he to regain the confidence of the chief, which he had evidently lost? The man broke out into tears, and protested his fidelity with the eloquence of despair. Do you stay at Mercara, Captain Le Hardey, he said, and let me quell this miserable rebellion. If you give me liberty to act according to circumstances, and take all responsibility upon yourself, I will set out immediately, and bring you the ringleaders alive or dead. Captain Le Hardey felt the man was true, and permitted him to do as he pleased. The Coorgs from Beppunad and other districts had in the mean time collected at Mercara. A party of some sixty men was despatched to the North under Subadar Appachanna. Bopu, with another troop, marched straight down to Sampaji. Two Lictors of his own fashion proceeded the Coorg Consul, viz. two coolies, each of them carrying a load of fresh cut sticks. The Dewan evidently intended to give the rebels a licking in the literal sense of the word. His best Nalkanadu friends gathered around him; three of them marched a little in advance of the Dewan to scour the way before him; for Chetty Kudiya, who had been the late Rajah's shooting master and great favorite, a man of the Malekudiya caste, one of the jungle tribes, who could hit, if he chose, they said, the eye of a flying bird, had sworn to shoot Bopu dead the moment he saw him. The party had not proceeded farther than a quarter of a mile from Mercara, and were just descending the Ghat, when they met two unlucky wights, a former Subadar, Muddaya, and a late Parpatigara, Appaya. They were well known to Bopu. They had failed to give information of the insurrection; they must have known things, and had they sent him a message in due time, it would have saved him the danger of utter disgrace and ruin, from which he had barely escaped. He, therefore, ordered some of his followers to seize the fellows, and others to take out a fresh stick for each and give them a good blow up. The two unfortunates, at once seized by rude hands and

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stripped of their coats, demanded explanation; they were answered by blows. They protested their innocence, though no charge had been brought against them. Bopu did not stop to expostulate. Blows was the answer. They cried for mercy; fresh blows followed. After a while they were left half dead on the ground, and Bopu marched on. Half way down the Sampaji pass, he met with a party of Nalkanadu Coorgs, men of his own acquaintance; they were armed, but dared not to fight the Dewan; he at once ordered them all to be seized by his men, who were much more numerous, and administered a severe castigation to all except one, who escaped by telling all he knew about the movements of the insurgents. Bopu went on gloriously. He did redeem the promise given to Capt. Le Hardey. The Subadar of Nalkanadu had been drawn into this foolish affair. Bopu sent him word and then had a meeting with him, when he prevailed on him without difficulty to withdraw from the rebels and to return to the allegiance he had sworn to the Company. The loss of so influential a man was a great blow and discouragement to the petty insurrection. It was put down with little shedding of blood beyond that which was drawn and from that day Coorg has been at peace.

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Art. VIII.—*House of Commons' Reports*, 1853.

The Financial system of India, said Sir Charles Trevelyan before a Committee of the House of Commons "is the least perfect and advanced of all the branches of administration in India, in fact it is still in a crude and elementary state." Such was the opinion of a man eminently calculated to give one on the subject of Finance, and on Indian Finance in particular. Intimately acquainted with the system pursued in this country; thirteen years' experience of Finance arrangements at home have given him opportunities of comparing and weighing the merits of both, such as few other statesmen in England possess. But this sweeping condemnation uttered by a gentleman, whose well known abilities increase the value which his past and present position justify us in attaching to his remarks, refers peculiarly to the system of Indian accounts, and appropriate as it is, might with even still greater force be applied, not to a part, but to the whole scheme of Finance as at present administered by the Supreme Government. The gross inefficiency of the arrangements, the trouble and loss that they perpetually occasion, are facts so notorious, and so universally admitted, that comments upon them are scarcely required, and indeed it could be but a work of supererogation in us to attempt them when the Blue Book upon the Public Works Loan is so conveniently at hand, and the Finance operations of 1853 are so fresh in our memories.

A Chancellor of the Exchequer might chuckle over those operations as "eminently successful." It was reserved, however, for Members of the Indian Council Chamber to bear unwilling witness to their results. That the events of a short twenty months should serve to bring to the verge of insolvency a Government which at the commencement of that period, by offering to pay off the capital, could reduce the interest upon twenty millions of money from five per cent. to four was a change so sudden, so startling, as to create universal surprise. Clumsy, official explanations, if they deserve the name, of those events, combined with special pleading as to their origin, served only to convert surprise into indignation. A stranger hearing of this change for the first time would naturally be led to suppose that this sudden mutation had been brought about by some visible calamity, either of war, drought, or disease, by an incompetent Government or a weak Executive; in fact by one of those causes which occasionally undermine the prosperity of nations. But it was not so. This occurred under no feeble or irresolute Government; in no very critical state of affairs. The

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country was virtually at peace, having just emerged from a successful war, in which she had acquired a considerable increase of territory. If there was famine in Madras, the Agra Presidency was blessed with a more than usually productive harvest. The most efficient Governor General that ever took the helm was piloting the vessel of State. There was no dearth of wisdom in the Council Chamber, on the contrary, of the three members whose Minutes upon the Public Works Loan have appeared in print, two are eminently fitted to grapple with Financial difficulties, one of them having gathered all his laurels at the Treasury, and Mr. John Peter Grant being generally and rightly esteemed one of the most able and long-headed men in the service. So in fact whilst every thing seemed tending to the national prosperity, the State was on the brink of insolvency, and was forced to open a loan lest its Central Treasury should have to suspend payments. We can afford to laugh at the Irishman's faith in half sovereigns as a specific for the failing credit of his bank, and can allow ourselves a passing smile at the seeming absurdity of the bank of England having been necessitated to pay in shillings and sixpences on the advance of the Highlanders upon Derby. But it is the reverse of ridiculous when the Central Treasury of a great Government, with an income larger than that of Austria or the Czar, and only exceeded by the revenues of France and England, is discovered to be too empty to provide for the customary monthly disbursements; and this too at a time when there is more than eight millions of ready money lying in its district treasuries.

It is indeed very easy to prove from the statements contained in Mr. Grant's Minute,* at least if we are to put any faith in figures, that the cash balances of May 1855, not only amounted to eight hundred and thirty-five lakhs, but were somewhat in excess of eleven crores; and it has thence been argued that if the

* Mr. Grant, in his Minute upon the Public Works Loan, has remarked that whilst in June 1853 the Cash Balances in the Indian Treasuries amounted to the enormous sum of 1775 lakhs, they were not expected to exceed 835 lakhs in April 1855, and to account substantially for this diminution, he has appended the subjoined tabular statement of expenses :—

	Lakhs.
Amount of Debt paid off, ...	292
Deficiency of Madras Revenue of '53-54, ...	28½
Ditto Ditto of '54-55, ...	34¾
Ditto of Opium Revenue of '53-54, ...	35
Ditto Ditto of '54-55, ...	92½
Excess of charges for Public Works in 1853-54, ...	70½
Ditto Ditto in 1854-55, ...	117¾
Total, ... Lakhs	671

Deducting this from the cash balance of June 1853, there remains a balance of 1104 lakhs, that is to say 269 lakhs in excess of the cash balance of April 1855.

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amount of the loan be the measure of the Government necessities, those necessities should have been met by the application of the two crores sixty-nine lakhs of the cash balances of 1853, which are yet unaccounted for. We are willing, however, to believe that there is some oversight in the Memoranda appended to Mr. Grant's Minute; but credulous or not, we have no doubt on this point, that whether the cash balances were eight, eleven, or twenty crores, the Calcutta Treasury had run itself dry; and that whatever the amount of money lying idle in the district Collectorates, there was not enough in the coffers at Calcutta to suffice for two months' expenditure. So cumbrous, and so ill-regulated is our expensive Financial machine. It is a matter of little consequence whether this mechanism owes its origin to a double Government, or a Finance Department, but to Mr. Grant belongs the credit of suggesting its removal. The last paragraph of his Minute contains the pith and substance of the whole.

"I have," says he, "only to add that although I entirely agree in the opinion that under the present system a cash balance of upwards of eight crores has been proved to be insufficient, I am still of opinion that under a different system that amount would be an ample working capital wherewith to administer the Government in ordinary times. Eight or nine millions of money of which not a farthing is available wherewith to answer an unexpected demand, seems to me an enormous sum to be required merely as it were to oil the Financial machinery. I cannot but think that too large an aggregate sum is allowed to be frittered away amongst too many small treasuries. There is really only one place where it is of importance to have always a large spare balance, and that is the General Treasury of Calcutta; of four-fifths of the district treasuries any one may be run dry any day without any public inconvenience; nevertheless the greater part of the eight or nine millions is always lying in these small treasuries. It would require much time, detailed knowledge and thought to make an effectual and safe alteration of this system in this respect, but I cannot believe that it is not to be done."

Corruption generates life; evil is often the forerunner of good, and it may be that in the much abused five per cent. Loan lies the germ of future Financial Reform. If so, we have cause to rejoice rather than to sorrow in the birth of that fiscal abortion. But it may be that unmindful of the opportunity which this breakdown of the circulating machinery of the country has afforded them for replacing the cumbrous, ill-fitted mechanism of times past, by the simplified and less expensive inventions of the present age. Government will make no attempt to remedy arrangements, the inefficiency of which they have already acknowledged. If so, their supineness will be severely punished by the recurrence of those dangers whose existence a failing exchequer has distinctly pointed out to them.

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It will most probably be reserved for Lord Canning to amend a system of finance quite incompatible with the advances of Indian progress. We have an army officered by British soldiers, manœuvred according to European tactics. The spirit and much of the letter of English law pervades our jurisprudence: our assessments for revenue are supposed to be based upon the doctrines laid down by Adam Smith and his followers. Our Finance alone is Indian. Our military men study the strategy of Jomini; Blackstone and Bentham, Mills and Ricardo are the text books of our Civilians, but the system of our financiers is almost the same now as that of Abul Fuzl, Akbar's minister some three centuries ago.

The pages of a *Review* are not those best suited to the serious discussion of so large a question; but the following remarks may serve to point out some of the radical defects of the system; and our endeavours to discover the causes of its ill-success, may perhaps suggest the remedy to be applied. If they produce no other effect than to excite enquiry or to draw prominent attention to the subject they will not have been written in vain.

It requires no great penetration to perceive that the Indian monetary circulation is not a rapid one, at first sight even the most superficial observer is struck with its sluggishness. This sluggishness, however, only extends to the great arteries, and is imperceptible in the lesser veins. It may seem contradictory thus to say that while the arterial communications are slow, those of the lesser veins are not so: but if we bear in mind that, unlike the fearfully and wonderfully constructed framework of the human body where all is consonant and in harmony, the Indian system in every department has to grasp two separate principles as widely opposed to one another as possible, being no other than civilization of the highest class, and semi-barbarism, we shall be able to reconcile this apparent contradiction. Remembering this great though not impassable gulf separating the conquerors in their civilization from the conquered in their backwardness, we can understand how it is that whilst the currency of the country circulates quickly enough amongst the lower classes, the great bulk of whom are needy and impoverished, and whose condition is so rude that their exchanges frequently are made by barter without the accommodation of coin; yet with the richer classes and the Government, itself the richest individual of the richest class, its circulating power is very much limited.

In India it would seem that as money accumulates in individual hands so is its power of circulation diminished, or perhaps we should say ceases to exhibit itself, the power still remains, but it remains stagnant. Whenever this stagnation occurs, those classes which are affected by the circulating strength

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being in abeyance, are obliged to supply its place by artificial substitutes. These may be enumerated as native Bills of Exchange, known to Europeans under the name of Hoondees, local and partial in their existence; Bank of Bengal Notes, the issue of which is limited to two millions, which are not current above Benares,* and the Government Promissory Notes—none of which are for less than 500 Rs.† In very many cases, none of these substitutes are immediately available. There only then remains the actual remittance of cash. The cash remittances of Government are effected under large Treasure Escorts, and though these necessarily entail‡ very considerable expence, they have the advantage of being safe and certain.

Private individuals, however, must remit either by hackery or, as is more frequently the case, under the charge of confidential servants, each man taking on an average 1000 Rs. concealed about his person—but whatever the carriage, both the risk and the cost attending such remittances must be considerable.§

It is not an easy matter to give an accurate representation of the amount of coin so sluggishly circulated. That it must be large is sufficiently evinced by the amount of revenue annually raised in the country. We ourselves are inclined to think that the currency of India may be fairly estimated at one hundred and fifty millions of pounds. So long ago as 1837, it was rated at one hundred millions sterling, and the estimate was not supposed to be too high. But between the years, 1837—53, inclusive no less a sum than thirty-six millions eight hundred thousand pounds

* Vide Pamphlet on Commerce of India, pp. 87 and Commercial Dict. Art. Calcutta.

† The paper circulation of India is not confined to Bank Notes; the Promissory and Treasury Notes of the Government are largely availed of, by the European and native merchants, in the transaction of business, as Exchequer Bills and Bank Certificates are in this country. The first of these correspond to our Bank certificates, being in fact, obligations on the Treasury for the payment of the interest of the national debt. The second are of exactly the same nature as our Exchequer Bills, bearing a certain date of interest per diem, which has fluctuated from $3\frac{3}{4}$ to $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum.

The Promissory as well as Treasury Notes of the Government go a considerable length towards increasing the accommodation by paper circulation; but none of the Notes in question being smaller than £50, their prices being of course variable, and it being unsafe to transmit them by post as a remittance, their use is necessarily accompanied with considerable inconvenience. Whatever be the nature of the accommodation afforded by them, and it is chiefly confined to the seat of Government, it is certainly not to be put in comparison with that afforded in England and America by the Public Stocks, Canal, Railroad and other shares of these countries.

‡ Vide Pamphlet on Commerce of India, pp. 57 of Note.

§ *Gold Mohurs* are occasionally, though but seldom, remitted through the Post Office. A mail cart robbery that created considerable excitement last year in the Upper Provinces was supposed to have been perpetrated to enable the robbers to gain possession of a large number of these coins, which had been remitted from Benares to Delhie per Mail Cart.

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worth of bullion has been imported into the country. Of this, nearly thirty-one millions are the bonâ fide excess of imports over exports between the years '37 and '51, while the remainder consists of the silver actually imported from England into India in the years '52 and '53.

Supposing however that our estimate of one hundred and fifty millions sterling is extravagant, whilst that made in 1837 may still be received as a faithful representation of the amount of coin now in circulation; the circulating medium of India will yet be found to be in excess of that of Great Britain, by as much as two-thirds. But though this is the case no one for an instant, could suppose that India is richer than the mother country, the gross revenue of which even in time of peace is double that of its dependancy: at present three times as great: and it need not excite surprise that England with a gross revenue of sixty millions and a circulating medium of the same amount requires only an average cash balance of six millions, whilst India with a circulating medium of one hundred millions, with a revenue of thirty ——— requires as a working capital a cash balance of ten millions, *i. e.*, one-tenth of its circulating medium. In fact it is the very amount of coin in circulation that compels these large cash balances.

Place England in the same position, that is to say confine her circulating medium to stamped bullion, and we should find her cash balances proportionally increased. It is said, and the calculation is supposed to be rather under-estimated than the reverse, that the sixty millions of Gold, Silver, and Bank Notes which at present suffice for the accommodation of the Exchanges of Great Britain would have to be increased to two hundred millions of money were it not for the devices at present resorted to for making a machine of less power do the same work as one of greater strength. According to this ratio, the Government cash balances would have to be increased from six millions to twenty, and like the Indian the British Exchequer would require for its working capital one-tenth of the whole circulating medium of the country. When we consider the immense extent of the territory from which the revenue of India is raised, the vast number of the reservoirs in which it is collected, the paucity of the great disbursing treasuries by which it is re-issued to the public, and allowed to regain its former channels, and lastly the description of the coin in which it is accumulated, we obtain some idea of the difficulties that beset the Indian Financier in his work of concentration, and of the exertions he is compelled to make whilst conducting an operation so vital to the proper administering of the vast but ponderous resources of the empire. How necessary is this operation must be apparent even to the most casual observer: we all ap-

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preciate the truth of the old maxim "divide et impera" as applied to our foes and their resources, it is but the converse of "concentrate to exist" as applied to ourselves and our means. In all right systems of policy whether of war or peace are these maxims to be observed. But in the politics of Finance concentration is the mainspring of vitality, and if money is the blood of a currency, concentration is the work of its heart; having once possessed ourselves of the resources there only remains to centralize so as to apply them properly. We need not go far to see how paralysing is the absence of this power. Mr. Grant* tells us how the Calcutta Treasury was thrown into a state of Financial syncope by reason of its non-existence. Not from actual want of blood, but from the inability of the blood to perform its functions: it would not circulate, the vital principle was absent. It was the accumulating part of the mechanism that failed, and so long as the matter to be accumulated is so ponderous, so long will the machinery continue inefficient. We do not of course refer to the actual gravity of the Indian coinage, though perhaps it would startle our readers were they to reflect that if we assume the circulation at 1000 millions of rupees the specific weight of the coinage would amount to 11,160 tons.† Imagine England with a coinage of half crowns, or florins, and even then she would be incomparably better off than India. Bullion can be easily remitted at home, twelve hours will see any amount of treasure conveyed from London to Edinburgh, whilst in India it would take seven weeks to carry coin 500 miles. In this country, too, Bullion has to be conveyed much greater distances than at home, so not only is the carriage less speedy, but coin has to be carried further. How then shall we strengthen the concentrating power of our system, its life giving spirit, how shall we restore it to healthy vigour? The Barber Surgeons of the middle ages occasionally resorted to a curious expedient having its origin in as quaint a doctrine. They attributed to the blood certain qualities good and evil, and if from the symptoms of the case under treatment they saw, or thought they saw, that the evil attributes had obtained an ascendancy over the good, they selected some healthy subject to act as a kind of sanguinary wetnurse to the sick man, and having taken a sufficient quantity of blood from the strong man they injected it into the veins of their patient. We may learn a lesson from them and their doctrine of transfusion. To res-

* Vide Para. 1 of Minute.

† Fifty Rupees weight 25 tolahs, and 80 tolahs are equivalent to 2 lbs. avoirdupois sixteen hundred Rupees, then will be equal in weight to twenty lbs. and a thousand millions to 5580 tons 7 cwt. 7 lbs.

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tore vigour to the circulation of our sickly system we must infuse new blood into it.

It is true that we are confined in our choice of subjects from whom to procure the vivifying fluid. More silver is out of the question, it would be but an increase of weakness to a circulation already inefficient.

With regard to gold it is still a vexata questio, with many members of the Anglo-Indian community whether a coinage of that metal might, or might not, be profitably employed in alliance with the present currency. The Parliamentary Reports of '52-'53 contain both the arguments in favour of and against such a plan, urged by the representatives of the two parties most interested in the question, the mercantile men and the Government. The statements of Mr. Finlay for twenty years connected with trade in Bombay, and of Sir James Melvill, the able Secretary of the India House are the most favorable specimens. On either side we have to regret however that Mr. Finlay did not like the latter gentleman reduce to writing his opinion on such an important question, instead of contenting himself with the bold and suggestive replies of his viva voce examination. Mr. Finlay assures us that it is desirable to make gold as well as silver a legal tender, and sees no objection to a double currency. His ostensible reasons for legalizing gold coinage are first that "the present currency is insufficient" and secondly, that the payments from India to the mother country would be facilitated, thus relieving the home currency in times of crisis. But the real basis of his argument occasionally peeps out from these flimsy cloudy ideas, and is of a somewhat more solid character. It is that gold is more easily carried than silver. Sir James Melvill who takes the other view of the question, bases his arguments upon the acknowledged difficulty of maintaining two standards. With regard to India he observes that "if gold became depreciated, it would be used to buy up silver" and thinks great distress would result to the people if that were to occur. To support his opinion he has laid before the Committee a memorandum relating to the gold coinage of India, in which he shows on the authority of Sir James Stewart that though gold has occasionally been coined the standard of the Bengal money has ever been silver; and after instancing some examples of the impracticability attending a double standard arrives "at the conclusion that practically two standards of value cannot exist" and that although in a wealthy country comparatively little injury may result from the double standard, the effect in India would be most seriously felt by the masses of the population.

We perfectly agree with Mr. Melvill as to the impossibility of maintaining a double standard. Since the days of Adam

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Smith who insinuated a very strong opinion on the subject, Political economists and all men of monetary experience have coincided in the impracticability of its establishment. The difficulty of fixing, for any length of time the relative value of the two metals and the certainty that the overrated metal will drive the underrated out of use* are quite sufficient to account for this impracticability which, notwithstanding his twenty years of mercantile experience Mr. Finlay cannot see.

An increase to our silver coinage but adding to our difficulties,

* It requires no great powers of penetration to perceive that if there existed in a country two metallic standards legal tender to any amount, one of which was rated in excess of its positive value with reference to the other, then every man paying in the metal comparatively underrated would suffer a loss equivalent to the difference between the real and fictitious value of the overrated metal.

For instance, if in England gold and silver were legal tender to any amount, and the comparative value of gold with reference to silver was fixed at 1 to 21, whilst its actual value was 1 to 20, every debtor paying in silver would suffer a loss of 5 per cent. paying in gold would be benefited to the same extent. As a natural result all payments excepting those of small sums would be effected in gold and silver, though a legal tender would cease to be made use of and be driven out of a country where it was exposed to so unfair a competition. For confirmation of the truth of this we need only look to the actual history of France. In that country previously to 1785 the Louis d'Or, which was virtually worth 25 Livres 10 sols, was rated at 24 Livres so that every debtor paying in gold suffered a loss of 1 Livre 10 sols upon every 24 Livres of liability. Gold in consequence was nearly banished from circulation. We have lived to see this proceeding reversed. The following is an extract from an able article in the *Economist* of the 24th November last :—

"At a very early period we pointed out the necessary consequences which must arise from the fact that many of the continental countries had in use a double standard of silver and gold, which metals had by law a fixed relative value to each other. It was evident that the relative value which had formerly existed would be disturbed by the increased supply of gold, while the supply of silver continued nearly stationary.

France, Holland, and Belgium had all this double standard in actual use. They had gold money and silver money, coined according to the fixed legal relative value of the two metals and each was a legal tender to an unlimited amount."

"Very soon after the gold discoveries, Holland, seeing the difficulty that must arise, had recourse to the step of demoneytising gold, and of adopting silver as her sole standard. Belgium shortly afterwards followed her example. The French Government appointed a Commission to examine the whole question, and to advise whether resort should be had to a single standard, or a change made in the fixed relation of gold and silver. Unfortunately the commission reported against doing any thing at the moment, and thus postponed the difficulty to a time when it would be much less easy to deal with it. What has been the consequence? Day by day, week by week, and year by year, France has been losing the enormous stock of silver which she then possessed, in the shape of coin in circulation and in deposit with the Bank, and has been substituting gold in its place. The price of silver in the markets of the world has risen fully five per cent. in relation to gold, while in France, by Law, it remains exactly as it was before. In point of fact, therefore, silver has a fixed price in France below its real price, and a profit is consequently always obtainable by purchasing silver in France with gold. A few years ago, the annual coinage of France averaged £5,000,000 of silver and about £40,000 of gold; in 1854, the coinage in gold was £20,000,000 and in silver £8,000; in the present year, up to the latest period for which we have the accounts, the coinage of gold has been £14,000,000 and of silver about £30,000; and at this moment it is understood that every day the Bank of France has a drain upon it for silver."

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and a double standard appearing impracticable, it is to paper currency that we must have recourse for our new blood. The objections that are raised to gold in connection with a double currency cannot be urged against paper. For paper is not a standard, it is but a medium. In India it will represent silver as in England it represents sovereigns. Having no intrinsic worth, and owing its value only to that which it represents it can never be driven out of the country in which its value ceases to exist. There must it remain where its fictitious value attaches to it.

Though this proposed transfusion may find favour, we must look forward to considerable opposition. In all countries there is a class of men with whom every thing in Political life that has any actual existence is sacred, not to be touched by the profane hand of the speculative thinker.

They form a class that has always existed, and always will have its representatives; and from such as these we must expect the most strenuous opposition. But every improvement has been opposed at its birth. All innovations have been viewed with distrust, and the greater the benefit they have eventually conferred, the louder originally has been the cry against them.

Printing and Gunpowder—Vaccination and the Poor Laws have been encountered by ridicule and disbelief. Railways have been damned in prospect; and Free-trade, though their numbers have decreased, still has its enemies. It is not however the hostility of these opponents of change, these *laudatores temporis acti* that we need to fear, but there are others whose arguments may have more weight—who object to the proposed change for its suddenness; those cautious politicians who make success wait upon certainty and somewhat behind the first ranks of the world, are content with a safe mediocrity. They will lay before us a thousand stereotyped objections, will tell us that interference with the currency is dangerous. That to put it in the power of a few private individuals to issue money at will is a hazardous experiment, and they will point to the Bank failures during a monetary crisis.

They will say that it is the nature of the Hindoo to resent any departure from the established order of things, that in our attempt to stimulate the circulation we shall endanger the currency, and lastly that the people will be victimised by the uttering of spurious notes.

To these we might reply that a limited issue in the hands of Government would obviate the force of the two first objections, that the paper money would be but a substitute not additional, that we have already a successful instance of a departure from the established order of things in the Bank of Bengal Notes, which

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are rather sought after than disliked by the Bengalees. That if paper is made a legal tender and issued to a limited extent, the currency cannot be impaired, and that by limiting the value of each of the notes they will not circulate in the immediate sphere of the ignorant and most *facile* victims of imposition.

But it is useless to glance at a matter of such moment, we must weigh the merits and demerits of the plan seriously and carefully. The objections which present themselves to our notice admit of a very simple classification, referring either to the defects of a paper currency per se, or to those inherent to it as connected with the country to which we contemplate its introduction.

With regard to the faults of the system itself, their fallacy has already been so well explained by so many able writers that we should feel inclined to pass by this class of objections in contemptuous silence, were it not that such silence might seem derogatory to the cause which we advocate. Some few remarks will not perhaps be out of place.

The theory of paper money practically divides itself into two systems. The one the offspring of high civilization and extended commerce,—the other fostered by the despotic power of a less lofty civilization. Thus differing in their origin they are separate in their phenomena. The growth of the one being spontaneous, its existence is natural, that of the other being forced it continues only by being legalized. Of the former we have an instance in commercial England, of the latter in Autocratic Russia.

Strange to say the more natural is as imperfect as the artificial, though in the instances which Europe at present yields to us, the defects of the latter seem to be perennial while those of the former are epochal. But the faults of both are rather faults of vicious management than of the systems themselves, and there is but little doubt that were both regulated upon those just and sound principles which long experience has pointed out to us as the only sure foundations of the monetary economy of nations, they would in practise deserve that praise which is now only accorded to them in theory.

It has ever been the policy of the British Government to allow every thing not intimately connected with the actual executive or administrative to take care of itself, and though praiseworthy in many cases this "laissez faire" doctrine has been productive of much evil. For a long time it was pursued with regard to the monetary arrangements of the empire. Warned however by the extraordinary distress of 1792, Government at last discovered that it was their duty to interfere. But the ghost of a defunct national policy, that detestation of bureaucracy, that dislike of centralization has still continued to exercise in this particular

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instance a most pernicious and baneful influence, and except on due compulsion the administration has never made use of the powers with which it is invested for the sake of the public welfare. Not only has the Government deemed it unworthy of their dignity to take means for securing the payment on demand of the notes that are issued, but by neglecting to limit the number of issuers they have still further assisted to multiply embarrassments which all must deprecate. It cannot be too strongly argued, and the argument cannot be too often reiterated that without taking these precautions a currency based upon the English principles can never be in a sound state.

If it be the duty of Government to use their utmost endeavours for the suppression of base coin of a metallic currency, it is equally obligatory upon them to exert every nerve for the suppression of spurious notes, and though notes in theory may not be legal tender, to the same extent as gold, yet we cannot deceive ourselves as to the reality of the matter—this security, for the payment of demand of the notes of what we have, rightly or wrongly, termed a natural currency, may be dispensed with as far as the artificial one is concerned. In the despotic, or Governmental system the paper is declared by the Government which issues it to be a legal tender, and notes of this description circulate, not because of any power credited to the issuers of being able on presentation to buy back these bits of paper with the actual coin, which they are stated to represent; not because they have a real value equal to that of the commodities for which they are exchanged, but simply for this reason, that in their assigned quality of media of exchange they are selected to perform the functions of money.

But whatever the nature of a currency of paper, whether natural or artificial, it is an essential element of its well being, that the number of issuers should be limited. For this displays to us the only method by which we can secure that variability as necessary to a paper as to a metallic currency. By this identity of variability common to a healthy paper, as well as metallic currency, we desire to express the varying of the whole currency in amount and value, exactly as a metallic currency would do, were the paper currency withdrawn and coins substituted in its stead. That is to say that the supply should be equivalent to the demand. As long as this is the case, the currency is at its real value, but it is evident that if the issue of notes be in excess of the metallic coin which would circulate in its stead, were the paper currency withdrawn, such notes in proportion to the extent in which they are issued, will have their relative value diminished below what they are supposed to represent of metallic currency.

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Owing to the want of centralization, and the insouciance of Government already alluded to, the British currency did not occupy that high position which as the exchanging medium of the greatest commercial nation in the world we were entitled to expect for it. And it had resulted from the omission to take security for the payment on demand of each particular note, that the issuing of bank notes had become a trade as open to all as any less valuable profession. Their issue thus being permitted to every individual, his personal credit being the only measure of its extent, and the field of his operations* alone being confined, it cannot be matter of surprise that men with little means and less principle were found to engage in so lucrative a profession, whilst to add to the evil by neglecting to limit the number of issuers we allow the very best of the class unintentionally to add to the confusion.† These then were the most conspicuous faults of the remedies for the old British system of paper currency.

If however its defects were those of omission, those of the artificial system on the other hand are the sins of commission, and if on the part of Government with regard to a commercial system, the faults are negative, with reference to the Government system the errors are positive.

Complying with all the formal requisites for the well-being of the currency they exhibit a total disregard or ignorance of those principles which should secure it; and whatever good they may have done in originating the system, is more than counterbalanced by the erroneous manner in which they have directed it, —degraded by the very hands that should have cherished it. Whatever the advantages with which it may have originally started, the Governmental system has always succumbed under the enormous issue which the authorities have forced upon it. Regardless of every thing but present necessity they have put their future in pawn for actual aid, and the assistance thus obtained has served only to increase their embarrassments.

* No other Notes but those of the Bank of England are allowed to be issued payable on demand within 65 miles of Charing-cross.

† The state of the Exchange is the sole barometer of a contracted or exaggerated issue, but notwithstanding that this is generally acknowledged, it is seldom that its indications are attended to. The Private and Joint Stock Banks being not indirectly affected by the rise and fall of the exchange, are not much influenced by it in their operations, and are generally guided by no other beacon than their own credit and immediate profits in the extension and contraction of their issues. To contract his issue is the very last thing that occurs to the mind of a private Banker. He may be forced by circumstances to acknowledge that contraction is required but he makes a saving clause in favour of his own particular issue. He argues that comparatively speaking as his issue is so small, no perceptible benefit can accrue from its contraction: or perhaps he is restrained from diminishing his issue by the knowledge that were he to do so the vacuum thus created would be immediately filled up by the Notes of some less scrupulous competitor. The result is that saving in the case of the Bank of England, issuers never contract their issues except when they are compelled to do so, and "the contraction when it does take place is carried to an improper extent."

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Deluging the country with paper under the vain idea that, by so doing, they increased its material wealth, they have in reality hung a dead weight around the neck of the nation, swamped its credit, and impeded its progress. In this self-destructive race, Austria and Russia have outpaced all competitors. No European currencies are so degraded as theirs. Having it more particularly in their power to limit the issue, they have sought rather to attain the last boundary of extravagance and have been eminently successful in approximating to ruin.

It would seem then that neither the natural or the artificial system as developed in Europe will serve us as guides. But if we cannot make use of their example we can at all events profit by the warning they convey to us. By blending the sound principles of the one with the healthy forms of the other, we shall avoid the vices of both, and elicit that "juste milieu" which we may with safety adopt as the basis of our Indian currency. For we must remember that these defects are not inherent to a paper currency itself, but are the results on the one hand of uncared for growth, and on the other of most injudicious and intemperate forcing, and that in the first instance notwithstanding these failings, serious as they are, a mixed paper currency is still superior to an entirely metallic circulating medium.

Before we attempt to shew how this "juste milieu" is to be gained, it would be as well to examine those objections which may be urged, not against a paper currency per se, but against such a currency in its connection with the country to which we advocate its introduction. The great bulwark of this species of objections is the native dislike of change, and though we do not go so far as some who deny that aversion to novelty can be among the characteristics of a nation in which the imitative faculty is so strongly developed yet we are very much inclined to suspect the general prevalence of this hostility. That it is much overrated we are certain, and we attribute the undue estimate of its extent to the imperfect analysis of its nature. It has been mixed up with another feeling common to all nations, that natural regard for old established institutions which is occasionally confused with dread of innovation, and though at first sight the confusion may appear not unnatural, there is nevertheless but little connection between the two sentiments. For the one is the result of prejudiced reasoning, the other of unreasoning prejudice. Tender caution of the present satisfies the former, the latter is discontented with everything but the past. The administrative experience of a century only corroborates our opinion and in disclosing the remarkable facility with which all our innovations unconnected with religion have been introduced, and the rapidity with which they have settled into most

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common place routine, sufficiently demonstrates that whatever may be the regard for ancestral institutions there is no positive aversion to change in the national idiosyncracy. The history of India has been the history of changes of different dynasties, and separate religions—and since the British has been the dominant power in the country, all the novelties we have added to its constitution, from the confiscation of a province to the clothing of a sepoy, have been equally peacefully received.

We examine this objection the more briefly since we already possesses a surer guage than theory by which to measure its capacity.

In the year 1809 the Bank of Bengal received its charter, by which among other clauses it was provided that the Bank should have the power of issuing Notes to the amount of two millions of money. Peculiar privileges were granted to the Bank in its position of issuer and as is now the case, its Notes were directed "to be received at all the Public offices in payment of Revenue" by the Collectors in all the districts below* Benares.

A period of nearly fifty years has now elapsed since the Bank of Bengal was incorporated, and during that period its Notes have circulated in those districts in the treasuries of which they are received by Government with the same freedom that is attributed by our opponents to a metallic currency alone; the Natives as well as Europeans effecting their payments by means of the paper thus issued. Does this argue any ostentatious regard for old established institutions? The Hindoo character is not so obstinately conservative as some have considered it. A Reformatory spirit is by degrees diffusing itself amongst the people, and they are willing to be guided by this spirit when they discern that it is for their interest to trust to it.

But it has been urged against the introduction of a paper currency into Hindostan that its inhabitants are so remarkably sensitive to all changes, in particular those connected with the monetary arrangements of the country, that their confidence will be denied to the projected currency. The late Mr. St. George Tucker, the champion of the admirers of the Financial arrangements as they at present stand, furnishes us with authority for denying this. In a valuable state-paper regarding Banks written in 1838 he has implied it as his opinion that "our native subjects will naturally place confidence in any currency, which may appear to have obtained the countenance and support of the Government."†

Another objection that has been urged against the applica-

* Only the Bengal districts.

† Vide Memorials of Indian Government, p. 402.

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tion of a paper currency to India is that owing to the general ignorance of its inhabitants, they would be peculiarly liable to be imposed upon by the utterance of spurious notes.* Were it even our object to propose a general substitution of paper for specie, we should not be inclined to attach much weight to such an argument; specially when we bear in mind the remarkable aptitude displayed by the natives of this country for conducting their monetary arrangements by means of bills of exchange, the very commonest man being accustomed to transmit his savings through the medium of Hoondees. Much less then is the weight which we attach to this argument when we reflect upon what our proposal is, not the general substitution of paper money for metallic, but merely the more extended employment of paper as an auxiliary. This objection that we have alluded to, applies indeed with equal force everywhere, and not more peculiarly to the inhabitants of India than to those of any other country were such a thing as an established monetary system exists. Will it be asserted for a minute that the population of British India, a country where the liberal sciences and the arts flourished a thousand years ago when our ancestors had only but a short time emerged from their point, is more uncivilized, more ignorant, more peculiarly exposed to imposition than that of Russia when the First Peter was beating his subjects into shape, whilst the Court of the Moghul was the most splendid in the world.

In Russia, too, the paper in circulation very much exceeds the amount proposed to be circulated in India, whilst the specific value of the notes circulated is considerably lower than that of the Notes we propose to circulate (and thus more likely to affect the lower classes.) But have the Russian peasantry suffered from imposition than that of the notes we propose to circulate? The forgery of Bank paper is almost unknown, though the redundance of the Russian issue has certainly affected the country considered in reference to the foreign market. It is far from our intention to inflict an over issue upon the Indian Public. We would introduce our paper money carefully and by degrees ceasing to apply it when our object of stimulating the currency and of quickening the circulation has been attained, or as soon as there appears a prospect of any evil result being produced.

We contend then that there is nothing in the nature of a well managed issue of paper which would tend to make its introduc-

* Mr. St. George Tucker, an authority in his way, has submitted it as his opinion "that a paper currency is unsuitable to the minute pecuniary transactions of the natives—and that from their ignorance they are peculiarly exposed to fraud and imposition by means of forgery and otherwise."—*Memorials of Indian Government, p.* 393.

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tion into Hindostan dangerous; and again that there is nothing in the nature of the country and its inhabitants, sufficient to create difficulties presenting an insuperable barrier to such introduction. If there should be such difficulties, or if the character of the proposed scheme be dangerous, it is the duty of those who oppose it to point out where the danger lies, in what those difficulties consist. As yet no valid objections have been urged against the scheme we propose, further than the obstinate, and reiterated assertion that it cannot be carried out, and is incompatible with the character of the nation to which we would introduce it. If these objections are really of any weight, and worthy of any credit how is it that we find most of the educated natives eager to assist in establishing it?

It was our pleasant duty not two months ago to discuss this matter with an intelligent native revenue officer in the N. W. Provinces. He at once expressed it as his opinion that if Government were to authorize the reception of paper money in their treasuries in payment of the Government jumma, such money would be circulated with perfect ease, whilst the richer classes would eagerly avail themselves of it.

Perhaps some of our readers may be already aware that notes had been introduced into the country centuries before the Saxon race became the dominant power in the land. The system was rude and clumsy (the notes being made of leather,) but it flourished whilst supported by Government; and so long as such notes were legal tender no difficulty was experienced in circulating them. As far as we have studied the subject, it would appear not only that an auxiliary gold currency does not possess the same advantages which an auxiliary paper currency would confer upon the country, but that it actually offers fewer and less substantial claims to our notice.

Such being the case and remembering the present defects of our financial system, we hold it to be the duty of Government having a due regard to the improvement of the people whose welfare is entrusted to them to take measures first for an enquiry into the matter, and then for the application of an auxiliary paper currency for the purpose of relieving the overloaded overworked mechanism of the financial machine.

It remains to be seen how this may best be accomplished. To submit an elaborate and well matured scheme for effecting the alteration, we have proposed is a task of greater magnitude than we feel inclined to undertake. To perform it would require a modern Argus whose hundred eyes will probably be found scattered among the Civilians in the country. By their aid Government might successfully undertake the necessary enquiries. But since we have suggested the alteration, we deem it to be incumbent of

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us, as far as it lies in our power, to suggest also *means* for its introduction. These suggestions we propose to offer have reference to the character of the paper currency to be introduced, to the amount to be circulated and the manner of regulating the issue.

First then with reference to the character of the proposed paper currency. We have already glanced at the characteristic faults of the two systems of paper currency at present existing in Europe. The failings of the one seem to originate in the number of the issuers, and the absence of any restriction upon the issue; the defects of the other arise in the amount of the issue. Availing ourselves of the warning they afford us we seek to combine, as much as possible, the good points, respectively distinguishing them, while we reject the errors, and counteract the causes of failure. We imagine that by making the currency payable on demand, and by allowing it to be issued only by one issuer, to a limited amount, we shall succeed in accomplishing our desire. We must first then provide some guarantee for the actual payment on demand of each note. It has been suggested by Mr. McCulloch as a means for ensuring the actual payment of demand of each particular note that every issuer should be compelled to give security equivalent in value to the amount of paper money he might propose to issue; such security to be taken either in real property or Government paper. But such a precaution is not sufficient to ensure the *actual payment on demand*, though it would be eventual payment, of each particular note presented. There is indeed but one certain method by which we can guarantee the actual payment on demand of each particular note of the currency.

It is to require that for every note issued an equivalent in metallic currency should be deposited in the coffers of the issuer. We are corroborated in our opinion by no less an authority than Lord Overstone. Writing in 1840 that Nobleman stated "It is not sufficient merely to ordain as Peel's Bill did (The Act of 1819,) the convertibility of the notes: it is further necessary to see that effectual means are provided for that end. It is now discovered that there is a liability to excessive issues of paper even while that paper is convertible at will: and that to preserve the value of a paper circulation not only must that paper be convertible into metallic money but the whole of its oscillations must be made to correspond exactly both in time and amount with what would be the oscillations of a metallic currency as indicated by the state of the bullion." This has been interpreted to mean that the bullion in the coffers of an issuer should equal in amount the value of the notes issued.

It may well be doubted whether private Bankers would agree

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to such a restriction as this, since it would close up every road to profit in their issue department. But we are not inclined to trust the issue of the Indian paper currency to private Banks.

We consider it to be the duty of Government not only to regulate it but also to take the issue into their own hands. It is peculiarly the province of a Government such as that of British India, a paternal despotism, to undertake and carry out in so much as it has the power all projects which are intimately connected with the future well being of the country and the progress of the nation. In this particular instance by the Government only can the scheme be carried out under the most favorable auspices. Paper money issued as we propose, bearing upon its face the stamp of the highest authority in the country, would be received with far greater alacrity than paper which might be issued by private Banks, even though those Banks were under the immediate patronage of Government. Such paper, too, would at once arrogate to itself the character and value of a legal tender, (in fact we would give it by law that force) under which garb alone could it rank amongst natives as money. For the paper money which circulated only in consequence of the belief entertained that it was in the power of the issuers to retract it, would not in this country pass as money should. There would be various rates of batta upon it at various different places, and in practise it would cease to represent that for which in theory it was substituted.

It would be made use of as Exchange Bills not as Bank Notes. We are aware that by giving to our paper money the authority of a legal tender we do away with the absolute necessity for making it payable on demand. We still however insist upon retaining the characteristic of convertibility as one of the strongest securities against the probability of over issue. For in effecting an innovation we must take every possible means of ensuring its success, and the introduction of a paper currency must be accompanied by every precaution, every method being taken to render it acceptable to the natives.

We think "therefore" that whilst it will be found necessary to give to the proposed paper currency the prerogative of legal tender to ensure its free and equable circulation, it will be found necessary, also, to add "convertibility into metallic money on demand" to raise its character above any whisper of suspicion.

With reference then to the character of the paper currency we propose to introduce we recommend that there should be *but one issuer:* that *that issuer should be the Government:* that the Notes issued should be made *legal tender* and *convertible into metallic money on demand,* and to ensure such convertibility that

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for every Note issued an equivalent of metallic money should be retained in the coffers of the issuer.

Having thus premised of the character of the currency, it remains to be seen how the issue of it shall be regulated; and if Government is to be the issuer to whom it shall confide that office. Messrs. Clay S. Ricardo and Torrens, gentlemen who have acquired high reputation as financiers, proposed to confine the issue of paper money in England to a National Bank "to be under the management of competent functionaries, qualified by the possession, not of Bank Stock, but of economical science: appointed not by the holders of Bank Stock, but by the Government: responsible not to their co-proprietors but to Parliament: and having for their first object and primary duty the protection not of their own corporate property but of the general interest of the nation."

To a Commission formed somewhat after this description should the power of issuing paper money be interested. But where are we to find in India men competent to undertake this office? "The right man in the right place," has already become a rallying cry at home, and the more important the post to be filled up the more deserving of attention and respect is this maxim. In a subordinate office, if we select an inefficient man, the injury sustained by the public is proportionally small. But as the Heads of departments (and more particularly of departments connected with Financial administration) we require men of the soundest and most comprehensive views, of the most liberal and enlightened minds and of the largest experience. For it must be remembered that in India the Minister of a department is but little, if in any way, assisted by the public ventilation of the subject demanding his attention, nor is his best road pointed out to him by any expression of the public mind. Unaided and alone he must digest and propound his scheme: and though others may share the glory of his success he single-handed must bear the burden and disgrace of defeat.

In a country however which has been the nursery of so many warriors and statesmen, and where whatever the demand the intellectual supply has always been equal to it we have no reason to fear any deficiency of talent. No difficulty is experienced in supplying the principal departments. Do we require an occupant for the Bureau of Public Works? We possess in the Corps of Engineers an highly educated experienced body from which to take our choice. To hold the Portfolio for the foreign department we can select a man distinguished for the ability he has displayed in political employ; and from amongst the officers of a magnificent army we can without difficulty pick out a Minister at War. But where are we to look for the members of our Financial Commission? In the ranks of the Civil

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Service? It is certainly true that we have some rare instances of eminently distinguished financiers whose talents have been developed in the service. But the mass of the Indian Civil Servants are not educated for high financial posts.

Finance is a subject which has been omitted almost entirely in the preparatory training which they undergo. During his residence at Haileybury the student is not indoctrinated with the great principles of that political science. Neither has this want been provided for since the fiat has gone forth for the destruction of the East India College. The moral sciences, the classics, the mathematics, history and languages have all received their share of attention in the report drawn up by the able men who formed the Committee upon the new examinations for Civil appointments. But finance, save the small amount of knowledge on that point which he who studies the general principles of political economy may acquire, is not even hinted at by those gentlemen.

It may be argued, however, that the young Civilian is supposed to acquire fiscal knowledge during his connection with the country which he is deputed to administer, but the knowledge thus acquired will, we imagine, be of a very confined description. Moreover a Civilian after he makes his appearance on the actual working stage has not in most instances the time to devote to the acquisition of a science that is only to be attained by constant application. He learns the management of Provincial Treasuries not the fundamental maxims of financial science.

But though the Civil Service as a body receives little financial education, their very situations and appointments if not precluding them from, by no means assisting them in, acquiring any comprehensive knowledge of the science, yet this is not the case with the service individually.

In the Indian treasury there are offices, the appointments to which place the aspirant for financial fame on the first rising of the ladder that may bear him to it. They are few, but the emoluments attached to them are sufficient to induce willing acceptance of them. Admitted to one of these appointments, and residing in the great commercial capital of the Indian empire, the young Civilian has ample opportunity for studying all those varied phases of fiscal economy which commercial enterprise is perpetually exhibiting. In Calcutta, too, as also, though in a less degree, in Bombay and Madras there exists a public voice which either in the saloons or on change finds some mode of expression. By this in the critical moments of danger he may be warned if he will but listen to it calmly. Taking his soundings by this and piloted by the collected wisdom and experience of the great Commercial Houses the financial administrator will escape the shoals and quicksands which have proved so dangerous to his pre-

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decessors. With such auxiliaries as these there is no reason why the Civilian should not become as great a financier as Mr. Huskisson, Lord Liverpool or Lord Overstone.

It is then from this little knot of financial officers assembled at the Central Treasury that we propose to select one of the members of the Commission to which we would intrust the issue of Indian paper money. As his exhibition he would bring to the Commission his Indian experience and a general knowledge of the finance operations of the country.

But though we would prefer selecting at least one member from the Civil Service, we do not acknowledge any absolute necessity that he should be a member of that body. It might be the case, we do not positively assert it would, that the fittest man, both on account of his practical experience in the finance operations of India, and by reason of his fiscal science, would be found among the mercantile men of the country. If so such a man, could he be induced to accept of the appointment, would without doubt be the proper man to select.

The remaining member, for we propose to limit the Commission to two, considering that a greater number will by no means necessitate a greater amount of work performed or greater safety in its performance, should be unconnected with the Indian services. As in the Legislative seat of the Supreme Council so here also we would make use of the highest talent and most varied experience in extended financial operations that Britain can afford to supply us with. To obtain such a man no expense would be too great and no exertion should be spared. Lastly the Governor General ex-officio would possess the casting vote in any matter upon which the members of the Committee could not unanimously decide.

Having thus provided for the constitution of the Committee who should direct the issue, a brief sketch of their functions may not be amiss. They should in no case issue paper except they receive an equivalent amount of bullion in payment for it; nor should any of the paper thus issued be withdrawn except an equivalent amount of bullion were returned to the public to circulate in its stead. Thus regulated, an identity in amount and value would be maintained between the paper in circulation and the bullion that would circulate in its stead were it withdrawn. To this it has been objected, though we ourselves cannot see the force of the objection, that there is such an identity between the Note and the bullion that the only fault to be found with this arrangement as a theory is the existence of Notes at all. "Dismiss them altogether" say these objectors "and operate with bullion alone." But these gentlemen seem to overlook the fact that whilst we secure for our paper currency the identity in amount and value that characterises the metallic currency, we still preserve

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to it its distinctive attributes of cheapness and facility for transport in which quality the metallic currency of India is so wofully deficient.

Mr. McCulloch's remarks upon the functions of an office confined to the mere exchange of paper and gold so well embody our opinions upon the subject as connected with the Indian Issue Commission, that we here present them. He observes,

"It has been doubted whether it would be practicable, even on the supposition that there were only one issuer, to make the issues depend wholly on the influx and efflux of bullion: but nothing could be more facile. Suppose that local notes are withdrawn, and that paper is only issued by one office in London: under these circumstances, nothing would be necessary to maintain an identity of amount and value between the paper afloat and the gold that would circulate in its stead were it withdrawn, but to confine the business of the issuers to the exchange of gold for paper and of paper for gold, according to the wants of the Public: for this purpose it should be laid down as an invariable rule that paper should in no case be issued except when it is paid away for an equivalent amount of gold or silver brought to the office, nor withdrawn except when it is received for an equivalent amount of gold or silver demanded from the office."

And he afterwads goes on to say,

"A national bank for transacting ordinary banking business would be neither more or less than a national nuisance that would very soon have to be abated. But were it confined, as it should be, to the issue of paper on the principle and in the way previously described, it could not be perverted to any sort of sinister purpose. Its conductors would be confined to a sort of mill-horse path; and it would be impossible for them, however willing, to show favour or partiality to any one. All would depend on what has been called the 'cast iron principle of notes for gold and gold for notes;' and the amount and value of the paper currency would at all times be equal to the amount and value of the bullion that would circulate in its stead were it withdrawn."*

The Indian issue commission however should differ in one respect from that proposed for the mother country. According to Messrs. Ricardo, Clay and Torrens the only limit upon the amount of paper issued would be the will of the Public. In Great Britain, indeed, no other restriction is required. But we would suggest that a different policy should be pursued with regard to the Indian issue; at all events in the first years of its existence. Some restriction might be laid upon it probably with good effect, certainly without injustice; and the average of the annual revenue of the country would, we imagine, be a fair measure of the maximum of Notes to be issued. The only complaint likely to be made against a paper currency would be that of its magnitude not that it was too limited, and such a complaint could acquire vali-

* McCulloch's edition of "Smith's Wealth of Nation," p. 501.

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dity only according as the issue was regulated. Controlled in the manner that we have proposed the magnitude of the issue would of itself be a proof of the reality of the deficiency it is intended to supply.

There is yet one other point to which we would direct attention; we mean the minimum value of each Note that may be issued, a subject which will require much careful study and much experience of the country to elucidate. The reasons that prove to us the necessity for fixing such a minimum are patent. We know, from experience, how indispensable it is to fix a certain minimum, below which notes are not to be issued, if we wish to prevent the danger that would result to the labouring and ignorant class of the population, were notes of a small value allowed to circulate among them.

The smaller the value of the Note the greater the temptation to an issue of spurious counterfeit paper; for paper promises to pay small amounts afford an easy means of imposing upon the ignorant and unwary. If the Notes of a small value are to be issued, it becomes a condition indespensable to the security of the Public that some means for the prevention of forgery should be discovered: as yet we have not been successful in this and we are still at the mercy of the cunning and the crafty. But it is only the lesser notes that we have to fear and mistrust for the gentleman we have already quoted, lays it down that "forgery in the larger description of notes, or in those of 5£ and upwards, may with due precaution be prevented from becoming injuriously prevalent; but low Notes or those of the value of 1£ or 2£ having to circulate among the labouring classes, and in immense numbers present facilities for the issue of spurious paper which it has been found impossible to diminish."

In addition also to this liability to imposition in the lower classes it must be remembered that, as the existing circulating medium is active enough for the transactions of the great bulk of the people, we do not wish to introduce a paper currency which shall circulate amongst them. Their pecuniary arrangements are so frequent and minute that they would in no wise be assisted by such an introduction. It is only the richer classes, the dealers and merchants that will feel the benefit of a less sluggish monetary medium and it is our object to make the notes of our proposed currency circulate as quickly as possible amongst them, without taking much part in the pecuniary transactions of the nation at large. We want to confine the circulation of paper as much as possible to the dealers, not to throw it open to the mass of consumers.

Dr. Adam Smith, the father of all political economists, has laid down the bases upon which this may be carried out. He has

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stated in the chapter devoted to metallic and paper money that "The circulation of every country may be considered as divided into two different branches; the circulation of the dealers with one another, and the circulation between the dealers and the consumers. Though the same pieces of money, whether paper or metal, may be employed sometimes in the one circulation and sometimes in the other, yet as both are constantly going on at the same time, each requires a certain stock of money, of one kind or another, to carry it on. The value of the goods circulated between the different dealers never can exceed the value of those circulated between the dealers and the consumers; whatever is brought by the dealers being ultimately destined to be sold to the consumers. The circulation between the dealers, as it is carried on by wholesale, requires generally a pretty large sum for every particular transaction. That between the dealers and consumers, on the contrary, as it is generally carried on by retail, frequently requires but very small ones, a shilling, or even half penny, being often sufficient. But small sums circulate much faster than large ones. A shilling changes masters more frequently than a guinea, and a half penny more frequently than a shilling. Though the annual purchases of all the consumers, therefore, are at least equal in value to those of all the dealers, they can generally be transacted with a much smaller quantity of money; the same pieces, by a more rapid circulation, serving as the instrument of many more purchases of the one kind than of the other. Paper money may be so regulated, as either to confine itself very much to the circulation between the different dealers, or to extend itself likewise to a great part of that between the dealers and consumers. Where no Bank Notes are circulated under ten pounds value, as in London, paper money confines itself very much to the circulation between the dealers. When a ten pound note comes into the hands of a consumer, he is generally obliged to change it at the first shop where he has occasion to purchase five shillings worth of goods, so that it often returns into the hands of a dealer, before the consumer has spent the fortieth part of the money. Where Bank Notes are issued for so small a sum as twenty shillings, as in Scotland, paper money extends itself to a considerable part of the circulation between dealers and consumers. Before the Act of Parliament, which put a stop to the circulation of ten and five shilling notes it filled a still greater part of that circulation."

But the value of money in India is, relatively speaking, so much higher than it is in England that though in the mother country five pounds may be considered rather too low a minimum, below which to disallow the issue of Bank Notes, it will be found to be sufficiently high in this country to prevent the parcels of our paper currency from circulating between the dealers and the consumers, that is to say to prevent its entrance into the general circulation of the lower classes. If then in England it is found that the forgery of Bank Notes of five pounds and upwards may be for the most part put a stop to, much more so, we imagine,

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will it be the case in India.* Fifty Rupees as a minimum of value will offer a firm barrier to the fraudulent uttering and counterfeiting of Notes, and will also, to a very great extent relieve us from the fear lest such note should fall into the hands of those whose ignorance would prevent them from detecting the fraud of which they were destined to be the victims.

In conclusion, we will briefly recapitulate the precautions by which we hope to secure the stability and utility of our Indian paper currency. The issue of it to be confided by Government to one issuer represented by a competent commission ; the Notes thus issued to be legal tender and convertible into metallic money on demand not to be of less value than fifty Rupees a piece, and their issue to be restricted for the first few years to the amount of the annual revenue.

We acknowledge that these suggestions are capable of much improvement, that at present they are crude, angular, and unpolished, and most willingly would we have remained silent had we seen any probability of the subject of Indian finance receiving that public ventilation, which we now endeavour to procure for it. Deeply too do we feel how little justice we have done to so engrossing a theme as the fiscal arrangements of a vast empire, how feeble has been the championship in so good a cause. But we venture to hope, however defective our treatment of the question, that it at least call the attention of others to the subject, which we trust will be treated with the gravity that its importance demands for it, and handled with that ability which its merits deserve but which we have been unable to command.

One word more and we have accomplished our talk. In the views that we have expressed and the sentiments that we have uttered we are far from imputing any blame or neglect to the supreme authority. Whatever may be the outcry with which it is sometimes assailed both at home and in India, the greatest tribute to its character has been continuously paid to it by that "living posterity" (as some clever man has designated foreigners) whose criticism as most unbiassed is most valuable.

Had we not the confidence that we have, in the benevolence and justice of the Government, we should not have put forth the opinions, which we have in these few pages endeavoured to popularize.

* It is a question well worthy of consideration, how far Post Office orders might with benefit be employed in carrying on some part of the circulation of the country. Every Post Office could issue them at a trifling expense, but considerably to the convenience of the people. Sufficient discount to pay for the conveyance of the money so received from the Post Office to the nearest treasury and to allow of a small batta and the issuing offices would be all that it would be necessary to demand. However if it should be found inconvenient to allow every Post Office to issue them, their issue might be restricted to the Tuhseel Post Offices.

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ART. IX.—1. *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government.*

2. *No. II. Proceedings of the Department of Public Instruction*, 1855.

3. *No. XVII. Report of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for* 1854, 1855.

THE first volume of Records placed at the head of this paper consists of a memorandum by Mr. A. J. Arbuthnot, Director of Public Instruction, wherein he gives us a historical sketch of educational measures in the Madras Presidency : with appendices containing the original documents upon which his memorandum is founded. The second volume is composed of Reports of the Educational Establishments actually in operation in 1854-1855 under government auspices. The two combined furnish us with a connected, if not succinct, account of what Governors and Educational Boards have suggested, attempted, declined, or accomplished for the last thirty-five years, in reference to Education in South India.

To one interested to the elevation and enlargement of mind in so large a portion of our Indian Empire ;—and what thoughtful man is not ?—these books possess a sober attraction. They trace the slow process, whereby the accumulation of theories, experiments, facts, and failures points out the path of future exertion and success. But in tracing that path through these volumes the reader may expect to find but few flowers budding by its side. Routine like Dutch gardening has checked all naturalness. Here and there indeed a Collector, free from the stereotyped euphony of government returns, surprises us with a paragraph of description or the discussion of a refreshing novelty. Macaulay's well-timed Memorandum on English education breathes a cinnamon fragrance over at least 50 pages on either side. And now and then a President or Secretary startles us with the phenomenon of a figure of speech in official lips, as when Mr. J. Norton in advocating the instruction of the higher classes graces his argument by the unlooked-for sentence, "The light must touch the mountain tops before it can pierce to the levels and depths." But on the whole an Indian Government Record is the antipodes of Indian Light Literature. The Appendices are dry and dusty beyond all conception. Not only dry but ridiculous. The witty Reviewer of their Anglican prototypes might have exhausted all his caustic upon these secular Puseyites with their "genuflexions and circumflexions, their bowings to the *East* and courtesying to the West." Here the "Secretary of the Educational Department" addresses a com-

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munication to the Governor in Council." There the "Governor in Council" quotes the Secretary's communication in a despatch to the "loving friends" in Leadenhall Street. The "loving friends" at some indefinite period quote the Governor's despatch, refer to the Secretary's communication, and request a consultation with the sister-Presidencies. The "Governor in Council" quotes the "Honourable Board's" Despatch and the Secretary's first document, and writes to the Sisters. Whilst they meditate reply, the Secretary comes forward with some new suggestion and the wheels revolve as before. But unlike the complicated motion of machinery in general, it is difficult to see here the formation of any substance, the interlacing of warp and weft;—it is difficult not to see the confusion of the threads. The unpopular shape of this Educational information is more a matter of regret than ridicule. Such matters are now of wide interest. Missionaries in large numbers are spending life and energy in the work. A great deal of private philanthropy is turned into this channel, and they who exercise it watch eagerly for any light upon its course. The Presidencies moreover are learners of each other, and whilst all are experimenting, it were well that the facts obtained by one should be made common to all. Besides many eyes are turned upon this land from home. We blame our real or would-be friends there for ignorance, but give them no means of avoiding it. Whilst then it would be looking for too much to expect that these documents should be less prosy than they are, it is a matter of regret, to be remedied if possible, that facts of so common an interest should be in the way of so narrow a circulation. We are not now following the steps of a Bartlett or a Keene, travellers who seize upon each effective landscape and striking peculiarity of the country through which they pass, and may therefore excuse a lack of attraction in the dress of the story. We rather trace the foot-prints of the settler, surveying his unbroken ground, measuring his first difficulties, and marking his first attempts at turning the "wilderness and solitary place" into a "land well-inhabited." Where many are engaged in the same work, surely it is advisable, that the history of his doings should find—what India so cryingly lacks—a medium of easy, far-reaching transit. These remarks point out the object of the present paper. It does not pretend to sit in judgment. Its criticisms will be few and short. It aims to bring within reach of the readers of this review the facts contained in the volumes before us, by dint of a somewhat more perspicuous arrangement of the topics, and without egotism it may be said, a little more popularity of style.

In 1822 Sir Thomas Munro addressed a circular to all the Collectors of the Presidency requiring returns of all educational

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machinery at work in their several Collectorates. In two years the information was forthcoming, and forms the ground of all after proceedings. As the results contained in the Collectors' Reports remain in a great measure undisturbed, and the agencies now employed in instructing the youth of South India are much the same as they were then ;—it will be well to place a description of them on record. If our educational inertness should receive a startling impulse and quickly displace these relics of olden time, the narration will remain as at least an interesting pourtrayal of things happily bygone.

At the time Sir Thomas Munro made up his despatch a considerable portion of the people received their knowledge, such as it was, by private tuition. The manner of it was the following. A Brahmin or a Sudra of good report for learning and sanctity was engaged by the head of a family to instruct his boys. Two or three of his relatives not unfrequently sent their children to meet the teacher under the same roof, and thus a family school was established. The master received a monthly fee of trifling amount from each pupil. But at a certain season of the year, on alternate days he was wont, accompanied by each of his scholars in succession, to execute a wandering begging commission, calling at the houses of such friends as his young disciple pointed out. By the harvest thus gathered, his ordinary income was much increased. The studies carried on in this private manner were much of the same kind as those of the common schools. Home tuition is oft undefined in these Reports, but these particulars may be authenticated by any one acquainted with the habits of the natives where least disturbed.

The next and largest sphere of educational labour was in the common vernacular schools. Some large provincial town is the most fitting place for observing choice specimens. A sketch of one taken at a venture is virtually the same as that drawn by Mr. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, in 1824, and will serve to show the way and means of ordinary vernacular education. As the morning twilight dawns the boys may be seen trotting to school with a black board swinging in the hand or the bundle of cadjan-leaves slung across the shoulder. The place of gathering is the spacious pial or verandah of the master's house, or that of some benevolent friend. When the honours or dishonours of regular or irregular attendance have been duly administered, the school may be seen in full operation ; a stereotyped scene altered not by revolution of time or change of place. A monotonous humming on a high key draws the attention of the passer, and should he turn in the direction and happen to be an European, the dull, dead sound breaks into a perfect shriek. This ordinary and extraordinary music has

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been not unaptly likened to the booming of the ocean, and the sharp discharge of some obstructed breaker. The boys are divided into classes and the master is assisted by a monitor. Presently the first class repeats the lesson appointed on the previous day, to be succeeded by the second class. The monitor goes through the same process with the lower classes. This done the master taking his ratan points to the place in the cadjan-leaf book, where the lesson for the morrow is to be found, and repeats the same in the usual musical tone of the natives. The scholars in rotation follow him, and at each *lapsus* linguæ receive a smart rap from the suspended cane. Meanwhile a group of naked infants, sprawling on the ground, trace in layers of dust the forms of the letters. Others more advanced are making their first attempt at the stylus and cadjan-leaf, or use a substitute in the shape of the black board and a sort of chalk crayon. By way of relief to the dull round of duty some refractory juvenile startles the academic quiet by loud cries extorted by a severe castigation. Another is commanded to cross his arms upon his breast, to take hold of the tips of his ears with his hands, and in this position to rise and stoop a given number of times without stopping. A third is suspended by his hands from some cross rafter, with the pleasant addition, if exceedingly bad, of a chutty of warm coals beneath his feet. These and many other devices are the way in which the pedagogue fulfils the proverbial direction given by the parents of the child. "Take the skin off him, only spare his eyes." Amongst the groups of boys one or two girls may now and then be seen; generally the offspring of the unfortunate dancing women;—exceptionally the children of some modernised parent possessed with the strange fancy of teaching his daughter knowledge! The studies of the school are commenced and closed by an orchestral performance. The monitor standing up at the head of the school repeats to a sort of measure the questions of the various arithmetical tables, and receives the answer in a stormy chorus from the boys. In the lower classes are taught the letters, the combinations of the same in syllables and words and the names of men, birds, beasts and other objects. In the reading classes the popular works are books of Moral Sayings, Collections of Stories and Mythological Traditions. But of these upper studies, Mr. Campbell's report still holds true, and an extract will suffice:—

"The whole of the books, however, in the Teloogoo and Carnataca Schools, which are by far the most numerous in this district, whether they treat of religion, amusement or the principles of these languages, are in verse and in a dialect quite distinct from that of conversation and business. The alphabets of the two dialects are the same, and

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he who reads the one can read, but not understand, the other also. The natives, therefore, read these (to them unintelligible) books to acquire the power of reading letters in the common dialect of business; but the poetical is quite different from the prose dialect which they speak and write: and though they read these books, it is to the pronunciation of the syllables, not to the meaning or construction of the words, that they attend. Indeed few teachers can explain, and still fewer scholars understand, the purport of the numerous books which they thus learn to repeat from memory. Every school-boy can repeat verbatim a vast number of verses, of the meaning of which he knows no more than the parrot that has been taught to utter certain words. Accordingly, from studies in which he has spent many a day of laborious but fruitless toil, the native seholar gains no improvement, except the exercise of memory, and the power to read and write on the common business of life; he makes no addition to his stock of useful knowledge, and acquires no moral impressions. He has spent his youth in reading syllables, not words, and on entering into life he meets with hundreds and thousands of words in common course of reading books, of the meaning of which he cannot form even the most distant conjecture; and as to the declension of a noun or the conjugation of a verb, he knows no more than of the most abstruse problem in Euclid. It is not to be wondered at, with such an imperfect education, that in writing a common letter to their friends, orthographical errors and other violations of grammar may be met with in almost every line written by a native."—*Records* ii. 15.

The school-master receives a payment of from 4 to 8 annas a month, is daily presented with a nut for eating by each boy, and on each new moon the pupils make a general collection on his behalf of oil and other articles of domestic worth. A present from the parents at the entrance or close of a boy's academic career complete his emoluments. The vast majority of Hindoo children in this Presidency are still left at the mercy of instruction like this.

Should any boy have the leisure or the means of pursuing his studies further, now as then, he finds the way of doing so by enrolling himself as the disciple of a pundit or gooroo. The pundit receives his disciples varying in number from 10 to 20 at his own house, where he conducts them though the Grammar of the Language, the study of mythological works, and perhaps some of the sciences. The scholastic duties commence at nightfall. The disciples assemble in some apartment of the pundit's house and being seated in a circle on the floor, go through the repetition of an appointed lesson. The pundit squatted in the centre marks and corrects the successive blunders. All is conducted in the dark and the work often continues until midnight. The preceptor is remunerated by a monthly fee of two Rupees and upwards, and the personal services of his disciples, who

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perform all menial offices for him, according to a sacred precept to that effect.

The last and highest reach of instruction was to be obtained by a College education. The establishment dignified by the name of College consisted of a building and a number of professors supported by an endowment of land or money from the ruling kings or some wealthy pagoda. The alumni were young men of advanced scholarship, chiefly Brahmins, and often devoted to a religious life in some one of the many forms prescribed by Hinduism. The professors were of course Brahmins, each giving himself up to that science in which he most excelled. The subjects most commonly studied were Theology, Law and Astronomy. How far the Colleges returned as such in the documents forwarded to Sir Thos. Munro answered to this description does not clearly appear. Thus of those in the Musulipatam Collectorate we read that the pupils were received into the Colleges at an annual charge of Rupees 60 for subsistence, books, &c. Again those in the Tanjore District were confined to Brahmins and the greater number were free. Nine Colleges are returned for the Trichinopoly District, upon which the Collector remarks "there are no schools or Colleges in this District for the support of which any public funds are appropriated; and no institution for teaching Theology, Astronomy or any other science." This sentence throws us quite into the dark as to the character of the Colleges in this District. There is no separate return of the pupils in the Colleges of the N. D. Arcot. The following table shows the number of these institutions and their students, with the exception referred to above, as stated to Sir Thomas Munro:—

Collectorates.	*Colleges.*	*Students.*
Rajahmundry, ...	279	1454
Masulipatam, ...	49	199
Chingleput, ...	51	398
N. D. Arcot, ...	69	0
Tanjore, ...	109	769
Trichinopoly, ...	9	131
Coimbatore, ...	173	724
Malabar, ...	1	75
Total, ...	720	3750

The result of the whole report was as follows:—Of schools and Colleges there were in the Madras Presidency 12,498 with an attendance of 188,000 scholars distributed in the following castes:—

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Brahmins,..	42,502	of whom	218 were females.
Vysee, ..	19,669	,,	88 do.
Soodra, ..	85,400	,,	1868 do.
Other Castes,	27,518	,,	1139 do.
Mussulman,	13,561	,,	1227 do.
	188,650		4540

The number of schools being 12,498 and the population 12,850,941 we have one school to every thousand of the population. Of the proportion of scholars, the Governor says :—

"It is remarked by the Board of Revenue, that of a population of $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions there are only 188,000 or 1 in 67 receiving education. This is true of the whole population, but not as regards the male part of it, of which the proportion educated is much greater than is here estimated ; for if we take the whole population as stated in the report at 12,850,000 and deduct one-half for females, the remaining male population will be 6,425,000 ; and if we reckon the male population between the ages of five and ten years, which is the period which boys in general remain at school, at one-ninth, it will give 713,000 which is the number of boys that would be at School if all the males above ten years of age were educated ; but the number actually attending the School is only 184,110, or little more than one-fourth of that number. I have taken the interval between five and ten years of age as the term of education, because though many boys continue at School till twelve or fourteen, many leave it under ten. I am, however, inclined to estimate the portion of the male population who receive School education to be nearer to one-third than one-fourth of the whole, because we have no returns from the provinces of the number taught at home."—*Records* ii. 20.

But the Prussian rule shows a much smaller proportion :—

"According to the Prussian rule, which is that now generally adopted in educational statistics, the school-going portion of the male population ought to embrace all boys between the ages of seven and fourteen. In a population consisting of many millions, the children from one day to fourteen years old may be taken at 42 per cent. Three-sevenths of these are computed to be from seven to fourteen years of age, and by taking half this number so as to exclude girls, the number of boys who ought to be at school is arrived at. By this mode of calculation the number of teachable youths throughout the Presidency, amounted to 1,156,500 out of a population of 12,850,000 when Sir Thomas Munro wrote. The number at that time actually attending schools was estimated at 184,110, or rather less than one-sixth of those of a school-going age."—*Records* ii. 129.

The Masters of these schools were for the most part ignorant and inefficient. The amount of income forthcoming from the pupils was too trivial to induce able men to enter upon the

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work. The Education as we have seen, was most superficial. No attempt was made at communicating knowledge or cultivating thought. Just enough information was given to the scholar—and no more—as should suffice to keep him up to the dull, low level of those who were to be his competitors or companions in the bazaar or in the field.

Upon this machinery Sir Thomas Munro proposed to graft his own schemes of extension and improvement. First in order of time, these schemes must be first in order of consideration, and in tracing the history of Vernacular Education down to the present year, we shall not speak at length of the new systems which intercepted its path or altogether closed it, but reserve a consideration of them to a paragraph on English Education.

In 1826, as the first step in Vernacular Education Sir Thos. Munro proposed to establish 2 principal schools in each Collectorate, one Hindoo and one Mahommedan : and as teachers could be procured, he suggested that this step should be followed up by placing one school in each Tehsildary, giving fifteen to each Collectorate. There were 20 Collectorates in the Presidency and to each on an average 15 Tehsildarys. Forty Collectorate and three hundred Thbsildary Schools thus formed the total number proposed. The expense of the scheme when fully developed was thus stated :—

		Rs. per mensem.
To Madras School Book Society for assistance in training Teachers and procuring School Books, ...		700
20 Collectorate Schools, Mahommedan, at	Rs. 15 per mens	300
20 do. do. Hindoo	,, 15 ,,	300
300 Tehsildary Schools,	,, 9 ,,	2700
	Per men.	4000
	Per an.	48,000

According to this estimate Sir Thomas applied to the Court of Directors for an Educational Grant of Rs. 50,000 per annum. His idea appears to have been that no school, either Collectorate or Tehsildary—should be established before a supply of competent teachers could be obtained from a Central School to be located at Madras. But the Committee of Education which he had organised proposed that certain law students waiting for vacancies should be employed as Tehsildary Teachers in some of the large towns of the provinces. This arrangement was carried out, and enlarged by the establishment of Schools of a similar character in other towns at the rate of three to each Collectorate. The Committee justified this step by observing :—
"That to delay the establishment of these schools until the

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class of Collectorate Teachers had been formed, would be to withhold from the people many of the advantages contemplated by government," and that " although it might not be expedient to establish the full number until the superior class of teachers who were to superintend the whole had been formed, a few teachers might with great advantage be employed." Eventually (1834) 61 Tehsildary Schools were established, with nine of similar character at Madras. These schools disappointed the hopes indulged concerning them. In 1832 there were but 2,272 scholars in 67 Tehsildary Schools then in operation, giving an average of thirty-three to each school, 90 being the largest number and 70 the smallest in any one school. Two causes were assigned for this state of things, both sufficient ; an inefficient staff of teachers and a total neglect of supervision. The plan for Collectorate Schools was equally abortive. The "trained men" of Madras were a decided failure. Out of 38 students most of whom had been in the College for six years, only five were recommended for service, and of four of these the report was quite unsatisfactory. Whilst things were going on in this unpromising manner the Home Authorities had been made aware of the new features of Education in Bengal. In that Presidency two principles had been largely favoured ;— one, that the only medium of communicating Western knowledge to the minds of the natives was through the English language ; the other that such instruction must first be afforded to the higher classes,—and thence distilled at long and refreshing intervals into the masses. The Court of Directors embodied these views in a despatch addressed to the Governor of Fort St. George, dated Dec. 29, 1830. The Board of Public Instruction seem to have looked upon this despatch somewhat gloomily, and made no efforts to act upon it until they received an unmistakeable reminder in a despatch of 1834, wherein it was directed that the funds previously laid out upon the vernaculars, should be expended on the establishment of a Central English School at the Presidency, and subsequently of model schools. This drove the Board to a review of old measures and a statement of their propositions for the future. Twenty model schools were to be established at the Presidency with a view to provide a superior class of Vernacular Teachers. The Tehsildary schools were to be extended no further. Those then existing here to be placed under the control and supervision of provincial boards, with the aid of a paid District Visitor. The propositions of the Madras Board were forwarded by the Government to the Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta. Unfortunately for Vernacular Education they called for an opinion at a time when a vital change was passing over educational ideas at that Presidency. English

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versus the Vernacular, West *versus* East was drawing a crowded Court and calling forth earnest discussion. In the midst of the wordy broil Mr. Macaulay brought out his sparkling and well-timed minute on the disputed question, and immediately after, Lord Bentinck, on the 7th March, 1835, gave judgment. The East was non-suited. Hindustani, Bengali, Malayalim, Tamil, Teloogoo *et alii* were put out of possession of their native soil in favour of the tongue of a few sovereign strangers. Not even a pension and house-room, those cordials—usually granted by the Honorable Company to obsolete kingships,—were vouchsafed to the deposed royalties.—"His Lordship in Council is of opinion—that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English Education *alone*." Records II 27. Mr. Macaulay, Lord Bentinck and the Bengal Board of Public Instruction were the means of withdrawing the funds from the support of the Tehsildary and Collectorate Schools. An ill-regulated experiment of ten years' growth was stopped mid-way, and with the exception of a few half-fledged ideas of raising teachers, Government Vernacular Education in the Madras Presidency ceased to be. Twenty years have passed since then, and a single paragraph may sum up their history as far as this subject is concerned. The East-and-West discussion was hushed not stifled by Lord Bentinck's resolution. It awoke again with its many voices. Lord Auckland reviewed the case, confirmed the previous judgment, and declined to touch the masses. Lord Elphinstone travailed with and brought forth his scheme of planting a Scotch University upon Indian soil. Sir Henry Pottinger complained of the low state of education in the Presidency,—ten years and more fled the while—and did nothing for the "common people." Governors, Presidents of College Boards, Directors,—all courtesied and bowed to the Vernaculars, and agreed that something must be done for them, but they nursed and fondled the English scheme and gave it the whole sugar-plum of the Educational Grant. The High School with 200 scholars at the most was distilling into the masses the elevating influence of western accomplishment; or to adopt Mr. Norton's figure, one solitary favoured mountain-crest was kissed by the straggling rays, making the darkness below more manifest and horrible. Two members of Government did indeed turn a glance upon the cast-off child and pleaded for it. Professors were then attached to the College to teach the vernaculars. Proficients were to become instructors and literati, producing translations from western literature,—especially if they valued the particular approbation of Government. But proficients went to the Court or the Cutcherry in a large majority, and as far as we can ascertain no

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translation or adaptation of English works is forthcoming from the University men. To conclude, in Mr. Arbuthnot's words, in 1855 "the most unsatisfactory department of the University (Education?) has hitherto been the Vernacular." No doubt about it.

Three experiments have been or are being made in a side-way which require to be recorded. Mr. Maltby of South Arcot Collectorate obtained permission from Government to commence two Vernacular Schools, one at Cuddalore and one at Punrooty. The one at Cuddalore has been in operation little more than a year, and the report is decidedly unsatisfactory. The reasons given to account for the failure are the want of proper supervision, the jealousy of private School-masters, and the absence of any stimulus to Vernacular Education. There is yet no report from the one at Punrooty.

Early in 1853 Mr. G. N. Taylor, Sub-collector of Rajahmundry, established an Anglo-vernacular School at Musapoor, the head-quarters of his Sub-collectorate. He followed this step by locating three branch Schools in neighbouring towns. They were supported by private benevolence; Mr. Taylor himself being chief contributor. These schools attracted the notice of the villagers who came to Musapoor and the school-towns on business. Numerous applications resulted for the establishment of primary Vernacular Schools in their own villages; the applicants untertaking to defray the expense by a fixed increase on their annual revenue demands. Mr. Taylor sent in a list of villages and certain suggestions to the Commissioner of the Northern Circars:—

"After some correspondence Mr. Taylor was authorized to carry out the scheme in the three Delta Talooks of the Sub-division, and sanction was granted for the appointment at the Government expense of a limited number of masters of a superior grade, who are to have charge of a school in the largest of a circle of villages and to inspect in turn all schools within a certain range. Authority has also been granted for the appointment of a Native Inspector to superintend the whole on a salary of Rupees 100 per mensem likewise to be defrayed by Government."—*Records* xvii. 21.

From this quarter—as from the North West Provinces—we may by and by receive a narration of facts which may show what may be done for Vernacular Education by the manifested interest of Government, and a strict supervision.

In 1850, and 1851, seven elementary schools were established in the Goomsoor Khond country amongst a people little better than savages. In 1852 these schools were transferred to the Madras Presidency, and reduced to three in number. The teachers were forthwith dismissed on account of inefficiency. To remedy this state of things the Assistant's Agent obtained the

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consent of Government to establish a model school at Russelcondah, from which the most promising boys were to be draughted into the public service. The best boys in the inferior schools were to be translated to the model school. Lieut. Macdonald could not get a single pupil to his proposed model school, and was obliged to abandon the measure. The only resource was to attempt the improvement of the local schools before referred to, in which were gathered a very small quota of children. In one of the three, the progress was satisfactory. In making enquiries as to the desire of the people for education, Lieut. Macdonald met with the strongest opposition to its introduction, armed by the strangest arguments. The favourite opinion was that if the children learned to read their eyes would drop from their sockets! The two flank arguments were more plausible, "we never needed learning; why should our children have it?" "Besides, if we send our children to school, we cannot have them to fetch water and help in the fields." "Children from the villages round," Lieut. M. says "often came to my tent attracted by curiosity. As soon as the subject of schools was introduced they would immediately disappear from the crowd, and the Maliks would gravely proceed to inform me that even if they wished it, a school could not be established there, as there happened to be no children in that particular Mootah." In spite of such a dreary prospect the Assistant obtained permission to commence nine experimental schools in addition to the three already mentioned, with some suggestions as to the improvement of the teachers who might be selected.

This last and still-pending attempt concludes the fitful experimenting of more than thirty years;—experimenting that forms the sum and substance of Vernacular Education in the Madras Presidency.

The beginning of *English Education* in the Madras Presidency was contained in a proposition of Sir Thomas Munro's plan referring to the establishment at Madras of a Central School for training the teachers intended for the Collectorate Schools. The curriculum of study was as follows; for the Hindoos a grammatical knowledge of the languages of their various provinces; for the Mahommedans, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic; and for all, instruction in the English language and the elements of European literature and science. This school as we have already seen failed in its objects. The entire number of students was 38, admitted mostly in 1826. Six years after the Educational Board reported that not one had reached the required standard. The five best qualified were recommended for employment and in the course of the two following years nine others were sent out. Of only three of the schools under their charge was any

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favourable mention made in the reports of the Collectors. In 1834 the Board, upon a review of their proceedings, suggested a new plan, two paragraphs of which concerned English Education :—

"That the Central School at the Presidency should be remodelled and devoted to the instruction of candidates for the situation of Collectorate Teachers, 100 of whom were to be entertained, to be divided into three classes,—the first of which was to consist of 20 students, receiving stipends of 15 Rupees a month, the 2nd of 40 students receiving Rupees 10 a month, and the 3d of 40 students receiving Rupees 7 ;—the whole to be under the management of an English Master, qualified to impart instruction in Mathematics, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, History and European Literature in general, and possessed of such experience in the practical tuition of these branches of learning as to act as a general Superintendent of Public Instruction under the Board and to teach the natives an improved system. The Head Master was to receive a salary of 500 Rupees a month, and was to be aided by an Assistant, also to be procured from England, on a salary of Rupees 250."

"That a separate English School should be established at the Presidency for the gratuitous instruction of general students, under an English Master on a salary of Rupees 150 per mensem."—*Records* ii. 22.

The reasons for this plan being proposed had transpired in the five preceding years. At the Central School, besides the Collectorate Teachers elect, a number of general students had been admitted. The progress of these pupils was far more satisfactory than that of the stipendiary students. But whatever desire they might have had to extend their acquaintance, we will not say to the highest, but the upper branches of European learning, no opportunity was afforded them. The instruction given was in the veriest sense elementary. This attracted the attention of the Home Authorities and in a despatch dated 29th Dec. 1830, they pressed the two following points, certainly of great influence in the after proceedings of education in the Presidency. First, The instruction of the wealthier classes. 2. The requirement for educated natives for Government employment. To illustrate these points they referred to the progress of English education in Bengal. The Educational Board let four years pass without paying any regard to the despatch, save jotting down a description of the lions which they saw in the way. Another despatch of the 5th February, 1834 surprised them with a direct proposition that effort should be made to procure teachers from the other Presidencies, and that these being forthcoming a large portion of the funds assigned for native education should be devoted to the establishment of four model

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schools at the Presidency. The models were for the study of official men visiting the Presidency, and were to be reproduced by them on their own stations. Thus urged the Board proposed the two schools before mentioned ; one for training teachers, the other for general education. At this particular juncture came the decision of the superior Court in favour of English Education. Lord W. Bentinck's minute found its way to the Southern Presidency. The Madras Board read in it the total condemnation of Vernacular Schools and forthwith suspended them. A directory body with a new name took in hand what the College Board had left undone. Their plan was drawn out and submitted :—

"The propositions of the new Committee were in some respects more comprehensive than the Government plan. They involved, 1st the immediate establishment of four English Schools to be located in convenient parts of Black Town, Triplicane and St. Thome, 2d the establishment of a Normal Class for training teachers, as early as practicable, in connexion with the best school at the Presidency, whether a Government School or otherwise, 3d the establishment of a College, as soon as the materials for such an Institution were to be procured, and the engagement of a well qualified person to lecture at the College and teach the Normal Class, as well as to exercise a general superintendence over all the Presidency Schools, 5th the award of premiums to the teachers of the best conducted schools. The only part of the plan which the Committee considered to be susceptible of immediate adoption was the establishment of the four elementary schools, from which pupils were eventually to be qualified for instruction in the Normal Class and in the College."—*Records* ii. 33.

Three years brought no answer to the above. Ultimately Lord Auckland of the Supreme Government reviewed the principles of education involved in the scheme and in the main supported Lord W. Bentinck. Lord Elphinstone, at the head of the Madras Government considered the practical features of the plan, quashed the whole, and drew out his design of the present University system. His plan—apart from its provisions for regulating and governing the proposed University was as follows :—

"That it is expedient that a Central Collegiate Institution or University should be established at Madras."

"The Madras University to consist of two principal departments, a College for the higher branches of Literature, Philosophy and Science, and a High School for the cultivation of English Literature and of the vernacular languages of India, and the elementary departments of philosophy and science."

"The governing body to be denominated the President and Governors."

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"The College Department to be placed under a Principal and Professors. The High School under a Head Master and Tutors."

"Members of all creeds and sects shall be admissible; consistently with which primary object, care shall be taken to avoid whatever may tend to violate or offend the religious feelings of any class."

"It shall form no part of the design of this Institution to inculcate doctrines of religious faith, or to supply books with any such view."

"No pupils shall be admissible in any department, but such as are able to read and write the English language intelligibly."

"Pupils shall pay according to such rates as may be hereafter established by the President and Governors."

"Should any sums be hereafter bestowed upon the Institution for the purpose of endowing Scholarships in the High School or Studentships in the College, the students and scholars appointed to them shall be admitted on such manner as may be determined by the President and Governors."—*Records* ii. 42.

This plan owed much of its success to the earnestness with which it was propounded, and its elements of popular co-operation. It was backed by a long and high sounding petition from 70,000 natives, regarded by the Educational Directors of after years as a tissue of "great swelling words of variety." *Enter* Lord Elphinstone and the University, *exit* the Central School and Committee of Native Education.

Lord Elphinstone's plan provided for the division of the University into 2 departments; a High School for the cultivation of English Literature and the Vernacular Languages and the elementary departments of philosophy and science;—and a Collegiate Department for the "higher branches of Literature, Philosophy and Science." The new Educational Board also proposed plans for the establishment and direction of Provincial Schools, about which considerable discussion was excited. We pass over the nature and results of this discussion for the present, in order to follow the fortunes of the central establishment.

One of the rules of the High School provided that an elementary knowledge of the English language was an essential qualification for admission. Suspecting that the existing establishments in Madras could not or would not furnish a sufficient supply of pupils to pass into the High School under such a rule, the new Board established a preparatory school to impart elementary knowledge. A Head-master was procured for the High School, and on the 14th April, 1841, it was opened. Sixty-seven pupils were then admitted and 65 pupils were at the time in the preparatory school. During the following ten years some of the scholars made satisfactory progress, reaching even the subjects appointed for the College course. But the attendance was small, the increase of numbers slow, and the greatest difficulty was experienced in retaining the boys to pursue

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their higher studies. During the first year 148, were admitted, 48 left during that period, and at no time in the following ten years did the number on the list exceed 182. So low a number excited attention and discussion. Many reasons were assigned for it ; the large fee of 4 Rupees per month and the disadvantageous position of the school-house were the most common. The University Board would hear of none other than that the checks and dilatoriness of Government had becalmed the popular feeling, and they proposed enlarged schemes to revive it. The Court of Directors hinted that too much must not for the present be expected from the High School whilst its superior advantages were unknown, and it had to compete with establishments where no fee was charged. Matters were in this state when Sir Henry Pottinger assumed the Government in 1848, soon after which event, he gave notice that he should speedily direct his attention to the affairs of the University. He did so and discussion in due course resulted, very important discussion on the nature of the instruction then and afterwards to be given. This talked over, things went on undisturbed until 1852. Then by the orders of Government the Board presented their final propositions, forming the basis of present operations. The preparatory school previously mentioned had been broken up in consequence of the foundation of Patcheappah's Native School at Black Town, in affiliation with the University, whence the Board expected to receive a sufficient supply of elementary pupils. That hope was cut off. Neither Patcheappah's School nor any other furnished an adequate number of scholars to the High School. The Board, therefore proposed at once the re-formation of the primary school, and in order to secure for it the advantage of the Principal's supervision, they constituted it a part of the University. The organization of the High School was left untouched, but the fee was reduced. It had long been upheld by the President of the Board on the assurance of many native gentlemen that a reduced fee would lower the class of pupils, though it might increase their number. On closer examination it appeared that the employes of Government were positively unwilling to pay a large per centage of their income for the education of their children. The new fees were Rupees 2 per month for the College Department and High School, and one Rupee per month for the preparatory school. The reduction procured an immediate increase of fifty boys to the senior classes. The Board proposed the completion of the scheme by the establishment of a Collegiate Department. They at one time desired the formation also of Medical and Engineering classes as parts of the University but their desire was not gratified. The higher branches of literature and science were

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thus left open for Government confirmation and to these was added Law. In advocating the establishment of a College Department for the study of these branches it was argued that the standard attained by the senior classes of the High School rendered such a step desirable, that by having Collegiate work done under the name of school work, a considerable stimulus was taken away both from teachers and pupils, and a shade of inferiority thrown upon the Institution in comparison with those of the other Presidencies, and that an efficient style of teaching would result from an arrangement by which each Professor should devote his energies to one class of subjects only. The plan was thus submitted to Government. Both the Civil Members opposed it. A thorough general education they thought was necessary before such a proposition could be deemed fit for adoption. Sir H. Pottinger declined to sanction the step. The Board repeated their arguments, and Sir H. Pottinger finally complied on his own responsibility. The College Department was accordingly organised. Three out of four Professors were appointed, and an attendance of twenty-three alumni was secured. The demand for Railway employes at the commencement of 1854 called away the entire first class of this department, pointing at the fact so long regretted, in a new phase, that as soon as employment is procurable Scholarship loses its charms. The Report of 1854-55 gives the state of the University in the following Table :—

Institutions.	*No. of Pupils.*	*Europeans.*	*East Indians.*	*Native Christians.*	*Hindoos.*	*Mahommedans.*
Madras University.						
College, ...	28	0	1	0	27	0
Normal class, ..	2	0	0	0	2	0
High School, ..	220	1	35	4	177	3
Primary School,..	301	1	18	0	269	13
Total, ...	551	2	54	4	475	16

The Board also proposed the formation of a normal class for training teachers which we shall presently notice. Some steps have also been taken in reference to inspection, the Grant-in-Aid System and Examinations for Government employ. But these matters he must now pass over. Such is the conclusion of more than twenty years' discussion upon English Education for the Presidency. We now turn aside to see what has been done for the Provinces.

According to Lord Elphinstone's plan, the Madras Univer-

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sity was to be the centre of a number of Provincial Schools, and these again of Zillah Schools. A system of promotion from one to the other was to give to the whole vigour and efficiency. The pupils of Zillah Schools were to compete for scholarships in the Provincial Schools, and these again were to be elected by examination to fellowships in the Central University. As a first practical step under this scheme, it was proposed to establish four Provincial Schools; one at each of the following places; Trichinopoly, Masulipatam, Bellary and Calicut. Before the step was carried out various difficulties called for consideration, chiefly in reference to the fee and caste prejudices. During the discussion of these matters, a total want of teachers put a stop to the scheme. The teachers of these Provincial Schools were at first to be men of moderate attainments on a low salary. When the state of the school justified it, superior masters on a higher salary were to be posted, and the previous heads were to sink into subordinates. After enquiry and advertisements no masters even of the lower grade could be procured. The Board therefore resolved to take the ultimate course at once and applied for authority to procure masters from England, or from the other Presidencies on a salary not exceeding Rupees 200 a month. The expense involved in this enlarged plan could not be undertaken, the Marquis of Tweeddale thought, without reference to the Court of Directors. The Court recommended that the establishment of these schools should be deferred until efficient masters could be trained at Madras, on the enhanced allowance if necessary. The Council of Education, who had in 1845 succeeded the University Board in the direction of public instruction, drew a yet wider scheme. They proposed the establishment of nine Provincial Schools with Masters of a salary not exceeding Rupees 400 a month, procured from England or the other Presidencies. Of course, the Court of Directors after declining the prior and less expensive scheme could not do otherwise than negative the proposition. Thus Provincial Education was left untouched until 1852, the Presidency meanwhile falling far behind its fellows, and increasing the difficulties of its path by delaying to encounter them. In that year the University Board was again reinstated, and proposed the establishment of 5 Provincial Schools with masters of a salary of Rupees 300 a month, and a total anticipated expenditure for each school of Rupees 500 per mensem. This "*media via*" was authorised by the Government, and by the Directors' last report we are furnished with an account of the schools now in operation at Cuddalore, Rajahmundry, Combaconum, Calicut and Bellary. It is too soon for an opinion.

The following table will show at a glance the items of atten-

dance and educational strength both at the Presidency and in the Provinces :—

Institutions.	TEACHERS.				No. of Pupils.	Europeans.	East Indians.	Native Christians.	Hindoos.	Mahommedans.
	English.	Vernacular.	Writing.	Total.						
Madras University.										
College, ...	3	0	0	3	28	0	1	0	27	0
Normal Class, ...	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
High School,..	8	0	0	8	220	1	35	4	177	3
Primary School, ...	6	0	2	8	301	1	18	0	269	13
Vernacular Department,	0	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
	17	8	2	27	551	2	54	4	475	16
Provincial School.										
Cuddalore, ...	3	3	1	7	192	2	12	13	163	2
Rajahmundry, ...	2	2	1	5	116	2	14	0	92	8
Combaconum, ...	3	2	1	6	193	0	0	30	163	0
Calicut,..	3	2	1	6	238	8	69	8	142	11
Bellary,..	3	2	1	6	169	0	9	0	144	16
Total,..	31	19	7	57	1459	14	158	55	1179	53

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The next statistical statement refers to the expense of the Educational staff alone, all contingent and general expenses being excluded.

Madras University.				
College Department,	Rupees	per mensem,	1380	
High School,	do.	do.	860	
Primary School,	do.	do.	465	
Vernacular Department,	do.	do.	580	3285
Cuddalore Provincial School,	do.	do.	499	
Rajahmundry,	do.	do.	430	
Combaconum,	do.	do.	470	
Calicut,	do.	do.	440	
Bellary,	do.	do.	320	2159
		Per mensem,		5444
		Per annum,		65,328

Help has also been derived from Government in aid of certain undertakings in Professional Education, an account of which scarcely belongs to this review of general Instruction. The Reports of the Schools of Survey, Ordnance, Industrial Arts and of the Medical College require and deserve a separate notice. Two schools for East Indians, some of Swartz's schools guaranteed support by the Company, with certain others in North Arcot and Nellore endowed by former Governments, derive assistance from Government apart from the Educational Grant. Since these educational papers have been issued, further enlargements have taken place in the establishment of Zillah Schools and a system of supervision, for the particulars of which we must await the Directors' next Report.

There is but one other class of institutions connected with education which remains to be noticed;—perhaps the most important of all; certainly that through the want of which all past measures of any extent have failed or been suspended. We refer to those intended for the procuring training of Teachers. Most of the schemes proposed for this object never reached an experimental trial or speedily fell to the ground. These may be enumerated, as a tradesman would the articles of his obsolete stock, and the reasons shortly assigned for their ill-success or non-adoption.

1. Sir Thomas Munro's plan for providing Teachers for the Vernacular Tehsildary Schools. To secure native co-operation and allay anticipated opposition, these pedagogues were to be elected by the chief men of the village, as any other officers of the community. Interest and intrigue had an open field, and the new line of instructors was worse than the old.

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2. We have already referred to the system organised for training the Collectorate Masters. Competent persons were not willing to proceed to the Presidency on the chance of such an income as that held out. The Collector sent up the worst to be got, because he could get no better. Many did not know the alphabet of their mother tongues. Few had genius or talent. Most had too many years. The school in six years proved itself a failure.

3. The Board of Education in 1834 proposed the remodelling of the Central School for the training of 100 Collectorate Teachers under an efficient master. The salaries were to be graduated and the studies more advanced, including instruction in the art of teaching. For training purely Vernacular Teachers in some way not exactly clear, 20 model schools were to be established at the Presidency. This plan fell to the ground amidst the discussion on the introduction of an English education.

4. The Committee of Native Education in 1856 advocated the establishment of a Normal Training Class in connexion with the best school in the Presidency whether a Government School or otherwise. Crushed beneath Lord Elphinstone's University.

5. The University Board in 1852 amongst other propositions presented this: that Normal Classes should be formed in the High School for the purpose of training teachers. In 1855 the number under training was a dismal duo; youths of talent finding no inducement to enter a line so devoid of emolument. The Principal then brought forward an opinion :—

"The Principal's plan was to establish two separate classes, one for the training of teachers of the vernacular languages for employment in the Government Anglo-Vernacular Schools, the other for training teachers for elementary Village Schools. The students in the first of these two classes were to be persons possessing a moderate knowledge of the vernacular and a sight colloquial acquaintance with English. The students in the latter class were also to be tolerable vernacular scholars but their training was to be directed to the acquirement of those elementary branches of knowledge which would form the subjects of instruction in the Vernacular Schools."—*Records* xvii, 8.

These suggestions were deferred or declined in prospect of the

6 and last plan;—happily in actual progress; a separate Normal School for the specific purpose of training Teachers. The announcement and features of the new Institution were published in the "Gazette" of January 15th, 1855. We transcribe the paragraph entire :—

"It is hereby notified for general information that a Government Normal School for training teachers will be opened at Madras on the 3d March, 1856 in the premises at Vepery formerly occupied by the Vepery Grammar School."

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"The design of the institution is to provide competent teachers for employment as Masters or Under-masters in the Anglo-Vernacular Schools which have been or may be hereafter established throughout the Presidency (whether public or private), and to raise up a class of Training Masters with a view to the eventual improvement and extension of Vernacular Education by the establishment of Schools in the Provinces for the training of teachers for Vernacular Schools."

"Candidates for admission as students of the Normal School must be at least 17 years of age and free from any bodily infirmity tending to impair their usefulness as School-masters."

"They will be required to produce Certificates of moral chat racter and conduct, and to show, on examination, a competen- knowledge of the following subjects :—

"English, comprehending a competent knowledge of Grammar and ability to read and explain any moderately easy passage from a standard prose author."

"Writing from Dictation."

"History, including an acquaintance with the leading facts in the Histories of England and India."

"General Geography, and particularly the Geography of India, Arithmetic, comprehending the four Simple and Compound Rules, Reduction, Vulgar Fractions, Simple Proportion and Simple In- terest."

"The Tamil or Telugu Language (at the candidate's election) including translation into English and vice versa. Candidates will also be required to answer such grammatical questions bearing on the passages selected for translation from the vernacular languages as may test their ability to parse and their knowledge of the construction of the vernacular languages selected."

"Candidates who may pass a satisfactory examination in the foregoing subjects will be admitted as students into the Normal School free of payment."

"Twenty-five Scholarships of the amounts noted in the margin will be attached to the Normal School, and will be awarded on the result of an examination to be held on the 25th Proximo."

Ten Scholarships	of Rs.	15	per mensem.	
Ten Do.	of ,,	20	Do.	
Five Do.	of ,,	30	Do.	

"The subjects of examination will be as follows :—

"For Scholarships of the 3d or lowest class."

"The subjects above specified as being required for admission."

"For Scholarships of the 2d Class."

"English comprehending an intimate knowledge of Grammar, and ability to read and explain any moderately easy passage in prose or poetry from a standard English author."

"History, including an acquaintance with the leading facts of the Histories of England and India."

"General Geography, and particularly the Geography of Great Britain and India."

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"Arithmetic comprehending the four Simple and Compound Rules, Reduction, Vulgar and Decimal Fractions, Simple and Double Proportion and Interest."

"Algebra, as far as Simple Equations."

"Euclid, the two first books."

"The Tamil or Telugu language (at the candidate's election) including translation into English and vice versa with grammatical questions as in the examination for Scholarships of the 3d Class. The passages selected for translation will be somewhat more difficult than those given in the examination for admission and for Scholarships of the 3d Class."

"For Scholarships of the 1st Class."

"English including an intimate knowledge of grammar, and ability to paraphrase and explain any ordinary English author, prose or poetical."

"General History, and particularly the Histories of England and India."

"General Geography, and particularly the Descriptive, Historical and Political Geography of Great Britain and India."

"Arithmetic."

"Algebra, as far as Quadratic Equations."

"Plane Trigonometry."

"Popular Astronomy and Mechanics."

"The Tamil or Telugu language (at the candidate's election) including translation into English and vice versa, with grammatical questions and an abstract or precis in the vernacular language of a passage selected from a standard English author, such as may test the candidate's facility and correctness of expression in vernacular composition."

"Each scholar will be considered a probationer for the first two months after his election, to enable the Principal of the Normal School to form an opinion as to his aptitude for the art of teaching subject to this proviso, and to the condition of the Scholarship-holder manifesting due proficiency at the periodical examinations of the Institution, each Scholarship will be tenable for two years, at the end of which period, or sooner if he obtains a certificate of qualification, the holder will be appointed as teacher in a school on a salary of Rupees 50 per mensem or higher, according to the grade of his certificate; or in the event of there being no vacancy at the time of his passing his final examination, he will be allowed to retain his Scholarship until a vacancy occurs."

"Each scholar on his election to a Scholarship will be required to sign a written agreement to the effect that he will not voluntarily quit the Institution, until he shall have obtained his certificate of qualification as a Teacher; and that he will subsequently serve for not less than five years in the Educational Department, failing either of which conditions he will refund such sum as he may have received on account of his Scholarship."

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The school thus announced was opened on March 4th in the present year, and the business of procuring the right instruments of education has commenced in good earnest.

It has often been said that Scott's fictions are frequently dismal enough in the centre but joyous in the conclusion. So our review. It is dark enough to satisfy an owl from the beginning downwards, but we have reached one sunny spot, and there we sit down to pen a few reflections on what we have read and written.

In the remarks we may append to this statement of educational proceedings we shall confine ourselves to those subjects which appear clearly to arise out of the facts narrated. We would not forget, in every regret or censure to which we may give expression, the awkward position in which Educational Authorities have been placed. They have been the very tennisballs of routine. From Madras to Leadenhall Street, thence to Bengal, thence home again. Shifting governments have begotten shifting schemes. No educational measure has yet been fairly tried —save one; none, save one that can properly be called an experiment. If then we may speak strongly of any department of this important work, it must be remembered that we do so in full consciousness of every disadvantage and in full allowance for it. We have now come to a definite statement of unembodied theories, exploded schemes, initiative attempts and proclaimed purposes. It is well therefore not to allow the opportunity for reflection to pass unimproved.

We think then that it may now be fairly concluded,—and the conclusion ought to be received without any charge of prejudice, —that the establishment of the Collegiate Department of the Presidency College was decidedly premature. As far as the report leads us, we find that the highest number ever under instruction there is that of 1854-1855 namely twenty-eight. The awkwardness of the position into which the professional staff has thus been thrown was felt by the principal and is thus stated:—

"The number of scholars who have remained to prosecute their studies in the Collegiate Department is extremely small, and when it is considered that the services of the Principal and two Professors are to a great extent given up to the instruction of these youths, it may appear that the interests of the very large majority who fill the other departments of the University are sacrificed to those of the few, who are found fit to profit by the more extended course of study the Collegiate Department is intended to afford. We are aware that such an apprehension was felt when the establishment of this department was originally proposed; but we believe it to be unfounded, and much as it is to be regretted that the advantages of these classes should as yet have been restricted to so few, we see every reason to think that no

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other arrangement would have served equally well to carry out the objects of the institution."

The conviction referred to at the commencement of this paragraph will be entertained we are inclined to think by most of our readers. For surely it is reasonable to reckon a department of Rs. 20,000 per annum for the oversight of twenty-eight boys rather an expensive way of supporting the dignity and answering the ends of Hindoo High Education. Were the point in dispute an organization of first class carriages, and not of first class pupils, were the passengers in these carriages of expensive splendour as few comparatively as the pupils in these costly classes, we are pretty confident that the Directors of any Railway would summarily condemn the unprofitable speculation, and give the passengers the choice of an alternative, either to ride at undiminished speed in a good second class or not to ride at all. The Principal hides himself behind the plea that no other arrangement would have served equally well to carry out the object of the Institution. What the object of the Institution is, is not stated. But suppose it be said that it is the diffusion of a knowledge of European literature and science among the higher classes;—that it is the provision of able and accomplished men for Government employ; then whilst representatives of these higher classes and these embryo men of accomplishment are so few in number, it is difficult to show that facts have not proved the wisdom of the proposition made by Mr. Elliott in 1852, that such pupils should be formed into a Collegiate class in the High School under the care of the Head Master, he having been set at liberty therefore by the appointment of an Assistant, and such an argument borrows additional force from the fact that in this very report the Principal complains of the hollowness and inaccuracy of the High School Instruction. True, we should have College studies pursued in the garb of school tasks, and lose all the honor and stimulus, set as a jewel, in the lofty words "Collegiate Department," but most people not possessed of an enlightened disregard for monetary waste would count the jewel and its setting, dear at the annual instalments we are paying for it. If we speak of the natives, whose vanity and love of distinction the bauble was to awaken, they have proved the low estimate which they set upon the "stimulus dignity" and all else included in this magic name.

The Director does not speak in a very cheerful tone of the matter:—

"But notwithstanding the long continued ill success of the University in attracting any considerable number of scholars, and the difficulty which is still experienced in filling the higher classes, it may

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safely be asserted that the institution has not altogether failed in carrying out the object with which it was founded. The value of the education imparted in it is sufficiently attested by the facility with which all those who have gone through the higher classes have obtained employment and promotion in the public service. Of the 36 scholars who have taken proficients' degrees, 22 are at present employed in various situations connected with the Civil administration of the country, on salaries varying from Rs. 40 to Rs. 315 a month. One is Deputy Dewan under the Rajah of Travancore on a salary of Rs. 300, seven hold situations in the Educational Department, four of whom are in the University, two in Patcheappah's Institution and one in the Cuddalore Provincial School—four are merchants and the last is without employment in independent circumstances. Of the Government employes one has already risen to the office of Naib Sheristadar in the District of Masulipatam and another who only quitted the High School in 1852 has been promoted to a Tehsildarship in Rajahmundry."

These words leave the complaint untouched. For it must be remembered that most of these proficients were trained under the very system recommended by Mr. Elliott, Collegiate High School class. Then we do not see what there can be in the position of a Government writer, a Tehsildar or even a Deputy Dewan, which could not be better furnished by a thorough proficiency in High School studies, or if need be, of College studies in a High School class, than such out of the way knowledge as that contained in the Examination Papers of the University Report, communicated by a Principal and three Professors. As we shall show at large presently, situations of equal and greater responsibility at home are filled by men who possess a thorough education like that referred to, and nothing beyond. We do not say that these matters might have been foreseen, least of all by men who looked on the future through Collegiate lenses. Some men of confessed ability did foresee them. We now simply emphasise the fact. The defects of the Collegiate Department and the avocations to which the alumni have betaken themselves, prove that the name of College, a Principal and three Professors ; Newton and Adam Smith, Shakespear and Bacon and Rupees 20,000 a year have thrown up a handsomely tinted but expensive bubble.

One great draw-back to the increase of the Collegiate Department, of which the University Board complain, might have been foreseen ; and it is one that will continue to cripple the University until one of its fundamental rules be altered. The Board complain that the higher classes of students have not received large accessions from other institutions. Now most of the other institutions are under the care of persons whose aim is to impart a sound and if need be, a high education in connec-

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tion with—to use a somewhat invidious phrase common in these records,—"the inculcation of religious doctrine." We think that it required no great foresight to anticipate that the Directors of such public schools, who had spent five or six years over training a youth and bringing him up to the standard of the University senior classes, who regarded the sustained impartation of religious knowledge as the chief end of their labours, would not be free to send him to an institution where the Bible had not even a place of sufferance. Rather would they furnish a higher education themselves. Such is the fact. At many of the chief Missionary Institutions a group of advanced students will be found receiving instruction in proper Collegiate studies, lacking alas ! the name. And from personal knowledge we have no hesitation in saying that the old "proficients" of these uncollegiate establishments occupy positions quite equal to those referred to by Mr. Arbuthnot. Were the heads of such institutions more careful in keeping a record of the destinies of their advanced alumni, this observation would be abundantly verified. This channel of supply will remain closed so long as the rule excluding the Scriptures remains on the University Statute Book.

There are but two other sources external to the University from which its higher classes can be supplied. Provincial Schools and Native Institutions. Years must pass before Provincial Schools are numerous enough or the education in them thorough enough, to furnish any adequate number of students to the highest department of the "Presidency College" as to the natives ;—even Lord Elphinstone himself would by this time be despairing of any efficient help in that direction. The best hope the University Board can indulge on that point is that a dozen Patcheappahs may be removed from their paths of lethargy and mammonism, may leave a dozen or more lakhs of Rupees for charitable purposes, wherewith the Director may set up in life and endow a dozen preparatory schools ;—dutiful daughters supplying from their own frames the sustenance needed by a half-starved parent.

Another cause likely for a length of time to limit and contract the supply of College students has already began to operate. In 1854, the whole of the first class was swept away by the demand for Railway apprentices. This is but the beginning of sorrows. The Railway, or we hope soon to say, the Railways ; the numerous lines of Telegraph ; the rapid extension of engineering operations in the way of land roads and water roads, with the increase of commercial openings resulting from the growth of these movements, will for many years peremptorily call for a grade of servants of just that standard which a High

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School head class might furnish. Any further education will be most easily obtained, and most efficiently learned in the particular branch entered. The experience of 1854 must be undergone many times in years to come. A community branching out in extensive undertakings, each crying for employes—like a hundred mouthed Hydra—will not in the nature of things suffer its requirements to remain unsatisfied, whilst its youth indulge a few more years of Collegiate study, acquiring knowledge very much superior to the wants immediately around them. If then the channels for supplying students to the Collegiate Department are so few and unpromising, and the demands for good scholars are likely to be as urgent and continuous as we have pointed out, then it appears next to certain that years must pass, before that department can be deemed any thing like necessary.

Under these circumstances a rigid economist might be prepared to say, "cut off the superfluity and save the Rupees." But it is one thing to avoid the commencement of an unnecessary expense, another thing to revoke a step once taken. Much public money is already sunk in this undertaking; public opinion and an appearance of consistency and perseverance are involved; the department will be eventually required; we hold this hope as eagerly as any one of the Professors. So that we are inclined to say "let this expensive educational Utopia remain standing simply because it is upon the ground." One proviso may however be suggested. From Lord Elphinstone's outline it would appear that he intended some such department to be attached to each of the Provincial Schools. Whether the present Director has it in his mind to carry out such a view, or lay it aside, we have no means of knowing. But the execution of such a plan would but be the reduplication of our blunder. Instead of it let each Provincial School form its own College class, and bring that class to a standard of thorough information, and then transfer its best and worthiest members to the Head Department of the Central Institution. Such boys would in all probability be able to bear the expense of the transfer, for none but the children of wealthy parents could remain long enough under tuition to obtain such advancement. Exceptions to this would have proved themselves quite worthy of a provision by Scholarships. In this way the classes of the College Department might be filled up, and after a while we may see the correction, partial at least, of a costly mistake.

The views we have stated in the preceding paragraphs will be sustained by an examination of the curriculum of studies laid down for the Provincial Schools, the High School and the College. Before coming directly to the matter in hand we

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may refer to the peculiar formation of the Hindoo mind. The Hindoo boy who pre edusents himself for cation cherishes a pride easily seduced by a *show* of superiority, a vanity that overlooks or despises the beaten path of application ; a memory quick and tenacious, utterly independent of the understanding, asking only sight and sound ; an ambition that will be satisfied if an appearance of pre-eminence be attained ; and a talent of tortuous deception almost boundless. One word expresses that quality which is most wanting in the Hindoo mind and the absence of which vitiates the whole ;—thorough integrity. Another shows its positive and ever-active passion ;—display. No one intimate with Hindoo youth will deny the justness of this description. These defects of character lie at the root of that inaccuracy of knowledge and expression in the scholar of the High School of which the Principal complains. Any scheme of education not calculating upon these features of mental formation will ensure loss and inefficiency. Now in turning to those parts of these Records which treat of the studies of the various grades of scholars, it is satisfactory to see that in all but one branch, a reasonable course has been pursued. The studies of the Provincial Schools are contained in the following programme :—

" The following instructions in regard to the course of study to be pursued were furnished to the Head Masters on their appointment :—

" 'A scheme of the course of instruction in the English Department which should be adopted at the commencement is annexed. It includes instruction in the English language, in General Geography, in Elementary English and Indian History, Arithmetic, Euclid, Algebra, Plane Trigonometry, Mechanics, the Elements of English Literature, English Composition and Mensuration. In the Vernacular Department the instruction is to be confined to a grammatical study of the Malayalim language and translations from and into English."

" The English may be extended hereafter to the higher branches of literature and science as the attainments of the scholar's advance, but at first it will probably be found impossible to form a class in the higher parts of the course specified in the present scheme, and it is hardly necessary to observe that any attempt at the formation of classes in the more difficult subjects, until the scholars are thoroughly well grounded in the more elementary subjects, would be altogether premature. The Board would especially desire to impress upon you the necessity of enforcing as good grammatical and idiomatic knowledge of the English language as a necessary qualification for admission into the highest of the classes specified in the present scheme."

The curriculum of the High School does not much differ. The standard adopted by the Examiners for Government Rewards in subjects requisite for passing, is about parallel. Now if this measure of learning be placed before the mind of able teachers

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who will in every detail and in every successive grade insist upon thoroughness and accuracy, we shall shortly have men in our Courts, Cutcherries and public offices of solid worth, prepared thereby for progress in their several walks; not men who deeming that they have reached the maximum of learning, disgust us with constantly recurring proofs of an intellect both poor and proud. The more carefully we consider this standard of instruction, the more are we convinced of its fitness to the state of education in the Presidency, to the future destinies of the pupils, and to the full development of an educational system. It befits the state of education in the Presidency, for before any higher measures, can consistently be pursued, there is wanting a stratum of sound western knowledge wide-spread amongst the population. It befits the destinies which await the scholars in after life, at least for many years. We have carefully read over the list of proficients and the positions upon which they have entered. Parallels thereto may be found in the length of a London Street. An Indian writer and an English clerk are not much different. A Naib Sheristadar has not half the work, nor half the responsibility, nor requires half the talent of the Manager of a third or fourth rate Bank. A Deputy Dewan of Travancore or any other Province would bear but poor comparison with the head-man of a London shipping-house. The Educationalists of the proficient's list would suffer by being placed by the side of third or fourth rate English ushers. The Agents of a Road, a Railway, a Telegraph or a Canal should be much the same in Kent and Calcutta. Yet situations like those we have mentioned are filled for the most part by men who on starting in life had a thorough appreciation of English Literature, but had never been put to the anatomy of a passage from Shakespear or Milton; were thoroughly trained in all the lesser branches of Mathematics but innocent of its higher mysteries; with talents turning almost instinctively to business, but almost as little acquainted with the theories of trade as when little children they solved the mystery of shuttlecocks being dear at Shrovetide; or in a bad season three instead of six apples being sold for a penny. Honest, upright, active and of ready skill, though likely enough ignorant of Smith's moral sentiments, or the veriest metaphysical tractate, but not so ignorant of the Highest Book of Morals. Such men thrown out annually from the classes of private and Grammar Schools might be free from the thinly spread but showy gold of a "College Department" or of "College" studies, but they had the gold within. Entering their several paths of employment, their well-formed mental habits fitted them to urge vigorously the studies peculiar thereto. And the vast supply of men who have made their way to the lower House of Parlia-

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ment, and fill almost entirely the better ranges of the social scale, has proved how efficient is a thorough education, though it may not be the highest, to elevate the chief portion of a population. For these reasons we think that this is the peculiar sphere of Government Education in India. Let them give the Hindoo lad a thorough working world education, let them not fix their eyes on Collegiate benches and be dissatisfied when their students fail in reaching them, then will they pursue a course fruitful of good to India, and less fruitful of disappointment to themselves.

Advancing the views we have done upon the Collegiate Department, and upon the point now before us, it will be easily surmised that the one table of studies to which we take exception is that which outlines the work of the Professors ;—save only the Professor of Law and Political Economy, Bacon and Moral Philosophy, Astronomy and the High Mathematics appear wofully out of place, because based on a false conception of the future work of the pupils, whether it be of a writer, a Sheristadar or a Deputy Dewan.

Neither let it be said that in presenting these remarks we manifest a depreciation of high education, and discountenance the establishment of Halls of Learning "whence may issue a due supply of men to serve their country both in Church and State." It is our very reverence for such institutions, and our firm belief in their beneficial influence upon a nation's highest progress, that deepen our sorrow in perusing the Report of the Madras Collegiate studies. Their establishment at a period so inopportune is a bar and not a help to high education. By hot-house haste the strength and health is forced from trunk and core. Had the plan advocated by Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Elliott been followed how naturally the cultivation of accomplished learning would have resulted. A range of sound scholars would have continued to pour from the High School and other Institutions into the openings awaiting them, until the supply was more than equal to the demand. Meanwhile a process of elevation would naturally have been put in operation. Those who had the gift of employment, whether Government or private individuals, finding the supply at the old standard ready and easy, would have sought superior agents by demanding higher qualifications. The applicants themselves seeing that successful competition depended wholly upon superior scholarship, would have sought to obtain it by a longer period of academical study. Those who the while were really emulous of the honours of learning, would have found room for the satisfaction of their ambition in attainments remarkable at once for soundness and compass. Such a plan bears all the marks of natural up-growth, sub-

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stance and efficiency. That it would by this time have produced any such complete result as that to which we have just now referred, cannot be said. But it would already have made an efficient High School, and have laid the foundation of future excellence. No such confidence can be entertained of the scheme now in operation. High Education broke the soil by dint of forcing, and by forcing and urging it has obtained its pitiable growth. The stimulants appear to increase in number and intensity annually. First, to successful scholars assurances of Government favour were to be conveyed; their names were to be published in the "Gazette"—both which provisions implied assistance towards employment, then money rewards were held out for competition, and now the Public Examiners think that a *right* to employment must be conceded, and permanent worldly advantages held in prospect. These very men who suffered not learning in her own homely mien to descend into the crowd of youthful toilers, to cheer them and raise them step by step, up and up the hill capped by her lofty temple;—those who forced her into an inner shrine and there saw her deserted save by an insignificant group of unworthy worshippers, must now deck her with worldly trinkets, and fill her hands with gold dust to seduce those whom love could not attract. We dissent from the plan of these College studies because they are made popular only by a system of degrading and unhealthy stimulus in the way of promised favour and emolument.

Nor is the presence of such a grade of learning, backed by such rewards, without a direct and immediately injurious effect upon the studies of the boys. In any school and most of all in a school where love of distinction and vanity are the chief mental characteristics, the attachment of numerous rewards to peculiar qualifications has a tendency to lead the mind to a speedy acquirement of such qualifications at the expense of habitual correctness, and thorough fitness of intellectual strength. This we are inclined to believe has something to do with the inaccuracy of thought and expression noticed by the Principal as a defect of the High School. A similar inaccuracy and indistinctness of thought will strike even a careless reader of the published answers of the Collegiate students. All have pressed to obtain just as much knowledge as would secure their preferment, and their eagerness has outstripped their soundness. We will give our readers opportunity of judging of the correctness of our observation. The questions proposed at the examinations at the College and for Government Rewards are of as simple a nature as their subjects would permit, yet the answers present those defects to which we have referred.

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Vencatakismama in sketching the plot of Richard II. says :— "He (the king) takes the advice of his ministers among whom was Gaunt (the father of Bolingbroke) and sentences Norfolk to perpetual banishment *while* the other only for six years."

"The principal moral of the drama *is to show* the danger and disgrace which a king draws upon *him* by mixing himself indiscriminately with favourites, and allowing them too *much* liberties with him."

Gopauliah affords an unexampled specimen of the chief features of Hindoo superficiality, grand words inaccurately remembered, unconnected sentences, true significants of unconnected thought, and a miserable neglect of Grammar. The subject is Richard's Character. "When he returns to his native country"—he does not step upon his "earth" with the self-confiding port of one who is ready to defend it against an enemy; he addresses his kingdom as if it were a living thing, a friend that would espouse *his cause* and arm in his *cause* (what connection between the first and last clauses ?)

> "So weeping, smiling, greet I thee my earth
> And do thee favour with my royal hands."

The old habits of kingliness and the *effect* of flattery produces in him a sort of wordy courage, which more clearly betrays his moral weakness. Indecision is another trait in his character. It does not arise from the depth of his philosophy as is the case, in Hamlet, but simply Richard is inert and inactive and yields himself to every new impression. (Inertness, inactivity, versatile impressibility and indecision ! An odd character.) The pictures of irresolution are *still* wonderfully drawn by the poet when Salisbury Secrop inform Richard of the desertion of the Welshmen under their command. Richard sometimes says that he is prepared to meet the worst and at *other time* carries the divine right of kings too far *says* "not all the water in the rough rude sea, &c." "Richard's conduct in the conversation from the walls of Flint Castle with Northumberland who brings a message from Bolingbroke and the king's dallying with the resignation of the crown." (No predicate or event). But this is enough of Gopauliah. The very next sentence also lacks predicate and event, whilst the paragraph concludes with a feather, stolen we will venture to say from the Professorial cap. "In fact Richard would have been a worthy man to love and a good monarch to kneel before." This Gopauliah is specially mentioned by the Examiner and his answers are safely recommended for publication ! The same pupil presented himself as a candidate for Government Rewards in elementary subjects, and failed decidedly, the Examiners report, in Arithmetic and Elementary

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Algebra, Elementary Astronomy and Mechanics and partially in the English paper. On reference to the list of marks it will also be seen that his name bears no great honour in connection either with Indian History, English History or Geography. In the first he got 23 marks out of 40, in the second 22 out of 45, in the last 29 out of 45. This looks rather awkwardly by the side of Richard II. and Bacon's Essays.

N. Ramasawmy figures rather largely in the Report, but we have seldom more skilful jugglery with undefined phrases than his answers present. He is requested to paraphrase the following passage :—

"To speak now of the true temper of an Empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep ; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries, but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them." The work is done in the following style :— "with regard to the proper condition of Government it is a difficult matter to preserve it, for both good temper and distemper result from contrary qualities being *mingled (!)* together ; the former is produced by blending them in due proportion and the latter by interchanging them in extremes."

"In the case of a Government the "true temper" is secured by an equal and timely interchange (!) of power : and the "distemper" is produced by an unequal and untimely interchange of power, pressed too far and relaxed too much."

The figure employed is left unopened ; Bacon's terms are repeated over and over again without being defined, whilst the unfortunate use of them in a directly opposite way to Bacon's formula is a crack through which utter confusion of thought creeps out. In another answer from the same youth, we marked off six gross grammatical errors in the space of nine printed lines.

Another College student whose answers are published in the Report, on presenting himself as a candidate for Government Rewards, was declared to have failed decidedly in English and Indian History, and partially in English Composition !

We had marked, for quotation several other illustrations of our remark, but think that these will be sufficient. If any one will be at the pains to peruse these answers and not accept them for prodigies because they are found in the Report, he will come to our conclusion that an unnatural strain after high attainments has begotten that bareness of thought and poverty of expression which invariably result from a deficient groundwork.

We have penned these remarks on the College Department of the University and its instruction in complete liberty from any party feeling. When the project was discussed the writer was in

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the midst of an educational war on another soil, and therefore must be acquitted of pouring forth the dregs of old antipathy. The facts only have been placed before him, and in them his remarks find a painful force. If these arguments are true, some practical lesson should be placed before the eyes of those who are pledged to Collegiate instruction and engaged in it. An arrest should forthwith be placed on the increase of Government inducements. No unnatural efforts should be made to enlarge the number of College students. If the classes should die out, all the better. The pupils of the High School and Provincial Schools may be gladly allowed to betake themselves to public employment, requiring a higher or lower standard of mental acquirements. Neither murmuring nor melancholy need arise from such a movement. It is a natural and safe one. And when a Director of Public Instruction shall do for the next thirty years what Mr. Arbuthnot has done for the past he will have a very different story to tell of both High School and College.

In the heat of discussion sectarian partitions rise high and prominent. The vision is contracted. A middle way is never dreamed off. Such appears to have been the case in the discussions of 1834 and 1835 in reference to the education of the many or the few. One party said "work from the base upward." Another said "let the light search its way downwards." But now that the fervour of discussion is past, time, that Engineer who works without sound of hammer or ring of the trowel, has levelled the party walls, and from amid their veins is constructing a happy middle path. No one would be so infatuated now as to say that languages so poor as those of South India in substantive knowledge, and in worthy ideas can be the instruments of popular education without a large infusion of western thought and newly invented terms. Equally unreasonable, would it be for even a Macaulay to affirm that the education of the higher classes in refined literature would in any reasonable or unreasonable time permeate and raise the mass of the population. The Director of Public Instruction seems to be forming for himself a sphere of exertion borne out by the parallels of England and Russia and ably sketched by Mr. Thomas:—

"But intelligent natives who have been thus educated, may, as Teachers in College and Schools, or as the writers and translators of useful books, contribute in an eminent degree to the more general extension among their countrymen of a portion of the acquirements which they have themselves gained, and may communicate in some degree to the native literature and to the minds of the native community that improved spirit, which, it is to be hoped, they will themselves have imbibed from the influence of European ideas and sentiments."

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The Provincial Schools are established. Competent masters have been procured from England. An increase of salary awaits their intimacy with the vernaculars. Beneath these we hear of the formation of Zillah Schools, the Masters of which are for sometime to be Europeans, but ultimately natives of sound European knowledge. Farther in the distance looms a scheme for direct vernacular instruction in common schools. But ere that be realised Training Schools for Vernacular Teachers are to be established in the Provinces we hope the Director has got some plan for improving in the meanwhile the character of the present vernacular instruction. There is that proposed by the Board of Instruction in 1834 similar to the one suggested by Mr. Adams for Bengal, and followed in the North West Provinces. Its features are supervision by a mixed European and Native Committee with the aid of a Native Visitor, the holding of examinations, the communication of improved methods of teaching and the introduction of vernacular school books. We have not the means of knowing the Director's intentions on this subject, but would suggest that all the ends proposed in this scheme would be answered in the transference of the work to Government Sub-Inspectors. There is no doubt that the perusal of the volumes before us leads to the conclusion that little dependance is to be placed on the popular idea of native co-operation.

Lord Munro tied it in his vernacular scheme and made bad worse. Lord Elphinstone backed his University proposition by a petition of 70,000 natives, asking the place of co-operators and declining in lofty language an education dependant upon charity. There the matter ended. Few boys entered the school and not a penny was thrown into the Educational treasury. Mr. Norton was deceived by this co-operation into the continuance of an exorbitant fee. Official natives have stickled for every little prejudice and a free education has been carried in spite of them. We have not got the men to work with us we must make them before we can use them.

But we are made the less anxious as to the Director's plans by observing his tone of feeling. If we judge him rightly, decision and despatch, expressive of ideas found not once in thirty years' experimenting, breathe in his plans and expressions. He forms in his own mind a clear scheme of the matter to be done and will do it quickly. Closing these two volumes and coming into contact with the more recent schemes of Education and with the spirit of its Director, always excepting the Collegiate Department, we see a cheerful prospect before us. Now in truth a band of social settlers appear upon the soil, their num- will speedily increase, and ere another 10 years are gone

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we shall look upon the ground that has been cleared, the sod broken ;—the loam enriched, the furrows formed, the fresh blades in the ridges—happy promises of a hasting and joyous harvest, making glad the sower of bygone years, furnishing seed to his successor, and giving bread to the eater.

When energetic Governors-General have brought beneath our sway large and populous provinces; when able administrators have laid down their systems of governance ; when skilled capitalists or speculators have opened out the Empire's hidden resources : one other man of ability is needed, limiting our view by a narrow secularism without whom lasting and self-propelling progress can never be secured. He is the School-master. None, save one, more influential in his work than he. The time is gone, amongst sensible people, when the common School-master was deemed an amiable imbecile, astonishing untaught ears by sesquipedalian words or echoing humbly the dictum of some greater light, chance strayed into his sphere ; when the whole range of respectable instructors was thought to lie between Dominie Sampson and Dr. Pangloss, the one a prodigy of dull conglomerated learning, lit up by an amusing eccentricity ; the other possessed of nothing but vanity, literary knick-knackery, and the insatiable desire of having " clear for life, five hundred pounds a year." Nothing is more freely confessed at home than that the School-master must have good talents, good knowledge, good manners, a good salary, and a good position in society. To raise up men of this class is the purpose of the Training Institutions which have been established in large numbers of late years by an expenditure almost to be termed prodigal, did we not remember its laudable object. We rejoice that a similar Institution has been formed at last in the Madras Presidency ; and on a subject so important and with a desire that thought and care and energy and expense may foster this centre of educational success ;—a few more words may be allowed.

What do we expect from the School-master? A character of firm moral tone, inaccessible to false motives in a land where intrigue is a popular science not easily seduced to lethargy and neglect, when supervision may often be intermittent ;—in himself and his family, a pattern to those whose homes know no relief from the language of petty commerce or the business of sensuality manners ; gentle to attract the confidence of children ; free from self-conceit, as he needs their respect ; seemly and manly—far removed from looseness or effeminacy—proving how a well trained mind will have an appropriate outward-showing-gifts ;—a capacity for application once begun and never to be left off.

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For little way his learning reaches
Who reads no more than what he teaches.

Some degree of acquisitiveness ; for he who treads the path of learning dully and heavily, as oxen tread out the grain for their own food—will make worse out as a teacher than a learner. Utterance ; for what matter the stores within, if the door of the lips be shut? Not dull and heavy, drugging his youthful charge ; not authoritative and dictatorial repressing the queries of infant, youthful thinkers ; but easy, simple and versatile ;—capable of assuming a thousand shapes to drive dull sloth from the form of learning, and follow the mind through all the rapid and varied changes, which characterize it in our youthful years. Discrimination of character. Steele says, in speaking of the School-masters of his days "many of these stupid tyrants exercise their cruelty without any manner of distinction of the capacities of children, or the intention of parents in their behalf. It happens I doubt not more than once in a year, that a lad is chastised for a blockhead ; when it is a good apprehension which makes him incapable of knowing what his teacher means. A brisk imagination very often may suggest an error which a lad could not have fallen into if he had been as heavy in conjecturing as his master in explaining." The instructor has to pass his fingers over the sensitive chords of mind and feeling, and it were not wise to put in such a place a man without discrimination of sound temper ;—not harsh or stern, clouding the youthful face with habitual fearfulness and hesitancy ; not easiful and indulgent, under which " discipline overlooked and unemployed falls sick and dies" but a happy combination of the suaviter and the fortiter. One feature more ; and we will not say that the portrait will be complete, only so far as to show what a man must be to be a School-master. He must be an enthusiast in his work. Needful every where, it is most needful here, where the work has been looked down upon. Nothing else can sustain him in the unvarying and unnoticed toil of instruction—but an enthusiasm fed by impressive views of his work :—its objects—an empire's youth ;—its path ;—the furnishing and forming of the mind ;—its results,—the progress of his kind in the good, the wise and the powerful. Such qualifications do we ultimately expect from the School-master.

What do we entrust to him ? We are not going to repeat the worn-out figures of the acorn, the bent-twig, and the like. Neither will we borrow the high flown language of those who deem education every thing. But a right view of the interests involved in the teacher's work,—imprinted in his own mind, in the mind of those above and with him in his labour, is the only means of procuring efficiency. What then

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do we commit to him? All that education can do. It can raise new and more powerful principles of life than those which depend upon physical satisfaction,—the principles of a mind awake. It can refine feeling, and so elevate domestic relationships. It can change a hovel unfurnished, for a home full of comfort. It can teach to get; to give, and to spend. It can urge upward men of uncommon mould to seats of dignity and honor, whilst it will lessen the contracting influence of worldly pursuits by enlarging their compass, and raising their demand for intellectual skill. It can produce that self-respect, righteous enough, which is the strongest of all secondary guards of right-doing. It can raise the tone of morality by introducing to the mind the examples and principles of the great and good. It can produce soundness of thought, and form the judgment and so prepare the way for the downfal of what is false, the reception of what is true in reference both to time and eternity. To him too if he take the whole range of his work, we entrust the peace of God—the assurance of faith—the looking for of heaven—such are the interests which lie concealed in the hand of the School-master.

If these observations be true as to the interests committed to the School-master and the qualifications we expect from him, the one thing required is getting the right man. We say this in especial reference to the Institution at Madras; there must be *selection*. The procuring of a Scholarship and the passing of an examination or even the possession of moderate general talents do not certify that a man will make a good School-master. The Director has indeed inserted a condition that each student shall for two months be considered as a probationer, liable to ejection. But this is not enough. The Director should be left at liberty to dismiss during the continuance or at the conclusion of his course, every student not possessed of "aptness to teach." Such a man may obtain employment in another line, but let not the Government have any thing to do with him as a teacher. The quality not the quantity of men is the condition of success in this important scheme. But when we have got the men with talents, we have to give them training. We have got the gifts. We must give the character. A Hindoo may be a bundle of habits but it is a bundle very badly tied. Now training is the moulding and formation of habits. For distinctness, we may consider habits as belonging to the body or the mind, and the latter will be explained by the former. Under the former are comprehended all bodily activities or motions, whether graceful or unbecoming, which are owing to use; under the latter, general habits of life and conduct, such as those of obedience and submission to authority or to any particular person; those of veracity, justice and charity; those of attention, industry, self-govern-

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ment, envy, revenge. And habits of this latter kind seem produced by repeated acts as well as the former. Butler's Analogy, Chap. V. Hard the work then of the Training Master of Hindoo pupils; to watch the interworkings of body and soul—to discern the mind though trivial accidents—and continue patiently at his work till success is attained—the work is hard but must be done. And to give the character of the Teacher the fullest chance of development we must have a good social position and a competent salary. He must be placed above the mass who through the bazaar and something more than on a level with the whole army of pen-drivers. Government after long delay have confessed and now come forth with a liberal scale of proposals. I will first turn to the establishment of the Presidency in which a considerable number of teachers of various grades are employed. The salaries assigned range from Rupees 700 to 1,000 per mensem. In the Junior Department which it is probable will be more immediately available to Native Masters the salaries range from Rupees 70 to 300. We trust however that the time is not far distant when here as at Bombay we shall see Natives employed as Professors in our Colleges, as well as in the more subordinate grades of the Department. In the Provincial Schools the salaries range from Rupees 30 to Rupees 500; in the Zillah Schools from Rupees 20 to 300. In the first of these two grades of schools, it will probably be necessary for some time to come that the Head Masters should be Europeans, but this is by no means an absolute rule, and in some of the Zillah Schools we think we may say with confidence that the Head Masterships will ere long be filled by Natives. The salaries specified in these lists we should mention are the maximum sums at present sanctioned and it will have to be determined in each case with reference to the qualifications of the person appointed, whether the whole or what portion of the sanctioned salary should be assigned to him. It will be obvious we think from these statements that the prospects in the Educational Department are not inferior to those held out in any other branches of the public service, and that in point of fact the prospects of early advancement will for some years to come be better than elsewhere, inasmuch as the number of competitors qualified for the duties of the Educational Department will for some years be smaller than the number of competitors in other Departments of the service. At the opening of the Training Institution Mr. Arbuthnot gave notice of the proposed salaries of Educational officials:—

"For let us suppose that we have some tens or even scores of youths, out of a population of millions, Masters of the higher sciences, well acquainted with all the beauties of Shakespeare, of Milton and with the learning of Bacon and with the great master minds of Europe, and the

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rest of the people, not the lowest classes alone, left in their hereditary ignorance, and that ignorance—Asiatic."

"How, I would ask, is this mass, wholly unprepared by even an elementary education in western learning, to understand and appreciate the acquirements of the highly educated man ? or, how is he to communicate his high attainments in scheme and literature to them ? and what possible influence would he therefore exercise over them ? In Europe the bulk of the population who receive an education have ordinarily some elementary instruction in the higher sciences,—in Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, &c., and individuals throughout all grades of society have, some more, some less knowledge of the higher sciences, and in many cases a considerable degree of scientific acquirement, which enables and qualifies some in all ranks to appreciate more or less fully the highest discoveries and attainments in science. There is consequently a connecting link, running through all society there, which conveys the highest truths of science in an elementary form to all grades and the acquisitions of the most advanced minds can be, and are appreciated by those immediately below them, and through them they filter down to the lower grades, who are prepared in their measure by elementary instruction, to receive them."

"But what is the case in this country ? High acquirements in Science or Literature will be appreciated and understood by none, but the few alone highly educated. There is a broad, and impassible line between them and all others. I cannot but think it almost certain, therefore, that the only result of a system, which educates a few highly, and leaves the rest of the population without even elementary instruction, is to render all the superior acquirements of that few, (made moreover at an enormous cost to the State) barren and fruitless as to any general influence upon society."

"The youths or men so advanced will exist in a great measure, only as a small isolated class, despising others ; and neither appreciated nor esteemed by their fellow countrymen. This must be, so far as I can see my way, the inevitable consequence of a system which provides only for the superior education of the few, and makes no simultaneous provision upon a large scale for the instruction of the many."

As the Professor does more for Christianity by training and sending forth a dozen highly qualified Ministers, than an ordinary Evangelist who is the means of converting a hundred souls, so the establishment of the Institution will do more for education than the hasty and wide extension of inefficient schools.

One point more and we have done. We allude to the gain which may accrue to the movement by the improved state of its Directory. What could education do with Boards, Committees, Councils changing, divided but hanging to the line of officialness, like a sinking sailor to a plank ? What wonder that the nursling should be "crooked, twisted and deformed through want of care" when the nurses were being perpetually

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changed, all pursuing different methods of treatment, agreeing but in one thing, the neglect of their charge. The *Boards* are *broken* up. The Committees are dissolved. The Councils are adjourned "sine die." Mr. Arbuthnot is fac-totum. In a despotic Government, great or small, every thing depends upon the man. If he be wise, active and powerful, his pulse moves a nation. If he be none of these, the nation under his sway, nestles the seeds of anarchy in the womb of unity. Our future depends upon one Director. We have already expressed our hopes of him but we have yet seen little of his work. Two paths lie before him. He may continue in slippered ease at the Presidency rejoicing in his title, more in its emoluments: throwing aside all idea of personal oversight, he may gather round him a crowd of subordinates and send each on an apparently well refined errand;—never dreaming of the vivid influence of personal intercourse, he may be content to look upon all operations through the medium of cooked reports; he may get all the credit of a good movement without knowing it to be good;—he may dashingly sign his name to annual statements and not be able on personal knowledge to vouch for the truth of a single item, or the truthfulness of a single Agent, he may be the source of a malaria of inactivity and public infidelity creeping down, down, through every lower stage, settling on every subordinate officer, and producing a state of things to be concealed by intrigue, creeping up and up till he himself is an unconscious but blameworthy instrument of it;—he may pride himself on the ramification of plans spreading and interworking beneath him; in a last "farewell" he may grow eloquent upon his deeds; "leaving a loved and prosperous work" to his successor;—whose first work will be to sweep away the flimsy cobwebs, and curse an administration of five, which has thrown back the progress of education twenty, years.

If the machine is to work well, the centre wheel must be in motion, the Director must calmly make up his mind to do his work, to be the soul of every thing. He may without great expenditure either of mental or physical strength pass to and fro amidst the department of his work, now treading on the heels of subordinate Inspectors, now startling some lethargic dominie in slumbering placidity. By such visits, he may gather around himself an ubiquity, seen and felt and feared every where. School-masters finding it useless to be careless will become desirous of commendation. Inspectors, conscious of the knowledge of their superior and not unmoved by his example, will cease hashing up reports, and drawing wise conclusions on what they never saw or heard; but find more

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profitable toil in enriching their minds and invigorating their work by active investigation. By knowledge gained thus personally or through a medium now trustworthy, the Director will be able to propose plans of enlargement marked by the freshness, precision, and practicability of one who has felt and seen and therefore speaks: and against such a man "our Governor at Fort St. George" and "our loving friends" in Leadenhall Street cannot stir a feather ;—his plans will become facts. By such a conduct, he may spread around him the same spirit, and all will try to do their duty and do it in the best way possible ;—a gain in soundness to the work, in mental and moral power to the workmen. Thus may he plant within himself a sense of integrity,—a mind that condemneth not itself ;—of which the slippered and cushioned Do-nothing has no idea, and finds a poor substitute for in the dignified and trifling engagements of Presidency Society. Thus may he come to the end of his term of residence, working to the last, leaving no time for eulogistic "leaders" or addresses: but followed by a yearning public feeling to be interpreted in the one sentence "a king is gone from us." When in after years, in some quiet retreat amid "the interchange of hill and valley" in his native land, he shall hear the many voiced public trumpeting the praise of some good successor, he shall have in solitude the joy of him who planned the work and laid the foundation ;—a joy "which no man taketh from him." Which course will our Director follow ?

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1856.

ART. I.—1. *Voyages and Travels to India, &c.* By GEORGE, VISCOUNT VALENTIA. 3 vols. 4to. London, 1809.
2. BISHOP HEBER'S *Journal in India.*
3. MURRAY'S *Home and Colonial Library.* Nos. 3—6. London, 1846.

MONTESQUIEU, in a fit of self-dissatisfaction which circumstances neither justified nor required, once recorded—"I'ai la maladie de faire des livres, et d'en être honteux quand je les ai faits." We could desire no more appropriate, and perhaps no heavier punishment for some of our modern book-makers, than the shame which a calm reconsideration of their own handiwork would be certain to inflict. Time was when the composition of a book was on all hands admitted to be an undertaking by no means rashly to be commenced. In the first place there was the subject, the thing to be said; for the theory was that no one would propose to appear in print unless he had something to communicate to the public; and it was considered, moreover, essential that this same thing to be communicated should be very clearly and completely understood by its professed expounder. Then there was the style, the manner of saying; for in those rude times, it was held generally that writing was an art, and that like other arts it had its rudiments and rules which required patience and labour for their mastery by the common race of people, and were not disregarded, but rather instinctively acquired, even by genius itself. But now-a-days, as we all know, audacity, writing materials, and a liberal bookseller are the only qualifications the least necessary, and equipped with these the aspiring *literateur* may make his debût with every chance of success.

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It is rather curious that the branch of literature most readily chosen by complete ignorance as least likely to involve failure or provoke contempt, should be the writing of Travels: for surely, if we come to consider it, a good deal more should be required in a book of Travels than "gentle dullness" could by any species of conjuring be able to provide. And yet is it not the case that no shallow-pate shall be found existing, who having from sheer ennui, or, perhaps, so recommended for change of beer, transferred his perfectly useless person, let us say, to the Holy Land, but shall desire on his return to communicate the result to the public; and shall not only so desire, but *shall* communicate it in two volumes octavo, bound in red cloth and lettered handsomely in gilt—"Montagu Square to Mount Sion." There is one thing certainly to be said, that the subject matter of Travels, in accordance with those modern views of convenience which suggest the sub-division of labor, has been distributed, and one branch alone generally falls to the lot of an individual traveller. Thus one gentleman takes up the *cuisine*, and we are informed, in considerable detail, what to "eat, drink and avoid" at the different hotels on the Rhine or in Italy. Another assumes the cab, omnibus, and railway department, and the different rates of travelling fares charged, and amounts of luggage permitted, are discussed, always with spirit, and sometimes not without acrimony. Then we have comic Tourists, flippant young gentlemen full of the slang of "Punch," who think it smart to carry an atmosphere of London magazines, London theatres, and their London "set" into the august and silent scenes of history. And have we not Protestant travellers who come home dreadfully shocked at the paganism of Rome, detail the singular acumen by which they discovered their courier to be a Jesuit in disguise, and declare, with astonishing gusto, that every educated catholic they conversed with—was an infidel?

In this fashion do these poor creatures, some, perhaps, driven to it for bread, huckster their pennyworths of travellers' lore: and no class of literature, it is certain, though puffed through paying its expenses, affords so full and constant a supply of waste paper to the Trunkmaker and the Butterman as this,—which may be designated, from the only subject it adequately illustrates, —the literature of Locomotion.

How different from the reality of these paltry book-makers the ideal of the true Traveller!

Rarely gifted by nature with a body to withstand fatigue and endure climate,—with a courage to act promptly in danger and a tact to avoid needlessly seeking it,—with an eye quick to discern the form and colour and distinctive character of all that falls under observation,—with a tongue facile in adapting itself to foreign and

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unfamiliar form of speech, and a temper engaging, generous and conciliatory :—and all these precious gifts again finely disciplined and fully developed by education :—the mind deeply instructed in the history and customs of ancient times,—minutely acquainted with the social, political and religious features of its own country, —and nicely taught by a study of human nature to detect in the casual stranger a trustworthy informant or the contrary, and regulated in its inquiries by a delicate tact that puts the right question and a sensitive judgment that recognises the true answer; —expression, too, not neglected, its rules examined, its principles artistically ascertained and mastered: and then the body fitted by long training and acquired skill for the arduous tasks it has chosen as its own ;—the untamed horse to be backed,—the burning desert to be trodden,—the eddying river to be swum across,—often, for subsistence, the fishing-rod or the fowling piece to be deftly handled,—and sometimes, in defence of life itself, the sword to be drawn, at once with determination and with science.

Nor endowed with such gifts and embellished with such acquirements in vain, for impressed with a belief that the removal of the ignorance which hides the life and thoughts and hopes of man from his fellow-man, is the most important step in advancing that great Federation, which, according as we look upon it from the point of view of the philosopher, the poet or the pietist, may assume different aspects,—but is still dimly expected by all : —impressed with such a belief, he will view his wanderings as a lofty mission, and will, from first to last, keep the great end in view.

This is of course an imaginary ideal, but to show that it is not entirely extravagant in its requirements, take but one name, —a name which Anglo-India may justly rejoice to be able to call her own. With more moral earnestness, with somewhat loftier aims in view, with greater self-respect, with less Zingaresque admiration of the lawless and the vagabond in itself, how nearly to the specified standard would come our eminent compatriot—Richard Burton.

England has had great travellers ; Bruce and Mungo Park on the one hand, and Sir Robert Porter and Dr. Edward Clarke on the other, are fair specimens of two classes of which any country might well be proud ; but she has been capricious in the treatment of her sons who have distinguished themselves in this respect.

Some of the most trustworthy she has laughed at as increditable, some of the most learned she has set aside, and unjustly censured as heavy and unreadable ;—others again she has unaccountably neglected. Nor is this all : the English reading public have always liked to have a favorite authority for each part of the world, and when any one writer has attained this position, it is

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astonishing how long he may preserve it, without fear of overthrow by a rival. There would not be much harm done by this, if the favorite was always the best authority, but unfortunately this is very seldom the case, and the system of accepted travellers has done real injury to the claims of superior persons. If the view of a country given by a traveller be substantially correct, whatever new light may be thrown by more recent research will only serve to further illustrate what was previously delineated: a really good book of Travels may therefore without injury to knowledge remain the standard, though its details may no longer be adequate or satisfactory: but if a book embodying a false representation of a country come improperly to be considered a standard work, any later writer of truth or merit, if he gain the public ear, must displace the usurper, and failing to do this, will himself pass into oblivion. Every one must remember some of the old accepted travellers. There was a certain Mr. Russell who was a great authority on Germany, and whose travels in that country were greatly in vogue at one time. He may still be come across in Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography, discoursing *ore rotundo* of the morals of Vienna, but in no other place of common resort that we know of, will he be likely to be found. Yet, so predominant was he at one time that we recollect another gentleman publishing a book on Germany, and apologizing in the preface for intruding upon a domain so ably administered by Russell. Much later than this now forgotten author, came Trollope, and Marryatt, who acceded jointly, by the *coup d' état* of an impudent book apiece, to the Presidentship of the United States. Now that we know America so much better, now that her literature is in our hands, that we have read her own portraitures of life and society; now that Prescott and Bancroft have shown us how Americans can treat the political questions of history, and men like Everett and Buchanan and Dallas have in person demonstrated the fact that no mean Political education is the common accomplishment of her best men,—it seems incredible that we should ever have taken our notions of American manners and American feeling from the caricatures of a thoroughly vulgar-minded woman, or been misled into a low appreciation of their political standard by the boisterous misapprehensions of a humorous sea-captain. But of all unquestioned authorities, no one has held so supreme or so lasting a sway as Bishop Heber. To him India has been made over, as one might suppose, in perpetual possession, and with what is called the general reader, he is as unimpeachable a dictator on all Indian subjects, as Sir David Brewster is about stereoscopes, or Dr. Cumming about the end of the world. If you look out an Indian topic in any Encyclopædia, you will find at the end of the article—"Bishop Heber's Journal."

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When Mr. Youatt discourses of the temper of Arab horses, he refers to a description of the behaviour of a certain Arab—in Bishop Heber's Journal. When the Editor of the "Press" wishes to damage Lord Dalhousie's political reputation, and show that an Indian province under native rule is a kind of New Atlantis,—he quotes, or misquotes if a little pushed,—Bishop Heber's Journal. In fact there is no sort of purpose useful or unworthy, to which this notable Journal has not been put. The pre-eminence it holds, however, as any candid enquirer will be obliged to admit, has been bestowed upon it without due consideration, and indeed in a large measure by mere caprice. It is true indeed, that at the time the book appeared India had not many specimens (as she has not now) of the traveller proper to represent her: to a certain extent Heber's Journal supplied a desideratum and filled a vacancy: but of another class of works closely allied to travels, half travels, indeed, and half reports,—such works, we mean, as Buchanan's Mysore, Kirkpatrick's Nepal, &c. &c.,—India had always abundance, and to these the general reader (a sad dilettante, we fear,) might have had easy access, if the love of truth had been in him. But even if the pre-eminence had been just thirty years ago, it might naturally be supposed that in these days of Indian newspapers, reports, statistics, maps, gazetteers, and the thousand other sources from which ascertained facts well out, like water from a hill-side, the public might require something newer and fresher than they would be likely to find in the Bishop's pages. But the prestige of Heber still prevails with unabated vitality.

We propose in the present article examining into the merits of this celebrated work; not in a very elaborate manner, but testing its qualifications rather by general principles, and trying to form an opinion as to the degree of authority it was ever entitled to carry with it, as well as what authority, if any, it has claims to retain at the present day. We have associated with it another book, exceedingly celebrated in its time also, the travels of Lord Valentia, and one which will be found largely quoted in reference to Indian matters, in all writings of some years back: it will not be, we hope, without profit to apply the same tests and criticisms to it as to the later work, and as Lord Valentia's book was always an expensive one, and is not now very common,—the extracts we shall transcribe may be new to some of our readers, and not without interest, if it be only that communicated by the circumstance that they refer to the India of half a century ago.

We shall commence with the elder traveller. There is an edition in three volumes octavo, but the one at present before us we find to comprise three large quarto volumes, printed on thick paper and in a handsome type, and illustrated with numerous steel engravings, from drawings by a Mr. Salt, presenting that

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hard, stiff, distinct appearance which will be familiar to those who recollect the engravings from Stothard's Designs. The title of the book in full is "Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt in the years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806." The author, George Annesley, Viscount Valentia was the eldest son of the 1st Earl of Mount Norris, and was at the time he started on his travels a married man of about two and thirty, an amateur botanist of considerable acquirements, and, as we shall hereafter see, a man of considerable judgment, and quite capable of forming his own opinions on subjects which interested his mind. He was accompanied by Mr. Henry Salt, an artist, who acted also as Secretary, and by an English servant, and they left the Downs in June 1802, on board the Indiaman, *Minerva*. The treaty of Amiens had been signed in the preceding March: there was peace therefore on the High Seas, and no necessity for a convoy, but their course was much impeded by an order directing them to keep company with the *Lord Eldon*, another Indiaman which, like the statesman from whom it derived its name, was opposed to progress, and could not be persuaded under any circumstances to go ahead.

At Madeira we find our botanical Lord in raptures with the bananas and fig-trees and oranges and pomegranates, all of which, growing in their natural luxuriance, were of course novelties to him. He is intelligent too about the wine, making inquiries about the exportation, which he is informed is about 16,000 pipes annually, and adds "the London particular is £40 per pipe; but very good may be purchased at £35 per pipe, which is the usual price paid for the India market."

On the voyage from Madeira to St. Helena we find a circumstance noted, which incidentally gives us a glimpse of the difficulties navigation had to contend with in those days. A southwest wind allowed them to keep close to the coast of Africa: there is this entry for the 19th July,

"The same wind, with little variation, enabled us yesterday to pass Cape Palmas, which we found laid down falsely in all the maps; it is in longitude 8° west. Laurie and Whittle have published a chart of the whole coast said to be on the authority of five Captains in the Liverpool trade. This is grossly erroneous; many lives may be lost by a deception which ought to be publicly noticed."

He remarks, too, on a future day, "we sailed over the spot where Messrs. Laurie and Whittle have been pleased to place the island of Annabore. The manner in which charts are published in England is a disgrace to a mercantile nation."

There is a good deal of interesting information about St. Helena, which we might extract had we not other objects in view;

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but we must pass on, merely remarking how strange it is to have Longwood spoken of calmly as the country residence of the Governor, and noting also one little incident which as illustrative of a trait in Lord Valentia's character by no means unimportant should not be omitted. Let him mention it himself, "September 23. The Governor invited us to an early dinner; after which, accompanied by his Aide-de-camp, he attended me to the water-side. As I embarked, the fort on Ladder Hill saluted me with fifteen guns, a compliment which Captain Weltden also paid me on my arrival on board the *Minerva*."

We shall see hereafter what importance his lordship attached to these little matters, and how jealous he was of their omission.

The treaty of Amiens had stipulated that England should give up all her conquests during the war, to the powers to whom they had formerly belonged, with the exception of Trinidad which had been taken from Spain, and the part of Ceylon which had been possessed by the Dutch. When, therefore, Lord Valentia arrived at the Cape, he found the authorities there preparing to give the settlement back into the hands of the Dutch: a measure which caused him deep regret; and it is much to the credit of his sagacity that he clearly discerned the great importance of the Cape not only in a political point of view, but also as possessing resources which skill and care might extend to a remarkable degree. "I have observed with astonishment," he writes "the systematic plan of the East India Directors to depreciate the value of this settlement; and to the credit which Ministers gave to their assertions, I, in a great degree, attribute the facility with which it was abandoned at the peace."

The settlement, however, as we all know, *was* given back, and it did not come finally into our possession till the year 1806.

We cannot pause to take a delightful trip with our traveller into the interior, but must again embark on board the *Minerva*, which, delivered at last of the conservative *Lord Eldon*, is at liberty to go a little faster. The decks of the vessel, which is but a small one, only some 540 tons,—are crowded now with the stalwart forms of English troopers, for we have got with us a division of the 8th Light Dragoons, and their commanding officer, Vandeleure, sailing now, unconsciously, to his appointed end,—for in one short year from this time, nearly to a day, he is to fall on the fiery field of Laswaree. Shortly after embarking we fall in with a storm and our lord, after it has somewhat subsided, notes down with great *naïveté*.—"The scene was magnificent, but too awful to be agreeable. I am glad I have seen it once, but hope I never shall again."

Of course we have albatrosses and Cape geese and pintados, and we cross the line a month hence on Christmas day, and as the

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evening is perfectly calm, place lanterns in the rigging and with soldiers' wives for partners join in a merry dance. Finally, we touch at Car Nicobar and are astonished with the nakedness and ugliness of the savages, and delighted with their plantains and shaddocks, and thence, sighting on the 17th January, the Black Pagoda, we on the 20th reach the pilot ground of the Hooghly river, having accomplished our voyage in seven months and a half.

The very day Lord Valentia landed in Calcutta, there happened to be a grand party at Government House in honor of the Peace, which, by the way, in four months from that date had ceased to exist. It was the first occasion of a public entertainment being given in the new Government House, which had only lately been completed, and on this score as well as for its illustration of the times, we will extract Lord Valentia's account of it.

"The state rooms were for the first time lighted up. At the upper end of the largest was placed a very rich Persian carpet, and in the centre of that, a musnud of crimson and gold, formerly composing part of the ornaments of Tippoo Sultan's throne. On this was a rich chair and stool of state, for Lord Wellesley; on each side, three chairs for the Members of Council and Judges. Down to the door on both sides of the room, were seats for the ladies, in which they were placed according to the strict rules of precedency, which is here regulated by the seniority of the husband in the Company's service. About ten, Lord Wellesley arrived, attended by a large body of Aide-de-Camps, &c., and after receiving, in the Northern verandah, the compliments of some of the native princes, and the vakeels of the others, took his seat. The dancing then commenced, and continued till supper. The room was not sufficiently lighted up, yet still the effect was beautiful. The row of chunam pillars,which supported each side, together with the rest of the room, were of a shining white, that gave a contrast to the different dresses of the company. Lord Wellesley wore the orders of St. Patrick and the Crescent in diamond. Many of the European ladies were also richly ornamented with jewels. The black dress of the male Armenians was pleasing from the variety; and the costly,though unbecoming habits of their females, together with the appearance of officers, nabobs, Persians, and natives, resembled a masquerade. It excelled it in one respect: the characters were well supported, and the costume violated by no one. About 800 people were present, who found sufficient room at supper, in the marble hall below, thence they were summoned about one o'clock to the different verandahs to see the fire works and illuminations. The side of the citadel facing the palacewas coveredwith a blaze of light, and all tho approaches were lined with lamps suspended from bamboos. The populace stole much of the oil; and as it was impossible to light so great a range at one time, the effect was inferior to what it ought to have been. The fire works were indifferent, except the rockets, which were superior to

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any I ever beheld. They were discharged from mortars on the ramparts of the citadel. The colors, also, of several of the pieces were excellent; and the merit of singularity, at least, might be attributed to a battle between two elephants of fire, which by rollers were driven against each other."

This description serves, we think, to bring out one characteristic which is peculiarly marked in Lord Valentia: the facility with which he throws himself into the spirit of a new scene. This is positively his first evening on Indian ground, yet he at once seizes the character of the entertainment, and understands, without difficulty, the position of the guests.

The subject of rank being one upon which Lord Valentia was particularly touchy, he was much gratified at a private audience by Lord Wellesley assigning him precedency of every body, except the immediate Members of Council.

Only a month was devoted to Calcutta, as his lordship was very anxious to travel up-country before the heat set in. During this period he only notes as objects of interest the Botanical Garden and Barrackpore. His tastes naturally led him to appreciate the first very highly, though he complains that "Utility seems more to have been attended to than science," and thinks "it is a pity a small compartment is not allotted to a scientific arrangement." One remark is curious: he writes "it is by far too hot for European vegetables, and of course many even of our Pot herbs are in the list of their desiderata." The present generation may say with allowable pride "*nous avons changé tout cela.*"

Barrackpore had passed during the incumbency of Sir John Shore into the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, who gave £500 a year to the Governor General to hire a residence for himself; Lord Wellesley however had taken the house back again and gave the £500 a year to the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Wellesley appears to have improved it very much; "several of the bungalows" we are told "belonging to the lines have been taken into the park and are fitted up for the reception of the Secretaries, Aides-de-Camp, and visitors." The view on the river, too, was striking:—"the water itself" it is said "is much clearer than at Calcutta, and covered with the state barges and cutters of the Governor General. These, painted green, and ornamented with gold, contrasted with the scarlet dresses of the rowers, were a great addition to the scene." By the 21st of February, our traveller had started for the North West. There were two roads by which he might have travelled to Benares. "One new, carried over the mountainous and wild part of Behar, not two hundred miles nearer than the old, through the populous cities of Bengal." But as dawk bungalows had not yet been built on it, only three halts would have been possible on this road, and therefore the old

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one through Moorshedabad, Rajmahal, etc. was preferred. Lord Valentia was rather pleased with his first night in a palkee. "The motion" he says "though incessant, was by no means violent. I soon composed myself to rest, but was awakened by my bearers at the first changing place asking for buxys, or presents; I gave them, as is now pretty customary, a rupee for each palanquin; and finding myself cold, though every window was shut, added a shawl to my covering. I was soon so perfectly reconciled to my lodging, that nothing but the application for buxys awakened me." The application for this dreadful "buxys" remains to this present day the nightmare that murders a dawk traveller's sleep, but he would meet it, we suspect, in these times of reduced emoluments, with a four anna piece in preference to the customary rupee of 1802. The expression "though every window was shut" seems to show that palkees usually had windows or venetians in the side-panels, as is still frequently the case with those used by native gentlemen. We may remark another point about the palkees of these days too; they seem to have been larger and heavier than those in use now,—for Lord Valentia several times remarks on the bearers falling down with him, an occurrence which very seldom, if ever, happens to modern travellers by the same conveyance.

We shall only remark generally on the journey to Benares, that in every place he passed through Lord Valentia appeared conversant with its history and associations, and exhibited his usual talent for at once apprehending the nature and spirit of what he saw.

Mistakes he made, it is true, and what traveller does not? but they were the errors of misinformation not misapprehension. Thus at Rajmahal, he mentions that no vestiges of the ancient palace remain, which is incorrect, but clearly only so in consequence of some one who should have known better having told a falsehood. He gives a very clear and interesting account of the silk manufactory at Jungpore, and the following remarks on roads, when we consider the time they were written, and the then state of public opinion on the subject, are very creditable to his sagacity.

"The roads hitherto (as far as the province of Behar) have been very indifferent; in many places not sufficiently wide to let my palanquin pass without difficulty, and in most parts the inequality of surface was such as to render the motion unpleasant, and to cause considerable delay. This in a great degree is owing to the force of the torrents during the rains, which tear up all the bridges, and carry devastation through the whole country: a large allowance is made to the Zemindar, for the re-erection of the bridges (made of wood covered with reeds), and the repair of the roads; but as no one is appoint-

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ed to see that these are properly executed, or indeed executed at all, he generally pockets the money, and most of the high-ways remain impassable. During the full power of the house of Timour, they made magnificent causeways from one end of their dominions to the other, and planted trees on the sides to shelter travellers from the sun; a most useful plan, in a country where men are the chief instruments of conveyance. Surely we ought to follow so good an example now that we are in tranquil possession of the same empire. But alas! its sovereigns are too apt to confine their views to a large investment, and an increase of dividend, and have usually opposed every plan for the improvement of the country, which has been brought forward by the different Governors General."

There is some little exaggeration in this as to what the house of Timour did for the country, and we could surely scarcely be said to be in "tranquil possession" of the Mogul empire, before the battle of Assaye and the campaigns of Lord Lake, but still the thinking is all in the right direction, and considerably above the tone of the day.

By the 7th of March, Lord Valentia had arrived at Secrole where apartments had been provided for him by General Deare. Here, on the next day, he was waited upon by the Judge, Mr. Neave, who appears to have suggested that his Lordship should call upon the principal residents. His Lordship, however, who had an exceedingly good opinion of his own position, would not consent to do so. "I found from Mr. Neave," he writes:—

"That according to the custom of India, the stranger should pay the first visit. As his Excellency had arranged otherwise at Calcutta, I conceived myself bound to decline complying with it, but expressed my wish to be introduced to the different gentlemen resident here, and I would certainly return their visits. I agreed to dine with him, where I met a very large party."

There were living at Benares at that time certain princes, grandsons of Shah Allum, whom the English Government had agreed to pension by the Lucknow treaty of 1798, which Sir John Shore had concluded with Saadut Ali. As Shah Allum was still, nominally, the paramount power in Northern India, although in reality he had been wholly stripped of authority by the Mahrattas, these Princes were treated with great respect.

Lord Valentia seems to have taken extraordinary delight in all the etiquettes and formalities connected with calling upon these distinguished stipendiaries. He relates that he at once applied to Mr. Neave for a proper suwarry, and details it, when it arrived, as consisting of "four chobdars and two soutaburdars with ten hurcarrahs."

He describes at full length all the circumstances of his visits to these Princes, and of the Durbar which he held to admit of their

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returning him the same compliment. Want of space forbids our extracting from these accounts, but it is really remarkable how completely he enters into the sort of thing, how clearly he understands the exact position of the Princes, and how graphicly, though in quite plain language, he describes the details of the different scenes. Mr. Davis's house at Benares was naturally at that time, an object of great curiosity, as only four years previously it had been the arena of that dreadful conflict which the affection of a son has preserved to us in all its striking incidents, in the charming little volume entitled "Vizier Ali; or the massacre of Benares." Lord Valentia writes:—

"Mr. Hawkins resides in the house that was occupied by Mr. Davis, during the ephemeral insurrection of Vizier Ali. I examined the stair-case that leads to the top of the house, and which he defended with a spear for upwards of an hour and a half, till the troops came to his relief. It is of singular construction, in the corner of a room, built entirely of wood, on a base of about four feet: the ascent is consequently so winding and rapid, that with difficulty one person can get up at a time. Fortunately, also, the last turn by which you reach the terrace faces the wall. It was impossible, therefore, for the people below to take aim at him whilst he defended the ascent with a spear; they, however, fired several times, and the marks of the balls are visible in the ceiling. A man had at one time hold of his spear, but by a violent exertion he dragged it through his hand, and wounded him severely."

The writer then enters at some length into the circumstances of the outbreak, and appears clearly to show that Mr. Cherry's confidence that no mischief would occur, was little short of infatuation.

Before Lord Valentia left Benares, he had given him a piece of meteoric stone, said to have fallen in the province in the year 1799. He has taken the trouble to give copies of the actual depositions of the peasants, by whom it and similar pieces had been found. It is curious that the fellow pieces of this actual stone had been transmitted to Sir Joseph Banks, and were considered important evidence on a subject to which scientific attention had only recently been called; and in 1802, the analysis of this Benares ærolite published by Howard in the "Philosophical Transactions" was held to have established the credibility of the phenomenon. We cannot stop for a good account of the city, or for the details of a visit to the Rajah, the grand nephew of the celebrated Cheyt Singh, but must hurry on towards Lucknow, merely noticing one remark, entered in the diary at Juanpore. "Mr. Hodge's view of the bridge seems to have been done from memory." This refers to "Hodge's Views," a now quite forgotten set of pictures, by the Hodges who accompanied Captain Cook on his

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second voyage to the South Seas, and who afterwards realized a large fortune in this country. Reaching the frontier, our traveller records :—

"In the night I passed the boundaries of the East India Company's territory and entered that of his Excellency the Nawab Vizier. On awaking in the morning I should have known the change by the face of the country. The heavy hand of oppression had evidently diminished the quantity of land in cultivation. The crops were more scanty, but the mango topes increased in number, and were now more beautiful from the vicinity of the jungle where the Butea shone resplendent."

He remarks at Sultanpore :—

"The cantonment is built to contain an entire brigade; but at this time the greater part are on duty with General Lake, and several of the rest are absent assisting the Aumils in collecting the Nawab's rents from the Zemindars who frequently refuse to pay without compulsion."

We do not increase the emphasis of these passages by italics, but they are surely not without their significance.

Lucknow was just the sort of place that Lord Valentia thoroughly enjoyed. The pomp and parade of an Eastern Court excited his imagination, and he was particularly flattered at being treated by these gingerbread Princes as a chieftain of equal rank. Saadut Ali was more of a nominal potentate than his successors were, of later times. Owing his elevation, wholly, to the English, and supported in his position by the large masses of troops it was then considered politically advisable to concentrate in Oude, although he was paid higher respect and seemed to wield a far more potent sceptre, his independent action was scarcely perhaps so great as that of the ill-starred descendant who laid his turban, so recently, on the knees of Sir James Outram. His delight in English society and his affectation of English habits, and, we must unfortunately add, English vices are well known. Lord Metcalfe, who as quite a young man in the beginning of 1802 had accompanied Lord Wellesley to Lucknow, says of him :

"The Nabob's horses are remarkably fine. His pleasures are all in the English way; he is fond of horses, dogs, hunting, etc. etc. His breakfasts, dinners, houses, are completely English. It struck me very forcibly as worthy of remark, that a Moosulman prince should sit after dinnner merely for the purpose of handing about the bottle, though of course *he* did not drink. He has a French cook and a military band of English instruments."

We may remark about the Nawab's "of course not drinking," that it was a matter of notoriety that he did, but in a stealthy way, —and always at night.

A day or two after his arrival Lord Valentia went to breakfast

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with the Nawab, was embraced as his equal, and complimented with a salute of seventeen guns. "We were led" he writes "to a breakfast table in a room furnished with chairs, and every other article in the European style.

The greatest part of the Nawab's family were present, but he introduced only his second son, who is his General, and Prime Minister. Two courtiers, who are more particularly under the protection of the English, and who have been dignified by them with the titles of Lord Noodle, and Lord Doodle, were also there; but the person I observed with the most curiosity, was Almas Ali Khan, the eunuch so celebrated by Mr. Burke's pathetic account of the distresses which his wives and children suffered from the barbarity of that "Captain General in iniquity," Mr. Hastings. He is a venerable, old-woman-like being, upwards of eighty, full six feet high, and stout in proportion. After all the cruel plunderings which he is stated as having undergone, he is supposed to be worth half a million of money; and no wonder, when it is considered, that for a considerable time he was Aumil, or renter, of nearly half the province of Oude. The Nawab watches for his succession, which by the Eastern custom belongs to him. With all his affluence, Almas is but a slave now nearly in his dotage, though formerly an active and intriguing courtier. Lieut. Colonel Marshall and several of his officers were of the party. The breakfast partook of every country; tea, coffee, ices, jellies, sweetmeats, French pies, and other made dishes, both hot and cold. The Nawab himself laughed, and said that his French cook had provided rather a dinner than a breakfast."

The Nawab returned this visit and came to breakfast with Lord Valentia, who expresses himself agreeably surprised, after his departure, to find only a few silver spoons missing, "for" says he, "the plunder of his Excellency's followers is often to a much greater amount." Besides the Nawab, there were then residing in Lucknow, Prince Suliman Shekoo, son of the King of Delhi, and the Begums of Sujah-ud-Dowlah and Asoph-ud-Dowlah; there were therefore plenty of ceremonial visits in store for our traveller.

The Begum of Seraj-ud-Dowlah was the mother of the reigning Nawab: she was the younger of the two "Princesses of Oude," for whom so much sympathy was expressed in England, when the fashionable crowds in Westminster Hall thrilled at the brilliant periods of Sheridan. Lord Valentia found her "enshrined rather than immured" in a handsome Zenana with melancholy wooden lattice-work on the outside of the windows, being comfortably enough with her virgin daughters, some of whom were upwards of forty years old, and their establishment of slaves, quite unconscious how many beautiful eyes had wept over her dis-

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tresses; and as thirteen years afterwards she left the Company fifty-six lakhs of Rupees, it may reasonably be supposed, not in that state of destitution to which the eloquence of the "English Hyperides" would have led the world to suppose she had been reduced.

Prince Sooliman Shekoo relying upon his royal descent, and supposing probably the English lord to be ignorant of oriental customs, attempted to take a liberty with his visitor. He had, however, entirely mistaken his man, for the journal records as the conclusion of a morning call—"The prince did not think proper to rise from his chair, in consequence of which I gave him no salaam on departure." Lord Valentia was clearly not altogether pleased with the European character of the Nawab's entertainments: they were so unlike the "Arabian Nights," and an imagination which would fain have conjured up all the associations of oriental romance was chilled and checked in painting its gorgeous pictures, when the central figure insisted on appearing in "boots and nankeen breeches with a long riding coat of velvet." His ideal was, however, nearly realized one evening, shortly before leaving Lucknow, by a party given him in a building, which by a trifling incorrectness he calls the "Sungi Dalam." "It is," he writes—

"In my opinion a very elegant building, perfectly in the eastern style, open on all sides, and supported by pillars. It is, as the name designates, built of stone, but the whole is painted of a deep red color, except the domes that cover the towers at the corner. These are gilt all over; the effect is extremely rich. The centre room is large; two narrower on each side make the shape of the whole building a square, with circular towers at the four corners. It is raised one story from the ground, and a large terrace connects it with a smaller but similar building. A most magnificent musnud of gold, covered with brocade and embroidered wreaths of roses, was placed at one end of the large apartment. We dined in the smaller, on one side, whence we had a view of the baron of water, which extends to the hummaum attached to the place, where I used to bathe. The sides of the baron were covered with colored lamps; and a complete trellis work of the same extended on each side of the walk. The overhanging trees were perfectly lightened by the glare, which was much increased by the reflection from the water. It was the splendor of the Caliph Haroun-al-Rashid as described in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," completely realized, and by no means inferior to the idea my fancy had formed of it."

The only thing was the band which would play European tunes, and of course to a certain extent interfered with the beautiful dream.

Lord Valentia stayed four months in Lucknow, during which period he had ample opportunities of seeing all that that city had to show, its elephant fights, etc. etc. with which most

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people are familiar; but we must hurry over the descriptions of these, as well as a most violent attack on the character of General Martin, then not three years deceased, and must follow our traveller to Futtyghur which was as far as Lord Wellesley would permit him to go.

"As the total want of police" he writes "in the Nawab's territories renders an escort necessary, his Excellency kindly sent orders that a company of sepoys and twenty horse should attend me on my journey."

And here, as Lord Valentia is just re-entering the Company's dominions, we may appropriately quote some remarks of his on the subject of Oude in general, which show, we think, clear discernment and are much to the purpose.

"The dissatisfaction the Nawab might have experienced at the cession of a moiety of his territory is absorbed in the discovery, that he has more real revenue, and can add more to his treasure, than he did when he paid the East India Company one hundred and twenty lakhs of Rupees per annum. It is said that he actually accumulates from one to two lakhs per week, and the treasures he received by inheritance cannot be less than two crores. If His Highness is satisfied with the arrangement, most certainly all the other parties must be so.

"The British have obtained an additional revenue, and a secure payment; the ryots have obtained security from the oppressive plunderings of the aumils, and the protection of the British laws, instead of being at the mercy of every robber. So conscious are they of these advantages, that the land which was rated to the Nawab at a crore and thirty-five lakhs, has been let at a crore and eighty lakhs. An intermediate personage, the Zemindar, who, from a tenant, has been promoted by the fanciful generosity of the British into a landowner, may indeed be dissatisfied at being deprived of the power of doing harm: he cannot now rob the traveller, or oppress the ryot under him; nay, he is obliged to pay his rent, or submit to have his mud fortress levelled with the ground. But if these are evils to him, they are blessings to the large mass of the population, which, indeed, has ever been the consequence of the British Government in India, and I sincerely hope will ever continue so."

When Lord Valentia arrived at Futtyghur, the treaty had only been signed a year, by which the Nawab of Furruckabad had agreed that the Company should obtain his territories on consideration of a pension of 9000 Rupees a month. The disorganization of the district had been terrible. "The state of the country was then most wretched: murders were so frequent at Furruckabad, that people dared not venture there after sunset; and the workmen who came out to the cantonments, always retired to their own houses during day-light." When Mr. Grant first arrived there as Magistrate, about a hundred Pathans waited on him to know whe-

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ther he really meant to have a police. On being assured that he was quite in earnest, and did most assuredly mean to have a stringent one, they remarked that that sort of thing did not at all suit them, but they could go elsewhere; which accordingly they did, making off at once and returning to that part of the country no more.

There were seventy persons in Jail for murder, when Lord Valentia was there, but not one case he declares, of that sort, had been committed since the Police had been established. "The idea of security also," he adds "under our Government, operated in raising the value of lands, so that on letting them for those years we have a profit of nearly three lakhs, instead of a loss of one" which had been previously expected.

The plan of one per cent. on the revenue for the repairs of roads is highly approved, and it had just been introduced into this district with great success. It was originated in the first instance by the well-known William Augustus Brook, and wherever it had been substituted for the old *corvée*, had been found to succeed far better.

At this time, General Lake had taken the field, notwithstanding the season was that of the rains, and had already advanced within twenty miles of Futtyghur, whither Lord Valentia goes out to meet him at a place called Gosiah Gunj. "My reception," he says,

"Was perfectly polite and cordial. The General had paid me the compliment of pitching my tent in a line with his, and close to him: my escort was behind. The scene was very pleasing: the camp covered a very large extent of ground, was frequently divided by mango-topes, and in the back-ground, here and there, appeared a few houses. The white tents, covering the plains in every direction, formed a pleasing contrast with the dark trees that backed them; and the colours in the front added greatly to the effect. The elephants were strolling about; the soldiers were retired to their tents; the numerous army followers were collecting forage in every direction."

This picture must have often recurred to the writer's memory, and as each distinguished victory reached his ears, which glorified the future campaign, he cannot but have reflected how thinned the numbers must have been becoming of those he had seen thus quietly encamped at Gosiah Gunj.

From Futtyghur Lord Valentia made for Mukhunpore where the great Fair was going on in honour of the holy Syud Muddar, to which thousands still annually resort in what is called the procession of the Black Flag. Here with his characteristic versatility he enters at once into the spirit of the scene, has the conjurors before his tent to exhibit on the tight and slack ropes, visits the shrine of the saint, and appoints one of the faqueers his vakeel there, and then makes a tour of the fair, where he is much amused

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by a mungoose fighting with some snakes. The next morning on leaving the place he is astonished by the thousands that are crowding in from the neighbourhood, he says :—

"The crowd we met going to the fair astonished me : for the first ten miles it was as great as in London streets ; and afterwards, some party or other was always in sight. The scene amused me much ; Hindoos and Mussulmans equally hastening to the religious festivity. The females with their infants in hackerys, when they could afford the expense : the males on horseback ; the poorer women on foot, with their husbands frequently carrying two children in the bangys slung across their shoulders. The faqueers with their flags, and beastly appearance, added to the crowd and stunned us with their tom-toms. Mounted on our elephants we got on without difficulty, and were greeted with a blessing and chorus as we passed them."

There is something to us very touching in a passing glimpse, like this, of the poor, nameless herds, who appear but little in histories of any kind, and least of all in those of India. Here, for a brief moment, we see them, on a September morning, fifty-four years ago, performing a part of their troublous journey towards the grass ! Fifty-four years ago ! where are they now ? A few, perhaps, still lingering in age and decrepitude, but the mass, of course, departed finally, and to be traced no more on the surface of earth now or ever.

From Mukhunpore our traveller makes for Allahabad whence he embarks to proceed by boat down-country. At Benares he hears with delight of the taking of Allighur, and hears also, which seems so strange to us in these days, that he has been lucky in escaping from Major de Fleury, for that officer at the head of six thousand Mahratta horse had made a sudden sweep into our provinces, plundered Etawah, captured a detachment under Mr. Cunningham at Shekoabad, and driven Colonel Vandileure back on Furruckabad. Thence down the Ganges, past Patna and so by the Bhagerutty to Moorshedabad, where we stop to pay our respects to the Nawab, and to the celebrated Munny Begum. We must make room for a short extract about the latter personage, it is said:—

"She lives in a small garden of about an acre and a half, which, out of respect to Meer Jaffier's memory, she has not quitted since his death, which is now forty years ago. She conversed from behind a scarlet silk purdah, that was stretched across a handsome open room, supported by pillars. The whole had an appearance of opulence, and the boys (her adopted sons) were handsomely dressed. Her voice is loud and coarse, but occasionally tremulous. She owns to sixty-eight years of age. Mrs. Pattle who has seen her, informs me that she is very short and fat, with vulgar, large, harsh features, and altogether one of the ugliest women she ever beheld. In this description, who would trace the celebrated nautch-girl of Mr. Burke ? * * * During the whole of our stay two minahs were talking most incessantly, to the

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great delight of the old lady, who often laughed at what they said and praised their talents. Her hookah filled up the intervals."

These last little details are very graphic and clever, and remind us of similar artistic touches in the diary of Haydon, the painter.

By the 7th of October Lord Valentia had reached Calcutta, and in two months started again for Ceylon and although from thence he visited Madras, and after an intermediate voyage to the Red Sea, travelled for three months on the Bombay side, and in the accounts of both Presidencies the Indian reader will find much to amuse him, still as our object is only to follow the traveller as far as is necessary to obtain a fair view of his qualifications, we shall here take leave of him, extracting only further a few illustrations of Calcutta life in 1803, before we give a summary of what appear to us his merits and what his deficiencies.

Of the salubrity of Calcutta, Lord Valentia writes :—

"The place is certainly less unhealthy than formerly, which advantage is attributed to the filling up of the tanks in the streets, and the clearing more and more of the jungle; but in my opinion it is much more owing to an improved knowledge of the diseases of the country, and of the precautions to be taken against them; and likewise to greater temperance in the use of spirituous liquors and a superior construction of the houses. Consumptions are very frequent among the ladies, which I attribute in great measure to their incessant dancing, even during the hottest weather. After such violent exercise they go into the verandahs, and expose themselves to a cool breeze and damp atmosphere."

He was much pleased with the society of Calcutta; fetes and receptions were numerous and well arranged: he objects to the dinner parties that they are too large, and is sorry to find the Subscription Assembly a failure from the number of parties into which the fashionable world is divided, but the convivial hospitality which prevails generally, meets with his warm approval. Habits appear to have been nearly the same as now, except that tiffin was much earlier, he says :—

"It is usual in Calcutta to rise early, in order to enjoy the cool air of the morning, which is particularly pleasant, before sun-rise. At twelve they take a hot meal, which they call tiffing, and then generally to bed for two or three hours. The dinner hour is commonly between seven and eight, which is certainly too late in this hot climate, as it prevents an evening ride at the proper time, and keeps them up till midnight, or later."

He approves of the *cuisine* and informs us "the wines chiefly drank are Madeira and Claret; the former which is excellent, during the meal; the latter, afterwards. The Claret being medicated for the voyage, too strong, and has little flavour."

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Palanquins were of course more in general use than in our days, but we hear "most gentlemen have carriages adapted to the climate, and horses, of which the breed is much improved of late years." Free and easy costume was it appears, going out of fashion, for we are told, though white jackets had been formerly worn on all occasions, they were thought too much undress for public occasions, and were being laid aside for English cloth.

There were no races in those times at Calcutta itself, Lord Wellesley setting his face very decidedly against them, but the lovers of sport managed to evade vice-regal objections, for we learn "at the end of November 1803, there were three days' races at a small distance from Calcutta. Very large sums were betted, and of course" it is added duly enough "were lost by the inexperienced."

We shall now, we think, have no great difficulty in forming a correct opinion of the value of Lord Valentia's book.

In some respects, it cannot be denied, he possessed qualifications eminently fitting him for a successful traveller. He was a close and correct observer, he had a singular facility of catching the point and appreciating the spirit of what he saw, and considering the short time he was in the country it is astonishing how at home he appears to be, on most of the current Indian subjects of the day. He records, comparatively speaking, but little of what he heard, but he exhibits when he does do so, a talent for distinguishing between what is valuable information and what the reverse. And he has another talent, which is of the greatest service to the traveller; a faculty of discerning the person most likely to give correct information on any particular point. He buys a zodiac mohur at Benares, one of a class erroneously supposed by Tavernier and others to have been coined in one day by the Begum Nur Jehan. Doubtless there were plenty of people ready to read him the inscription on the medal and offer their opinions as to the origin of its distinctive signs, but Lord Valentia keeps it quietly by him, till he meets Major Gore Ouseley, and then rightly judging him to be a person likely to know, records his description of it at full length.

Add to the qualifications we have mentioned that he seems to have possessed lively manners, great curiosity, and a *bonhommie* that relished amusement of every sort, and in a literary point of view, that he wrote plainly indeed, but always easily, and sometimes with considerable graphic power, and we have clearly a traveller considerably above the average of the herd that deluge the reading public of our days with their meagre diaries, and their chronicles of wanderings at once without interest or purpose.

The deficiencies of the traveller are those of the mass, and therefore though in our opinion grievous and damnatory, not such as

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any previous preparation would have been likely to supply. The fault of the book is that it is written by a nobleman with the stereotyped views of social philosophy and politics common to his class in George the Third's reign. What shall we think of a traveller who goes to a country and tells us hardly anything of the people, appears to have made but few inquiries about their ways and habits, never to have entered their villages or dwellings, or felt any curiosity as to how the myriads around him were pulling through the different crises of the "fever called living."

If the people form picturesque groups, he notices them: if they industriously till the ground, he is glad to see the *country* so prosperous. As for the masses being aggregated units, that does not occur to him, or enter in any way into his philosophy. Not that he shirks questions connected with the people; on the subject of Missions for instance, he is very earnest, thinks they should be put down as likely to shock prejudices and do no sort of good: does not, however, object to the circulation of the scriptures, but thinks keeping up the established church on a grander scale would have a good effect on the imaginations of the populace. And the Established Church being in his view one of the great institutions, like the British nobility and so on, he is of course favourable to its full introduction into the dependencies. Indeed he would like the whole Government to be carried on in a more impressive way, as likely to have a melodramatic influence on the subjects; "I wish" he says "India to be ruled from a palace, not from a counting house: with the ideas of a prince, not with those of a retail dealer in muslins and indigo." Here then is the rub: sound opinions on many public measures, intelligent insight into what may be called physical politics, general common-sense and clean-handedness we can obtain from this man but further than this we must not seek. As far as a British nobleman of the period was likely to be a valuable traveller, he was one: but unfortunately what we consider the higher qualifications will be sought for in vain, because they neither exist in the man nor is he conscious of their existence anywhere. We are no enemies of the Aristocracy: we do not think their days are numbered, or wish such to be the case: on the contrary we believe a new and noble career of usefulness to be but just opening before them. But several times, as we have been perusing this book of Travels, we delighted to think that the Aristocratical notions of those days have been exploded, and shall trouble our times no more. That old *ab extra* way of treating the people, that old notion that Government was strong and prosperous, if you did not *hear* of the masses; that cheerful old political philosophy that considered the governing classes the state, and the governed clas-

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ses only just—the country !* Gone, gone—all of this—to the "tomb of the Capulets !"—Poor Lord Valentia and his British nobility ! We note, far more in sadness than with any other feeling, that he outlived his two sons, that the Mount-Norris peerage to which he succeeded in 1816 became extinct on his death in 1844, and that the title of Valentia has passed to quite a distant branch of the family. No mark left of him, but the "unwelcome cypress !"

It is now time we should turn to Bishop Heber: and with his Journal we shall adopt a different method of criticism, both on account of its great length, and also that the public are now far more familiar with its contents than with those of the older work. We shall first state the opinion which a familiarity with his character and writings, and a recent careful perusal of the Journal itself, have enabled us to form of Bishop Heber as a traveller, and we shall then endeavour to justify and corroborate our estimate by illustrative extracts. It may first, however, be desirable to recall to the mind of the reader, in briefest outline, the chief events in Heber's career as well as the circumstances which produced the book under notice.

Reginald Heber was the son of a Cheshire clergyman,—precocious in infancy as is testified by his having translated "Phædrus" when he was seven years old, and distinguished in youth at Oxford by his "Palestine," a prize poem of which it is surely high praise to say that it is still extant:—for a fossil prize-poem is, we believe, unique. After leaving the University, he entered the Church, but not before he had performed a tour in Germany, Russia, and the Crimea, which the readers of his Indian Journal have constant reason to regret, for it supplied him with certainly the strangest stock of geographical analogies that were ever committed to paper. Upon settling as a married man, at his family living of Hodnet, he commingled the duties of a parish minister with those of an industrious man of letters. His contributions to the "Quarterly Review" were very frequent;—both on literary and political topics. Those on the latter were emasculated by the candour and gentleness of his nature; for Toryism, in those days, without violence and irrationality was considered a very rose-water kind of creed, and such portions of his articles on literature as still exist, will be found in the notes to Byron's Works, where the immortality they sought to stifle still lends them a precarious tenure of life. Poems and Hymns, too, are yet extant, published by him in his Hodnet days, all of them

* "Gone—not, we think, for India," Mr. George Campbell may say,—the advocate of a healthy despotism—whatever that may be. But a wiser than he, the present Governor of Bengal, has recorded, in his evidence before the House of Commons, that the best of Indian Legislators have agreed that "self-legislation" is the End to be aimed at in modern Indian measures, come what may.

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evincing considerable powers of versification, exquisite taste and gentle, fervid piety. Nor were "Bampton Lectures" wanting, which may still, perhaps, be found in Theological Museums; and finally appeared an edition of Jeremy Taylor's Works, which for many years was, we believe, esteemed the standard one. In 1822, he was appointed preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and shortly afterwards through the influence of his friend Mr. Wynn, then President of the Board of Control, was offered the Bishopric of Calcutta which, after two refusals, he finally accepted, and started for India in June 1823. In the same month of the next year, he left Calcutta for the North Western Provinces, on a Visitation Tour. This extended from Dacca to Almora, to Delhi, to Agra, to Ajmere, to Bombay, to Ceylon and so home. Early in 1826 a second Tour was commenced in the Madras Presidency, but this was cut short on the 3rd of April, at Trichinopoly, where, after holding a confirmation in the morning, the Bishop retired to a cold bath, in which he was found dead about half-an-hour afterwards. It was known that he had kept journals, the whole time of his residence in India, and it was also known that he had intended either to publish them or a book founded upon their materials; on the occurrence of his death, therefore, his widow thought she was justified in giving them to the public, and their subsequent popularity has shown that she did not over-estimate the interest they were calculated to excite.

The fact, however, that the work was posthumous, that statements might have been modified, and inaccuracies corrected, had the author lived to publish it himself cannot be received as any legitimate deprecation of criticism. We can only judge of books as we find them: they form their influence on public opinion solely by what they are, and in no sort of way by what they might have been: rightly, therefore, should they, in the same manner, be weighed and estimated. In proceeding, however, to examine calmly, and we trust quite fairly, what qualifications Bishop Heber possessed as a traveller, we feel and are glad to express, that he deserves every respect which is compatible with candour.

Perhaps a more humble character never existed: gentle, graceful, holy—it would indeed be difficult to conceive a nature more calculated to command esteem. In the tender atmosphere he breathed around him, zeal lost its coarse, polemical features: dogmatism relaxed into firm but considerate principle, and religion herself became only more attractive and influential from her genial association with social and literary graces. Few men ever died more regretted: few men ever led a life more calculated to rob death of its terrors: he left an unsullied name, and his actions still smell sweet and blossom from the

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dust. And with this tribute to his memory we will proceed to our task.

There is certainly no want of human sympathy in Bishop Heber: the deficiencies we remarked in this respect in Lord Valentia, cannot with any shew of justice be charged against him. The delicate sensitiveness to human joy and human suffering, the warm fellow-feeling he always entertained towards the roughest sketch of man, the interest with which he viewed the rudest and frailest human cockle-boat battling with the driving winds and grey waves of life, knowing that in common with the trimmest and noblest bark, it, too, was formed for eternity and freighted with a death-less soul: these traits of character constantly exhibited, form to our minds the great charm of the Journal. As the subjects, too, which chiefly attract a man's attention are those which he has generally the most facility in describing, we find that all the little sketches of character are admirably done, and though the colors are soft and the hues tender, still there is a vitality in the portraiture which stamps the master hand. And although his natural disposition prompted him to throw a *couleur de rose* over people's conduct and motives, still his eye for human subjects was too correct to allow of his missing the frailties and foibles which constantly presented themselves, and he accordingly reproduces them, with a certain quaint simplicity, which however it may indicate a perception of the darker side of our nature, seemed quite unable to preserve him from becoming the dupe of imposture and design. But correct as his eye was in the perception of traits of character, and ready as was his pen in seizing the tangible points which would give life and reality to the human figures he introduced in his pages, both eye and pen seemed to fail when he came to describe natural scenery, the physical features of a country, or to bring up before the mind's eye the streets and shrines of cities, or the ruins of the magnificence of other days. In the first place he was a loose and inaccurate observer of these matters, and in the second he made the fatal mistake of supposing that he could adequately describe them by putting down the vague and unconnected associations they awoke in his own mind. The consequence is that his Journal is not only disfigured by gross inaccuracies in local description, but rendered in places, absolutely farcical and ridiculous by imagined resemblances between scenes, upon which both nature and art have set the seal of absolute dissimilarity. Almost every river, hill and town in India is declared to remind the author of some other river, hill and town in either Sweden, Cheshire or the Crimea: in many instances no sort of reason being given for the association, so that as far as description goes we are as wise as before, and in others, the points of resemblance

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specified being such as the most moderate knowledge of geography enables the reader to reject as untrustworthy. Another gross defect he has as a describer, and this applies to institutions as well as physical scenes, is, a habit of constantly using technical terms in a strained and unallowable sense, in the attempt to avoid the difficulties of detail. For instance in mentioning the ruins of an old bridge near Dacca he says "it is a very beautiful specimen of the richest Tudor Gothic." Surely such a description as this, far from really assisting the reader, can only serve to indicate in the writer a most superficial knowledge of both Eastern and Western architecture. But two far graver deficiencies remain. Least of any traveller whose work we ever perused does he possess the talent of discerning between sound and worthless information, and between trustworthy informants and the opposite, and this failing added to a very remarkable thirst for information, and a habit of constantly recording what he heard, has introduced into his pages a mass of statements, the value of which is perfectly unequal: some being sound and sensible and worth retaining, others again precisely the contrary, unsound, deficient in sense, and to be retained only as calculated to refresh the judicious reader, at intervals, with an allowable laugh. The other remarkable deficiency is, his incapacity for understanding anything in the Indian social or political system for which he cannot find a counterpart in the English system: there is really hardly a public question, measure or institution which he does not either hopelessly misunderstand, or if he does get a glimpse of its nature it is through the aid of some English matter, to which it bears only a forced and incomplete analogy. We shall now illustrate what we have said of Bishop Heber, by extracts from his Journal. And as it will be pleasanter to dwell on his best points last, we will corroborate our statement of qualifications and deficiencies in the reverse order to that in which we have mentioned them. First then, for his general misapprehension of public matters. Let us hear him on the judicial system as it exists in Calcutta.

"The Mahratta Ditch is the boundary of the liberties of Calcutta, and of English law. All offences committed within this line are tried by the "Sudder Adawlut" or Supreme Court of Justice; those beyond fall, in the first instance, within the cognizance of the local magistracy, and in case of appeal are determined by the "Sudder Dewanee," or Court of the people in Chowringhee, whose proceedings are guided by the Koran and the laws of Menu."

We need not point out, surely, to the reader that there is here a confusion between the Supreme Court and the Nizamut, a confusion between Criminal and Civil Courts, an utter mis-state-

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ment about the limits of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and an utter mis-statement about the nature of the law of the Sudder Dewanee. And this is not noticing the perfectly unmeaning expression of the "Court of the people."

Now we will try the permanent settlement. A great deal has been written about this matter, and much discussion has from time to time been raised as to the merits and demerits of the measure, inclining of later years more exclusively to the side of condemnation. It might, however, in Bishop Heber's time have had the difficulties of a *vexata quæstio*, and erroneous conclusions would have been excusable. But how can we excuse an entire incapability of understanding what the settlement was, what sort of people it was concluded with, or how its being a permanent one made it differ from any other. "The free or copy holders" he writes "have been decidedly sufferers under Lord Cornwallis's settlement, as have also been a very useful description of people, the "Thannadars" or native agents of police, whose "jaghires" or rent-free lands, which were their ancient and legal provision all over India were forgotten and therefore seized by the Zemindars, while the people themselves became dependent on the charity of the Magistrate."

This passage is really a choice *morceau*, and would, uncommented upon, afford appropriate amusement to the initiated reader, but should any one not conversant with Indian matters peruse these pages, we may as well mention that it is a tissue of absurdities. It so happens that every description of Jageerdar was most unjustly benefited in an indirect way by the permanent settlement, in a direct way, of course, having nothing to do with it. For though no settlement could, obviously, be made with Jageerdars, yet the principles enunciated at the time of the permanent settlement, caused them to be considered absolute proprietors free from payment of revenue, though in many cases they had previously only been assignees of the Government demand. More than this, Lord Cornwallis positively exempted them from the necessity of showing that their tenures were valid. With regard to the destitute Thanadars, it will be enough to say that the entire management of the police passed into the hands of Government in 1792, and that the permanent settlement took place in 1793; at the time, therefore, of its promulgation the Thanadars had just begun to receive fixed salaries from the Government, and had they ever received landed stipends, it would of course have been expected that they should relinquish them: but the circumstance is wholly imaginary. Revenue always led the good Bishop into immediate confusion: he mentions in the part of his journal kept in Oude, that one of the most. desirable measures for the benefit of the people, which

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had been attempted was "a regular system of Zemindaree Collectors for the taxes" which is just one of those expressions which indicate that he had been correctly informed, and had made a note in his common-place book, without understanding what he had heard. At Patna, the sight of an absurd old tower which had been built years before for holding rice, to save the people from possible famine, and which Lord Valentia had ridiculed in 1803, leads the Bishop into a dissertation on the advantages of preventing scarcity by such sensible means. These ideas, even at the time he wrote, must have been some thirty or forty years behind the political economy of the day. But it is unnecessary multiplying instances to prove, what must be obvious to every candid reader, that the turn of Heber's mind was not the least in the direction of "affairs" and that, however it may suit the views of unprincipled political writers to claim the sanction of his name for their own crude and ill-considered diatribes, his journal, as an authority on public questions, is absolutely valueless. We will just mention one circumstance, to our mind, conclusively illustrative of how foreign to the natural tendencies of his mind public matters of any kind were. The Bishop landed in Calcutta in October 1823. Shortly after his arrival, great alarm was felt throughout Bengal at the hostile attitude of the Burmese. In January 1824 they marched into Sylhet, and in May of the same year our armament, under Sir Archibald Campbell occupied Rangoon. During the whole of this period, although the Journal chronicles the most trifling personal details, there is not one single allusion to these events. This circumstance, surely, speaks for itself.

But we must proceed to notice his want of judgment in testing the truth of information, and the trustworthiness of his informers.

Returning on one occasion from Tittyghur, the Bishop gives his sircar a seat in the carriage, and as he considers him a shrewd fellow and well-informed, an interesting conversation ensues. They pass one of the common village cars of Juggernath. "That" said the sircar smiling, "is our God's carriage, we keep it on the main road, because it is too heavy for the lanes of the neighbouring village. It is a fine sight to see the people from all the neighbourhood come together to draw it, when the statue is put in on solemn days." I asked what god it belonged to, and was answered "Brahma.'"

Now it is easy to see why the shrewd sircar gave this answer; he thought it rationalistic and advanced to mention a God whom he knew the English associated rather more with the Supreme Being, than any of his other Gods, but surely it is strange the Bishop should believe him, when Juggernath's car

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is a household word in every European language. The shrewd sircar afterwards told him a large house they passed was the residence of the "Nawab of Chitpore." "Of this potentate" Heber adds with charming simplicity "I had not heard before." The title is an equivalent to that of the "Mayor of Garrett" and it is plain our sircar was in his quiet way a humourist.

On another occasion the Bishop fell in with a horde of "Kunjurs" who were encamped, as their wont is, in little dirty tents, with their goats and ponies. Their appearance attracted his notice, and a native Christian present, named Abdullah, who had travelled a good deal, observing his curiosity, proceeded to romance in a very distressing fashion about Gypsies in general. Abdullah declared that these "Kunjurs" were exactly the Gypsies of England, that he had seen the same people in Persia and Russia, and that in Persia they spoke Hindoostanee the same as in India. He further added a theory of his own, that before Peter the Great's time all Russians were much like Gypsies. Taking this information for a sound and satisfactory basis, the Bishop proceeds with the stately march of historical philosophy. "If therefore follows that these tribes, whose existence in Persia seems to be traced down from before the time of Cyrus &c. &c. &c." We are much afraid this same Abdullah had something to do with the celebrated "turtle soup." It is better known in India that Bishop Heber once eat a "Kuchooa" than that he edited Jeremy Taylor. Abdullah was on board the boat at the time, and as it was evidently a favorite pastime of his to impose upon his master's credulity, we fear the circumstantial evidence is strong that he either suggested or at least was consenting to the preparation of the tortoise. As we believe there is no other account extant of the flavor of the "Kuchooa" we must make room for the following extract. "There was not much green fat, but what there was was extremely sweet and good, without the least fishy taste, and the lean very juicy, well flavored meat, not unlike veal."

The habit of putting everything down, without reference to its value, leads as might be expected to very contradictory entries. On the authority of one gentleman it is stated "as there is among India cottagers no seclusion of women, both sexes sit together round their evening lamps in very cheerful conversation, and employ themselves either in weaving, spinning, cookery or in playing at a kind of dominos." On the authority of another informant it is remarked that one of the worst contingencies of Suttee was that as it was not necessary for the wife to burn with the *body* of her husband, any ill conditioned son might murder his mother under pretence that his father was dead, and that as not the slightest notice was taken of a female's death no troublesome

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questions would be asked. Now whether the evening conversations around the social lamp, of families where such very serious domestic events were in the habit of occurring, would be likely to be cheerful, we may reasonably pause to doubt. But if Heber was a careless inquirer, so also it must be admitted he was on occasions a careless describer and a clumsy observer. We have remarked on his use of technical terms in an inaccurate sense, to save the trouble of definition. Thus a tehsildar is called a "tacksman" : a maafeedar a "copyholder," aumils are "fermiers publics," old buildings are all "Gothic" and modern ones all "Grecian," a sowar is a "janissary" and his chupkun a "caftan." Now the worst of these forced synonyms is by no means their slovenliness, though that is bad enough ; in many instances they are positively incorrect, and in the rest they mislead by introducing associations which are entirely out of place. The history of all archæologies is full of warnings against these careless adaptations. It is impossible to say how long Niebuhr's discovery of the true character of "plebs" and "populus" may not have been retarded by the slip-shod nomenclature that rendered them both "the people."

But the strongest peculiarity in Heber's descriptions is the alleged perception of similarity between Indian places and places he had seen in former journeys or had read about in books. These resemblances are introduced so frequently that at last they become quite humourous, and produce a laugh as readily as those iterations in old comedies, "what will Mrs. Grundy say ?" and the like, which prove, in the end, irresistible from simple recurrence. We will give merely a specimen of them. The Hooghly is said to be like the Don and Kedgeree like "Oxai, the residence of the Hetman Platoff." Chowringhee from Kidderpore was thought to resemble Connaught Place from Hyde Park. The Botanical Garden brought up Milton's Paradise more than any place the Bishop could remember. A pagoda near Barrackpore is stated to resemble Chester Castle. A house at Chandernagore called to mind Moreton Corbet in Shropshire. Some old ruins on the bank of one of the branches of the Ganges, Heber thought like the upper part of the city of Coffer, but a gentleman who was with him declared *he* was reminded of the baths of Caracalla. Most rivers are said to be more or less like the Dee, and the towns have a curious virtue in common of calling up Chester, except Dacca, which is said to be exactly like Moscow.

But let us conclude the list with a climax. The Bishop lands at Bogwangola and takes a stroll : he is in a sentimental mood and writes some very pretty verses commencing. "If thou wert by my side, my love!" altogether enjoys himself exceedingly, and feels called upon to record on returning that the whole scene

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was more like a "Fiatookah" in "Tongataboo" than anything he could think of.

We give the page of this: it is p. 113, vol. I. of the edition named at the head of our article: let those who disbelieve that a man of education, not intending to be comic, could write such nonsense, satisfy themselves by a reference. It is hardly necessary to remark that these supposed resemblances are the idlest whims, apparently felt by the author, on occasions, to be merely such,—for at Lucknow, for instance, he writes that the Imambara reminded him of the Earl of Grosvenor's seat in Cheshire, *but perhaps more of the Kremlin*. One might really suppose that Dickens had this idiosyncracy of the Bishop's in mind, when he drew the character of Mr. Nickleby.

Nor can we allow Heber to have been at all a good observer of nature or art. In going carefully over his descriptions of places familiar to ourselves, we do not find them vividly recalled to us. Those artistic little touches of outline and color which give truth and vitality, and produce real resemblance appear to us to be wanting. We will cite a few examples from scenes, which will be likely to be best known to our readers, and have been rendered familiar by repeated descriptions even to fire-side travellers,—we mean those in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Agra. Take the Bishop's picture of the Jumma Musjid at the former city.

"In front it has a large square court surrounded by a cloister open on both sides, and commanding a view of the whole city, which is entered by these gates with a fine flight of steps to each. In the centre is a great marble reservior of water, with some small fountains, supplied by machinery from the canal. The whole court is paved with granite inlaid with marble. On its west side, and rising up another flight of steps is the mosque itself, which is entered by three noble Gothic arches, surmounted by three domes of white marble. It has at each end a very tall minaret. The ornaments are less florid, and the building less picturesque, than the splendid group of the Imambara and its accompaniments at Lucknow; but the situation is far more commanding, and the size, the solidity and rich materials of this building, impressed me more than anything of the sort which I have seen in India."

Now, not to mention minor mistakes, there is to our mind in this description a great deficiency. Nineteen people out of twenty, if the recollection of the Delhi Jumma Musjid were even just fading from their minds, would be able to recal that it was a *red* and *white* one. And yet this striking feature in its appearance, the contrast of the sandstone and the marble, is not noticed at all, and there would be no real verisimilitude in the idea formed in the reader's mind, had he only this description to guide him.

A great number of subsequent travellers have been misled by

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the following passage in reference to the inlaid work in one of the palace rooms at Delhi. "It was entirely lined with white marble, inlaid with flowers and leaves of green serpentine, lapis-lazuli, and blue and red porphyry; the flowers were of the best Italian style of workmanship, and evidently the labor of an artist of that country." From this sentence a verdict hath gone forth that the inlaid work at Agra and Delhi was executed by Italian artists. Bishop Heber has said so, and it is so. Now whether Italians did or did not execute the exquisite work in question is a point to be decided like other points of antiquarian interest—by evidence. But that the *flowers* evidence the Italian origin of the work we entirely deny: the flowers are almost exclusively *imaginary* flowers, and unless similar forms can be found in any pieces of Italian workmanship, which no one has yet shown, the flowers, as far as their evidence is worth anything, testify to the native origin of the work. But the Bishop's inaccurate eye only saw flowers, and as he recollected that Italian artists *did* execute flowers, and here were also flowers,—why that was of course proof irrefragible that the Delhi work was by Italians. Of the Kootub Minar it is remarked that there is a very tolerable description of it in "Hamilton's Gazetteer." There are said to be near it granite pillars, which have no existence in reality, there being no remains whatever in granite near the spot: altogether the account is wholly unsatisfactory. Not a suspicion should we glean from it of those traces of Jain architecture, which serve to complicate the history of the whole place, and are the especial delight of the local archæologists. Nor shall we fare much better at Agra.

The account of the Taj is incorrect and quite deficient in warmth and feeling. "The building itself is raised on an elevated terrace of white and yellow marble, and having at its angles four tall minarets of the same material." This is not the least the case: the terrace of white and yellow marble is *not* the one on which the building itself stands, and the "four tall minarets at its angles" would give the idea that the Taj was a four-cornered building, which any one who has seen a wood-cut of it will remember is not the fact. The tomb again is by no means, as stated, that of Noor Jehan, nor was Noor Jehan, as is also stated with equal confidence and inaccuracy, the wife of Shah Jehan. The lady buried there was named the Begum Moomtaz Mahul, and Noor Jehan, we have always thought, was the mistress of Jehan Geer. The *inscriptions* on the Taj are stated to be executed in "beautiful Mosaic of cornelians, lapis-lazuli and jasper": which is not in a single instance the case.

Lastly, a *coq-à-l'âne* story is told about a bridge to have been built across the Jumna, for which there is no sort of foundation historical, antiquarian, physical or other, and which has been co-

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pied into every traveller's note-book since, generally with the addition that the ruins on the opposite bank are the incomplete remains of Shah Jehan's tomb. We can only forgive all this romance on the score that it produced the pretty saying of a recent American traveller that "what Fate had permitted to Love, it denied to Vanity."

If we proceed to Futtehpore Sikri, alas! We shall find our guide but little more trustworthy. There we meet with the gateway of the Tomb described as "a fine arch surmounted by a lofty tower" but the tower is an "airy nothing" which has only obtained a "local habitation" from the munificence of the Bishop's imagination, and will not be found there by the most exploring stranger. Next the "simple character" of the interior of the mosque is remarked upon. But Bayard Taylor, who was recently from Spain, where he visited it, declares that its extreme elaboration reminded him more of the Alhambra—than anything he had seen in India. And how can we explain the absence of any notice of the screen-windows in the tomb itself, without exception the most lovely works of art, of their kind, now existing?

Shall we confess that we fear the traveller who thought the minarets one of the great blemishes of the Taj, was a little deficient in taste. But we have said more than enough, perhaps, of censure, and we gladly turn to what has a just claim on our admiration, concluding the harsher part of our criticism with noticing that the editing of the book is sadly slovenly, and that to correct all the misprints of even the latest edition would be as Coleridge said of a similar task "a hecatomb to Jupiter Augæus."

And now before making a few extracts that we much admire, we would say generally that the style of the whole book is everything that could be desired: the English is always easy, flowing and interesting:—the English of a scholar and a gentleman, flashing occasionally into epigram, and rising softly, at other times, into fervor and poetry.

Even before reaching Calcutta, and whilst yet on the river the great interest Bishop Heber felt in the doings of humanity led him to visit a village on the bank. "As we approached" he writes

"A number of men and boys came out to meet us, all naked except the cummerbund, with very graceful figures, and distinguished by a mildness of countenance almost approaching to effeminacy. They regarded us with curiosity, and the children crowded round with great familiarity. The objects which surrounded us were of more than common beauty and interest; the village, a collection of mud-walled cottages, thatched, and many of them covered with a creeping plant bearing a beautiful broad leaf, of the gourd species, stood irregularly

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scattered in the midst of a wood of cocoa-palms, fruit and other trees, among which the banyan was very conspicuous and beautiful; we were cautioned against attempting to enter the houses, as such a measure gives much offence. Some of the natives, however, came up and offered to show us the way to the pagoda, "the Temple" they said "of Mahadev." We followed them through the beautiful grove which overshadowed their dwellings, by a winding and narrow path; the way was longer than we expected, and it was growing dusk; we persevered, however, and arrived in front of a small building with three apertures in front, resembling lancet windows of the age of Henry the Second. A flight of steps led up to it, in which the Brahmin of the place was waiting to receive us,—an elderly man, naked like his flock, but distinguished by a narrow band of cotton twist thrown two or three times doubled across his right shoulder and breast, which is a mark of distinction, worn, I understand, by all Brahmins; a fine boy with a similar badge, stood near him, and another man, with the addition of a white turban, came up and said he was a "police-walla." The occurrence of this European word in a scene so purely oriental had a whimsical effect. It was not, however, the only one which we heard, for the Brahmin announced himself to us as the "Padre" of the village, a name which they have originally learnt from the Portuguese, but which is now applied to religious persons of all descriptions all over India, even in the most remote situations, and where no European penetrates once in a century. The village we were now in, I was told, had probably been very seldom visited by Europeans, since few persons stop on the shore of the Ganges between Diamond Harbor and Fulta. Few of the inhabitants spoke Hindoostanee. Mr. Mill tried the Brahmin in Sanscrit, but found him very ignorant; he, indeed, owned it himself, and said in excuse, they were poor people. I greatly regretted I had no means of drawing a scene so beautiful and interesting. I never recollect having more powerfully felt the beauty of similar objects. The green-house like swell and temperature of the atmosphere which surrounded us, the exotic appearance of the plants and of the people, the verdure of the fields, the dark shadows of the trees, and the exuberant and neglected vigor of the soil, teeming with life and food, neglected as it were, out of pure abundance, would have been striking under any circumstances; they were still more so to persons just landed from a three months' voyage; and to me, when associated with the recollection of the objects which have brought me out to India, the amiable manners and countenances of the people, contrasted with the symbols of their foolish and polluted idolatry now first before me, impressed me with a very solemn and earnest wish that I might in some degree, however small, be enabled to conduce to the spiritual advantage of creatures, so goodly, so gentle, and now so misled and blinded. 'Angeli forent si essent Christiani.'" *

The following little anecdote related by the Bishop of himself pleases us exceedingly: it must be premised that the good prelate was mounted on "a hot and obstinate Java poney" which we

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have no doubt gave him a good deal of trouble when the little *gamin* of Benares would insist upon his stopping :—

"Nothing remarkable occurred during my ride in Benares this morning, excepting the conduct of a little boy, a student in the Vidalaya, who ran after me in the street, and, with hands joined, said that I "had not heard him his lesson yesterday, but he could say it very well to-day if I would let him." I accordingly stopped my horse, and sate with great patience while he chanted a long stave of Sanscrit. I repeated at proper pauses, "good," "good," which satisfied him so much that when he had finished, he called out "again," and was beginning a second stave, when I dismissed him with a present, on which he fumbled in his mouth for some red flowers, which he gave me, and ran by my side, still talking on till the crowd separated us. While he was speaking or singing, for I hardly know which to call it, the people round applauded him very much, and from the way in which they seemed to apply the verses to me, I suspect that it was a complimentary address which he had been instructed to deliver the day before, but had missed his opportunity. If so, I am glad he did not lose his labour ; but the few words which, from their occurrence in Hindoostanee, I understood, did not at all help me to his meaning."

If we possessed an Indian Frith, would he not almost select this scene—the mild and benevolent pastor—the impudent little urchin spouting his task—the gaping crowd surrounding them both—as a fitting subject for his genial canvas.

Here is an exquisite passage recorded at Chunar. The writer is speaking of the invalids stationed at that place :—

"Some of the Europeans are very old ; there is one who fought with Clive, and has still no infirmity, but deafness and dim sight. The majority, however, are men still hardly advanced beyond youth, early victims of a devouring climate, assisted, perhaps, by carelessness and intemperance ; and it was a pitiable spectacle to see the white emaciated hands thrust out under a soldier's sleeve to receive the sacrament, and the pale cheeks, and tall languid figures of men, who, if they had remained in Europe, would have been still overflowing with youthful vigour and vivacity, the best ploughmen, the strongest wrestlers, and the merriest dancers of the village."

We must make room for two portraits before we conclude our extracts. The first is of an Indian pilgrim, one whom Wordsworth, had he seen him, would have delighted to depict. The scene was near a small bungalow, one stage from Almorah :—

"During the afternoon and soon after I had finished my early dinner, a very fine cheerful old man, with staff and wallet, walked up and took his place by one of the fires. He announced himself as a pilgrim to Bhadrinath, and said he had previously visited a holy place in Lahore, whose name I could not make out and was last returned from Juggernath and Calcutta, whence he had intended to visit the

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Burman territories, but was prevented by the war. He was a native of Oude, but hoped, he said, before he fixed himself again at home to see Bombay and Poonah. I asked him what made him undertake such long journeys? He said he had had a good and affectionate son, a Havildar in the Company's service, who always sent him money, and had once or twice come to see him. Two years back he died, and left him sixteen gold mohurs, but since that time, he said, he could settle to nothing, and at length he had determined to go to all the most holy spots he had heard of, and travel over the world till his melancholy legacy was exhausted. I told him I would pay the Goomashta for his dinner that day, on which he thanked me and said 'so many great men had shown him the same kindness, that he was not yet in want, and had never been obliged to ask for anything.' He was very curious to know who I was, with so many guards and servants in such a place; and the name of "Lord Padre" was, as usual, a great puzzle to him. He gave a very copious account of his travels, the greater part of which I understood pretty well, and he was much pleased by the interest which I took in his adventures. He remarked that Hindostan was the finest country and the most plentiful he had seen. Next to that he spoke well of Sinde, where he said things were still cheaper, but the water not so good. Lahore, Bengal and Orissa, none of them were favourites, nor did he speak well of Kemaoon. It might for all he knew, he said, be healthy, but what was that to him, who was never ill anywhere, so he could get bread and water? There was something flighty in his manner, but on the whole he was a fine old pilgrim, and one well suited to

"Repay with many a tale the nightly bed."

A nightly bed, indeed, I had not to offer him, but he had as comfortable a berth by the fire as the sepoys could make him, and I heard his loud cheerful voice telling stories after his mess of rice and ghee, till I myself dropped asleep."

The other portrait is of a Ghorka boy who brought the Bishop some fish, when he was in the Hills:—

"The history of the poor lad who brought the fish was not without interest: he was the son of an officer of the Ghorkas, who, during their occupation of the country, had been Jemahdar of Havilbagh, and had been killed fighting against the English. This boy had been since maintained, as he himself said, chiefly by snaring birds, catching fish, and gathering berries, being indebted for his clothes only, which were decent though coarse, to his mother, and the charity of different neighbours who had pity on him as a sort of gentleman in distress. He had his forehead marked with chalk and vermilion to prove his high caste, had a little Ghorka knife, a silver clasp and chain, and a silver bracelet on his arm, with a resolute and independent though grave demeanour, not ill suited to this character. His tools of trade and livelihood were a bow and a fishing-rod, both of the rudest kind. He seemed about sixteen, but was broad set, and short of his age. His ambition was now to be a Sepoy, and he was very earnest with Sir R. Colquhoun to admit him into his corps. He said he should like much to do it, but doubted his height. He, how-

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ever, told him to meet him at Havelbagh on his return, and he would see what could be done for him. Meantime we paid him liberally for his fish, and encouraged him to bring us another basket next day at Dikkalee. He said, at first, he feared the fishermen of that place would beat him, but, after a moment's recollection, added 'let them do it if they dare ; if I have your orders I will tell them so!' He was no uninteresting specimen of a forester born and bred—one who from his tenderest years had depended on his "wood craft" for a dinner, and had been used to hear the stags bray and the tigers growl round the fires of his bivouac."

With these extracts, which, in our judgment, exhibit his best powers and display the most pleasing features of his style we must close our notice of Heber.

It is not difficult, we think, rightly to estimate the value of the Bishop's Journal. As a companion for the fire-side at home or the sofa out here, it will always be found an entertaining narrative, charmingly written, full of human interest and human sympathy, and in every sense of the word eminently readable. The general panoramic view of India, conveyed in its pages, may be considered as tolerably correct, but in details it is grossly erroneous, and any separate portion viewed by itself will be found deficient in verisimilitude and local coloring. To lower the work into a chatty, cheerful, anecdotical diary is really only to place it in the category where its real merits will be most discussed: to attempt to sustain it as a grave authority on social, political or antiquarian topics is to call attention to its most prominent defects, and to subject its author to the severe castigation he would justly have deserved had he intended his journal to be received as a book of such a description. We know that the journal, was written, as we now possess it, chiefly for the eye of the Bishop's own family, and though this fact, as we have already said, cannot be received as an excuse for its inaccuracies, it does acquit the writer wholly of the charge of offering himself as an authority on many subjects with which he was only partially acquainted, and on some of which he was radically ignorant. To the foolish admiration of his readers and critics alone does Bishop Heber owe the elevated rank he is so unfitted to fill: we would desire to brighten his reputation and to increase his chance of becoming a standard writer, by placing him in that more appropriate, albeit lower, sphere, in which he really is calculated to shine. No book ultimately survives on a false reputation, (for time is the true critic), and this journal has, at present, to fear the danger of disappearing altogether when discovered not to be, what it has pretended, or to speak more justly, *been* pretended to be. We wish for it a better fate.

The increased facilities of reaching India, as well as of moving about in India when it is reached, have brought us many

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visitors, but they have not brought us yet any one very capable of describing the visit. We have remarked that India is not rich in travels, and those she has recently added to her catalogue are not much calculated to embellish her scanty store. The earnestness of Von Orlich and the vivacity of Bayard Taylor claim exemption for them from the general censure. The former, we understand, still retains a deep interest in this country and has recently drawn up a paper on the Punjab, embodying an account of all the "latest improvements." Bayard Taylor has a quick and correct eye, and though he has given publicity to some gross mis-statements, where he trusts to himself, and describes from his own impressions, there is great truth and life in his touch; still his book as a whole cannot rank very high, and has about it something of a newspaper tone; indeed, its several chapters appeared, we believe, originally as letters in the *New York Tribune*. There is color and movement, however, in his pictures, it cannot be denied; you rise from the perusal of the scenes described with distinct images in your mind. In this respect, his book reminds us of a little volume published some thirty years ago, called "Sketches of India" and known to be from the pen of Major Moyle Sherer. There too, the accuracy of outline and truth of coloring serves to impress the descriptions on the memory, and though the book is quite unpretending and aims in no way at offering a social or political view of India, yet the perusal of its brief pages leaves the imagery of the places visited fresh and bright in the mind.

But what can we say of such books as old Madame Pfeiffer's or that of Baron Cromberg or that of Captain Egerton? Really it is scarcely possible to conceive less profitable reading. Their value is inappreciably small. They are of no use to the student of history or geography or to the antiquarian, and utterly fail to instruct or interest the politicians: they harrow the feelings of the reader of taste, and fatigue and aggravate the mere seeker of pleasure. And why it is so? Simply because they are devoid of knowledge and truth and beauty: and are mere vamped up farragos of dull detail, inaccurate anecdote, misunderstood information, and lifeless description. We have had no traveller to go fully, laboriously and conscientiously into the subject of the country as Dr. Edward Clarke would have done: we have had no brilliant and dashing pictures of India brought before the public eye, such as those which startled and delighted in the pages of Eöthen; scarcely could we name any Indian tourist who would bear comparison with the gentle and graceful Elliot Warburton. A good traveller is, clearly, one of our "crying wants."

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ART. II.—*English Interference.*

1. *The Times, July* 22, 1856.
2. *The Friend of India, October* 2, 1856.

MANY of our readers have witnessed a field night in the House of Commons. Those whose memory carries them back some years have doubtless the most brilliant reminiscences. It cannot be denied that in the halcyon days which Mr. Disraeli with consistent perverseness, and Mr. Gladstone with new-born eccentricity agree in regretting, when a man's duty to his party was his duty to God, when he who voted against his political leader earned much the same reputation as the man who deserted his Captain in the day of physical battle, when the opposite phalanxes of the House were compact and strong,—in those days, eloquence was more racy, debates were more exciting, divisions more triumphant. Lord Palmerston lately observed that so far from speeches having grown longer, and the function of speaking become more monopolized, the real cause of protracted business was the multitude of short speeches made by members who rose only to save themselves with their constituents. Where a night's debate was formerly exhausted by the sustained eloquence of Pitt, Fox, Sheridan and Burke; or even in later days, before the full effect of the Reform Bill was felt, by the dexterous rhetoric of Peel, the outspoken energy of Lord John Russell—a man whose reputation the *Times* has been powerful to injure but cannot kill—the genuine invective of O'Connell, before which the puny attacks of Mr. Disraeli are but the scourging of whips compared with the scourging of scorpions,—we have now a dreary wilderness of unrestrained utterance to travel over, in which the desert tracts of the Scotch, the Irish, the Metropolitan and the Radical Members are but ill atoned for by the doses of front rank, ministerial, and opposition eloquence.

Still, confessing that Parliamentary eloquence has declined, believing that the causes of its decline are a matter for sober congratulation, or at least wise resignation rather than for the crabbed theory of Mr. Disraeli or the petulant complaint of Mr. Gladstone, it is impossible to deny that a field night in the House of Commons is now, even in the zenith of the Reform Bill era, an interesting and exciting occasion. It is half past 3 o'clock, and already the May-tide of Western London is visibly setting towards Westminster. It is 4 o'clock, and the long line of spectators in Westminster Hall, and the excited throng in the lobby indicate the presence of the advance guard of that out-of-door interest which will not be fully awake till to-morrow morning. It is 5 o'clock; the crowded benches, the Speaker resigning himself, evidently prepared to make a night of it, the close ranks in

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the stranger's and the Speaker's gallery, the busy air of the reporters, indicate that the mover of the great question is up. It is 7 o'clock; the deserted house, the martyred look of the strangers in the gallery; the placid resignation of the Speaker seeking relief in occasional conversation with passing members; the listless air of the reporters, leaning back in their seats, perfectly confident that without note taking they will be able to recollect quite as much of the honourable member's speech as the public will care to read, announce unmistakeably that the debate is to be a regular affair, that there is no danger of a division till after midnight, and that one of the most sacred institutions of the British Parliament is now in full play, the institution of the talking bore. There they talk for three mortal hours—bore after bore, not to deliver his conscience —nor to enlighten his neighbours, but to gratify John Smith and Tom Brown far off in distant Devon or Northumberland, less mindful perhaps of the honourable member than he is pleased to suppose; and the strength of English institutions and character is nobly attested by the fact that all this infliction is tolerated, because after all the bores *have a right* to speak. It is 10 o'clock; the Speaker has left the chair for ten minutes' rest and refreshment, the strangers have risen to stretch their weary limbs; the House is becoming full; the Parliamentary night is beginning. It is midnight; the faint cheers of a reluctant party are the only sounds which that potent wizard can command, whose slightest sally was once sufficient to set both sides of the table in a roar, who was hailed by despairing protectionists in the downfall of 1852, as the chosen deliverer and restorer of the Tory party, but who seems now haunted by the avenging shade of Sir Robert Peel; not altogether perhaps free from the bitterness, though without the noble compensation of Sir Robert Peel's fate. He cannot now command the cheers which rang through the House in 1846 when he could still boast of the remaining privileges of the Tory chiefs, the party which they had not sacrificed, the constituencies which they had not betrayed. Alas in 1856! Mr. Disraeli like the great object of his former attack, has lost his party, but has he like Sir Robert Peel in so doing gained his country?

It is past one; Lord Palmerston is recalling to old politicians the age of Canning, when he already sat on that bench where he looks the youngest and is the most vigorous still: and, not a good man, not an earnest man, but yet justly powerful and popular, because he has with more or less consistency stuck to one principle—maintaining the honor of England, and that in dark days, when honor was in more danger than happily it is now of being bartered for pence, and cowardice and selfishness were popularly preached in the name of Christianity.

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It is two o'clock; members are pouring in from the division lobbies, the four tellers are advancing, bowing to the table, Mr. Speaker is announcing the numbers, cheers are singing through the House, for the game old Viscount is again victorious, and has beaten a distracted opposition by the "unprecedented majority" of 190.

It is ¼ past 2, the Speaker, the clerks and some half dozen members are sleepily transacting some business of Legislation across the table, the senators of England are strolling Home through the silent streets—mostly smoking: the gray dawn is breaking behind the Dome of St. Paul's; the speech of the Premier is already in type, and the vigilant representatives of the out-of-door interest begin to work with three-fold energy—while Imperial Parliament itself goes to sleep.

It is 9 o'clock next morning—the debate is studied throughout the Home counties,—the division is known throughout Britain.

It is four weeks later: the division is telegraphed to Agra—and within a few days the debate is partially read with a flickering interest in India.

A debate in the Legislative Council is not yet an excitement to the world. We have seen a small room respectably but meagrely furnished in the Town Hall: the seats allotted to strangers very scantily tenanted; the members' benches occupied not by enthusiastic representatives but by paid officials. We have heard the most noble Speaker of the House—or Chairman of the Council, or whatever is his proper title—putting the solemn question "that this Bill be now read a second time" and adding the supplementary injunction, "those who are of this opinion say aye—those who are of the contrary opinion say no," and we have contrasted the drawl of the most noble President with the rapid sing-song with which the Right Honorable Charles John Lefevre gets through that part of his business. We have seen the Most Noble telling a division and announcing the previously ascertained result to an indifferent audience, and we have contrasted this with the cheer-echoed announcement of the result of a contest watched by millions. But the reader who has followed us thus far will err greatly in supposing that because the pomp of Westminster is greater than the pomp of Calcutta Town Hall, because the House of Commons has the moss of seven centuries upon it, and the Legislative Council the gloss of yesterday, because the Right Honorable Shaw Lefevre goes through his part in magnificent sing-song to an aristocratic and historical House of Commons, that therefore we intend to laugh at the Legislative Council, by whose cradle Lord Dalhousie, a man nurtured in Parliamentary form, wisely sat with patient formal reiteration. Lord Dalhousie did great

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service to India—but in our judgment none better than in the inauguration of the Legislative Council. A despot himself, he provided for a strong community struggling against rulers, powerful enough to be incumbrances, not strong enough to be despots. Partly consciously and deliberately, partly unconsciously and in the dark he inaugurated a new era, when he taught the Legislative Council the baby drill of a popular assembly.

To a man whose ear was timed to catch political sounds, the very accent of the Marquis of Dalhousie as he put an ordinary question was significant. It is not to be doubted that the man who has been a successful Governor General of India was competent to propose aye or no to a Legislative Council. In differing then from the master of popular assemblies who presides with justly earned honor over St. Stephens we must believe that Lord Dalhousie differed with a purpose. To our judgment his purpose was legitimate and obvious. He would impress even at the risk of drawling and tediousness—the rudimentary forms of public assemblies on the new Legislative Council. The importance of this is known only to the statesman and the observer. The statesman knows that forms have a deep meaning. When he hears the modern popular slang of certain institutions being suited only to peculiar nations, he has his doubts whether this is not a vague phraseology used to conceal particular failure; he believes that the forms of free discussion which have produced or at least accompanied English and Anglo-Saxon development have in themselves a real virtue; and when he finds these forms fail—he has his misgivings—*pace* the French Alliance—not that the forms are bad, but that the parties who pretend to adopt them are unworthy, and prefer the loose phraseology of liberalism to the adoption of those stern rules of self-denial, of courtesy to the weak, of hearing both sides before judgment, which have characterized the Anglo-Saxon and been the glory of the English Parliament. The forms of the House of Commons represent, as we believe, the sum of human wisdom as applied to the guidance of popular assemblies. We do not deny that these forms are capable of amendment; and though our sympathies are with those who jealously contest every inroad on the rigid etiquette of the House of Commons, yet we do not deny that with the progressive development of the Reform Bill, cautious changes of Parliamentary practice may be necessary. Be this as it may, we honor the political wisdom of that statesman who amid the wonder of a misunderstanding House, and the scarcely suppressed sneer of an audience more ready to sneer than to understand, did by deliberate utterance and by a formalism (which no enemy ever imputed to Lord Dalhousie in the hour of action) impress the A. B. C. of political form on the Legislative Council of India.

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We repeat in all sincerity that we have no thought of deriding this august body. No thoughtful man will do so. To strengthen our protestation, let us present another parallel. The House of Commons on a field night—and the Legislative Council at its weekly session cannot be expected to sustain an equal comparison as to their respective power of interest; but let Anglo-Indians deliberately contemplate the House of Commons on its Indian night—and the Legislative Council discussing a matter of imperial interest, and we shall not feel disposed to laugh at our own representatives.

The House of Commons meets on an Indian night. It is August—and the real House is far away. There are thirty members present—and if any one had the courage for a practical satire, the House might be counted out—and the Parliamentary interest in India be demonstrated in next morning's *Times*. But that patient audience does not mean to have a count out. There sits the Noble Viscount, to whom no man will deny the praise of energy, who at least does not leave a colleague in the lurch—nor willingly—(so still the English people believe, else why is Lord Palmerston popular ?) desert an Ally. Behind him sit a few menials whom we may pass over. Below the gang way are those good young men who think they ought to care about India, and to have a loose sort of notion that all is very wrong and they are born to set it right. There are the men who believe in Mr. John Bright. Oh Mr. John Bright ! What harm have you not done on this subject (that is the House of Commons phrase) this subject of India; strong as a lion, honest as an Englishman, eloquent—as is no other man in the House, for you speak with the iron tread and the fixed heart of a John Bull—that is the eloquence to which we Englishmen still love to listen, why did you not acknowledge that on this Indian question or subject if you like you had the ignorance of an ox ? Have we not with our ears heard you, and grieved over the foolish blunders which a wise man should not make; been sorry to hear you representing Eastern Sovereigns as injured innocents, and Queen Mothers who throw off the Purdah as better than they should be : been still more sorry to hear you—a true hearted Yorkshireman who, we honestly believe, would knock down a fractious Eastern Tyrant with greater force and more good will than most of us,—speaking harsh, ungrateful and unjust words of true Englishmen, and even venturing to assail in the bitterness of party spirit the great English name ? And most sorry of all have we been to see you drawing in your wake some of the best stuff of the present bad House of Commons. Great was the chance of 1853, and sadly was it missed—and all through you. Young India may be known to posterity, if it reaches pos-

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terity as "Bright's folly." That poor young member for Newcastle on Tyne, who died on the banks of the Yonne, deserved a better fate for his brief and earnest Parliamentary career than to be dragged at the wheels of Bright's Indian folly. Roebuck is so used to abusing every body and every thing that of course he gained Young India, and would probably scorn the idea of having been led by any body. Lord Goderich seems to have discovered his mistake in time, and taken up with the Civil Service as better game. He sits through an Indian debate, because a man who *will* sit on the front ministerial bench below the gangway could not decently go away, but he judiciously leaves the eloquence of the bench to be represented by Mr. Otway, whom nobody suspects of caring for India and its millions one whit more than Vernon Smith himself, and is content to join his friend and leader the Assyrian Bull in a silent vote condemning *in toto et universo* the founders, rearers and maintainers of the Indian Empire.

One more element is to be found in this thin House. On the third ministerial bench sits—and presently speaks Sir James Weir Hogg. We profess the most entire absence of acquaintance with this gentleman. We have laughed at Sir C. Napier's ridicule of him—we have read every body's abuse of him. We have no sympathy with the Company anciently so called. Curious enquirers may ascertain that our interest (since we are all supposed to act and write from interest) is rather against the Honorable Company's permanence. But we cannot deny that sitting through many dreary Indian debates, we have always found the man Hogg an oasis of knowledge in a very barren. He speaks as a partizan—perhaps so—but he knows what he is speaking of. He does not mistake a Collector for a Riff Pirate or a Tehsildar for a beast of prey.

It is a great fact that any man should speak on Indian affairs in the House of Commons and not set an Indian's teeth on edge. In a word, Sir James Hogg defends the Company: he is abused in the House, he is denied in the next morning's papers, he is ridiculed in the weeklies: the pious correspondent of the *Liverpool Albion* is shocked at his heartless disregard for 150 millions &c.,—and yet Sir James Hogg, foolish man and partizan as perhaps he is, has been a living oracle of truth, compared with the Vernon Smiths who rebuke him amid Pharisaical cheers, and the Press which condemns him in a fever fit of easy virtue.

Be the House composed as it may, the debate is carried out. Mr. Vernon Smith earns his £5000 a year nobly; he waves his gloved hand, he scrapes his polished leather boot, he stimulates earnestness in a style worthy only of the man who, when the Northampton mob pelted him as a dandy thrust on them by an ineffectually reformed constituency,—professed "to like their

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honest humour;" he labors with a zeal sufficient to satisfy the indolent student that dexterous ignorance can really supply the place of knowledge: but still he is believed; the honest young radicals below the gangway think that a great prophet has risen up among them since Mr. Vernon Smith descended as an Avatar in 1855 from the extreme heights to the extreme point of the Treasury benches; they cheer as though the oppressed millions were going to be relieved at last, because my Lord Lansdowne's connexion has waved his white kids, and announced with reference to Indian Governors that "nought is every thing and everything is nought." But the blaze of triumph does not cease with the House of Commons. The *Times* takes the key note from the assiduous and very innocent young radicals aforesaid, and pronounces the statement 'very satisfactory.' With this *Imprimatur*, it is not to be wondered at if the weeklies with the *Examiner* at their head proclaim at once and in distinct term that a millennium, different perhaps from Dr. Cumming's—but still very satisfactory, is immediately to be expected; that the lion of "Anglo Indian" rapacity is to be down with the lamb of Hindu innocence, for that Mr. Vernon Smith has made a speech which is to set every thing to rights.

If any thing in this foolish history could make us wonder, it is that the Press in India is not altogether unhood-winked; that even amongst us able Editors are led captive by the third-rate empty bench eloquence of the Indian Minister. Let us at least not prostrate ourselves before a Divinity who might have been counted out any ten minutes of his speech. Gladly and proudly do we contrast with all this folly an Indian debate in the Legislative Council. We do not praise the constitution of that Council —neither do we blame it. The wits may have their joke out of the Conservative members—bred up in the full blown corruption of the Civil Service and brought together in their old age to effect reforms. The prudent may laud the caution of Government which in introducing so novel a feature in the constitution as a Legislative Council, takes for the parents of the dragon's teeth men of ascertained respectability. We leave both sides to dispute the theory—and assert that as a matter of fact the Legislative Council has acquitted itself creditably. The idolater of Vernon Smith and his 30 hearers, may find much to ridicule in the Legislative Council, in its fare Council Chamber, sitting by day light—alas! Young India is not that fact sufficient to condemn the administration? with no man on the table—already the 150 millions groan: with no eager Press to chronicle the speeches;—is it this fact which causes the eloquence of the Young India School to be at such an alarming discount?—but when we have survived all these shocks let us come to the real question at issue, for strange as it may ap-

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pear—this has really something to do with the result to be ultimately attained.

The question at issue is, let us say, that Hindu custom be made to give place to humanity; that Hindu widows be allowed to remarry, not compelled to drag out their lives with a curtain hung between them and morality, a perpetual living Sati. And is this really the question? Oh Heavens! let us adjourn; let us have a Select Committee; let us abuse somebody somewhere, but let us at any rate in so momentous a matter *do* nothing. Yet this strange, mace-less, ill fashioned Legislative Council did actually plunge into an Act on this subject; and there are some sceptics who venture to believe that God's earth has been relieved of more iniquity by that Act, than by all those stern denunciations of Anglo-Indian barbarity which have resounded from the lips of a Vernon Smith or a Captain Bird, to call forth the applause of Westminster Senators and Southampton Barmaids.

We have dwelt at some length on the external difference between the new institution of India and the old institution of the British Empire, because this difference marks pretty accurately the opposite forces which constitute the political life of India. Is the House of Commons ancient, aristocratic, dignified, involved with the highest and proudest associations of Englishmen? Then the sentiments and actions of that House, whatever their real worth, cannot be despised. Is the Legislative Council raw, unfledged, cumbrous? Then the greatest practical wisdom will not give it equal weight in the balance with its old antagonist. It is important that we should not misapprehend the full extent of the danger which we have to contend with in the awakening interest of England and the House of Commons respecting Indian affairs. We may laugh at the mistakes which raw students will fall into, we may shudder at the possible consequences of young gentlemen trying their prentice hand as statesmen in picking holes or building little fancy ornaments in the great edifice of this Indian Empire; but laughter and shuddering will not change facts; the fact remains that the English people and English Parliament mean to have a good deal to say on Indian affairs in these coming years, and they are stronger than we, and will have their way. For the fact we have partly ourselves to thank. It has long been our standing reproach against the English Public and Parliament that they cared nothing about India. Even at the present day we are given to mix two apparently contradictory charges, to blame the House of Commons for too great indifference, as attested by a gathering of thirty members on an Indian Budget night; and for too great a disposition to meddle, as indicated by several exuberant speeches. The second charge of over-meddling is a new one: the first of utter

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apathy is of very ancient date. And we cannot complain if having taunted Jupiter so long for giving us king Log, we find ourselves at last saddled with king Stork. In our complaint there was something of injustice. Not as to the fact but as to the inference we drew from it. It is quite true that the English people did not care for India; it is not so certain that this was, as we always implied—a matter of reproach. The case of England for India was represented by the existence of Anglo-Indians. But when the effort had been made, when so many Englishmen per annum had been sent out to India, the case of England as to that distant country was over. With a sound practical wisdom the mother country contented herself with appointing trustees, and when appointed trusted them. We, the trustees, would insist however that this was not enough: not only must England take an interest in India, as represented by her Anglo-Indian sons; but honest men who sit at Home at ease, who never saw a camel nor heard of a kamarband must feel a like interest. And this demand was supported by appeals to poetry, to philosophy, to humanity and to sarcasm.

Sarcasm has been particularly relied on. The House which flocks in hundreds to watch a conflict between two party leaders, cannot we are told, muster by tens to hear and discuss a summary of a year's history of an enormous empire. It is perfectly true; but again do we not in our ready reproaches overlook a fact? Do we not struggle against nature in trying to taunt the English people into simulating an interest as to that which they do not understand? Those solemn moralists who delight to reproach Englishmen for not caring for India, for being too selfishly and basely bent on their immediate interests to attend to those more distant and exalted, should go down to Southampton some twentieth of the month, and learn that the measure of England's interest in India is represented there; her self-denial tested by the tears which are shed, and the pangs which are endured as each successive steamer bears away a generation of exiles. For the rest, Englishmen will not care for that which they do not know. They may attain to knowledge; steamers and railways will make Calcutta and Bombay as real as Vienna and Berlin, and then the English public in England will really care for India: they may pretend to know, they may even lead themselves to believe that after a few weeks' study of books they do know, and pretending to know will equally pretend to care; this was the case with a portion of the British Parliament three years ago. They may be in a transition state, really knowing something and therefore really caring something, but with a power for good or evil utterly disproportioned either to care or know-

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ledge; and this is the state of the British Parliament and British public opinion now.

The old absolute indifference was useful, and as we have endeavoured to show, blameless while it lasted. But it is irrevocably gone. We have ourselves chid it away. What we must prepare to meet—is interference.

And it cannot be denied that the first aspect of interference is enough to make us heartily wish ourselves back again in the depths of indifference. We look to England and we see that profound statesman Mr. Vernon Smith professing to govern India, aided by that really promising young man Danby Seymour. A fine elderly gentleman who is paid £5000 a year to have "views" about India, and an able fine-natured young gentleman (we would not say otherwise after reading his Russian Book) but who rushed into Parliament with an Anti-Government of India phrenzy on him, made it worse by going for a few weeks to the benighted Presidency, and was taken into the Board of Control to be cured.

And when the measures of this Government do penetrate to the vulgar ear in the East, they are not calculated to enamour us of interference. A *reduction* not an *adjustment* of salaries, a steady refusal to designate things by their right names; to call Sir John Lawrence a Governor, and the Punjab a Province; a fixed determination to clog every act of Government, as by this Punjab decision; to prohibit the progress of every public work—even though intercourse between Lahore and Peshawar must be almost suspended; to sacrifice the real objects of Government everywhere if only they can lay time serving *Naqshas* on the table of the House of Commons; these are the measures or no measures which we associate with the growing influence of the Board of Control; which seem natural to men who have been long accustomed to a public opinion so strong and a nation so great that Government is but a name for a College of Right Honorable Dignitaries; but shocking to us who are used to look on Government as the most real of things, who know that in this land of Asia, without a strong Government we perish.

Nor is the interference of the great public more satisfactory than that of the little Government. England has been incensed into having ideas about India, and she has by the help of the newspapers conceived these three;—that torture is common in India; that the one idea of every Anglo-Indian Ruler is how he may steal his neighbour's territory; and that the Indian Press is not to be trusted, for that it represents not public opinion but the ruling class interested in abuses. Public opinion, it is further said, is among the natives, and of that we hear nothing. We should think not. Ex nihilo nihil fit. What news for our educa-

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tionists; what a short cut to the goal of all their efforts, that the public opinion they are toiling to create, exists already. The *Times* knows all about it. We shall not be tempted to join issue on each of the three pleas above recorded. The torture fallacy consisted in the use of the word torture. To the English mind, owing to historical association, the term implies the use of cruel arts to compel confession or agreement on the part of and with the deliberate sanction of the supreme lawful authorities. The same term was used in this case to convey a completely different idea, viz. the illegal abuse of power by minor authorities; but it is illustrative of the first inconveniences of an interfering epoch that this gross fallacy was completely successful in the hands of partizans, not so stupid as to be unconscious of, but wicked enough to use it. The second charge cannot be discussed with an English opponent during this generation. While a newly roused intelligence is flushed with the discovery that the natives of Hindostan are not niggers, and that the Eurasian is *not* the coming man of the East; it is idle to argue against the fixed impression that every Governor General is a burglar, and every Anglo-Indian a receiver of stolen goods. The third clause of the indictment is the most serious—the saddest to our ears—because it implies the most hopeless confusion. It is quite true, the Press of India does express the public opinion of the conquerors, not of the conquered, of Europe not of Asia. God help us all if it were otherwise!

Such are the early symptoms of an interfering epoch. What is its possible development? Sir John Pakington has taught us that for one thing it may cripple or even destroy the revenue. If the salt tax was absolutely condemned by a majority of the House of Commons because it was pathetically described as affecting piteously the bowels of the lieges, what is to prevent the land-tax being voted away some morning towards the small hours, by a slender majority with sufficient recollection of the political economy which they *got up* in 1846, to know that the land-tax is "all wrong," and with a magnificent philosophical contempt for the modest demurrer that it is the one tax which works? Again what is to prevent an obsequious Parliament, following as they have often done before, their real leader the *Times* newspaper, resolving that there *is* a public opinion in India independent of Anglo-Indians, and in a fit of maudlin midnight philanthropy, voting the high places of the country into the hands of the natives? Or what is to prevent a sudden accession of serious views? The evangelical party is known to be strong in the India House, strong in Parliament—and strong in the country; what if we received a rescript some day from our masters in England ordering us to proclaim Christianity?

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In a word there is no theory however wild with regard to India, which in the present state of the English mind, wishing to act yet utterly uninformed, may not any day become a fearful fact. Young India has already drunk its soda-water at the table in the lobby with perfect composure after voting away (to do them justice, in utter ignorance of what they were doing) a large proportion of Indian revenues: it is possible, nay it is fearfully probable that those young men may go home some night, smoking their cigars up Parliament street, thinking how they have baffled the Minister, how well their speeches will look in to-morrow's *Times*; little reflecting that they have sowed the seeds of revolution and anarchy in India.

Such is the threatening aspect of an interfering Parliament, and we do not deny that the danger is great. At the same time interference has also its favourable side. We will endeavor to state this, and then to show whether fear or hope should predominate from the present state of the political horizon, how the danger should be avoided, how the advantage should be used.

In the first place it is something gained that the great eye of England should be fixed on us at all. We called on our countrymen to attend to us, perhaps unwisely. They do attend, and we find that they will not see the true points of the picture. But they will learn the perspective at least; and if it is the glory of the Anglo-Indian Empire that it is English, if it is our strength that we are Englishmen, then we should no more fear because we have attracted the contemplation of our countrymen, than wise divines should dread the discoveries of the geologist. This contact with England, or to use our first phrase, this age of interference has brought us to the light: they who look, no less than we who are looked at, are dazzled, and mistakes arise on both sides: objects which in themselves are true and fair appear uncouth; trifles which have no place in the real landscape assume undue proportions. But after all we can bear the light; our taste may be shocked for the present; our sense of justice may be irritated, but it will not ultimately be offended. And when we have expended our just indignation on those who see in the magnificent structure of the Indian Empire nought to advise; our just contempt on those who speak without even a decent degree of knowledge, who like Sir Archibald Alison regard the Affghan war as a struggle between the British Government on the one side and its own sepoys on the other; our just compassion on those harmless souls who think that they may compound a little with Heaven for their own known sins by denouncing the unknown iniquities of the Indian Government: we shall still confess that the very pre-

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judice, the very ignorance of the English community may be useful to us in India.

There were many foolish voices to swell that chorus which ultimately led Mr. Wilberforce into the more crowded lobby on the slave question; but Mr. Wilberforce would never have got his majority without his tools. There were many idle stories told of West Indian iniquity, many unfair slanders of West Indian Planters; but it is doubtful if slaves would not be slaying and masters flogging, or at least *owning* (and to the civilized ear the last word should be almost as revolting as the first) to this day, but for those idle stories and those unjust slanders. There were many false prophets in the ranks of the Anti-Corn league, and many credulous disciples have found to their cost that bread has not been given away, and that the ills of humanity have not been removed, in consequence of the repeal of the Corn Laws; yet it is probable that but for big-mouthed prophecies—and pictures of huge loaves, Sir Robert Peel would never have attributed the death of monopoly to the unadorned eloquence of Richard Cobden.

And so with us. Abuse is unjust—but it may do us good. We are busily engaged every day in the practical part of Government. We have little time for those sublime ideas, for those hyperborean theories, which yet are useful as the religion of political life. It is well to be practical: it is well to go on meeting the present question with a scrupulous regard to its exact bearings, and framing our answers with a rigid regard to the merits of each question: crushing a wicked Government because a verdict of tyranny and abominable wickedness is found against it; conquering a nation because they will not live in genuine peace with civilized, with European, with Christian neighbours; all this is well; and in each particular case we may be right: still it is also well to know that there is a great power which will throw on us the burden of proof for the justification of every action; will quote Sir James Mackintosh against annexation, and Charles Fox against aggressive war, and require us to show in every instance that annexation has not been robbery, and war has not been wickedness. We repeat that this is well. We believe, indeed, that in almost every special case the Anglo-Indian has been right in advancing, in warring, in annexing; but this very fact that he is generally right, would be apt to mislead him into untenable theories, were it not for the healthy opposition of British ignorance, party spirit, and love of self-abuse. An annexation theory is indeed as little defensible as a burglary theory, or a Mormon theory, or "let him keep who can" theory, and we know no Indian arguer of any pretension who has advanced any such principle. An annexation destiny is a phrase which does not demand

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argument: we must be Napoleons before we can expect an answer when we talk of "stars." But an annexation theory might well have arisen out of an imperfect generalization, had not John Bull on the other side the water demanded with hostile prejudice the precise justification of each individual act.

Again—as to torture. It may indeed be a question whether the good of interference has in this case compensated for the evil: whether the indirect benefit has been sufficient to make us forgive the folly uttered, the slander and the misrepresentation heaped upon a Government and Christian gentlemen; still we do not deny that this irrational cry has had its benefit; and that by its means the hands of Nabi Buksh Kotwal are more tied from tyranny, and the hide of Jowahir Singh is more exempt from suffering. Great indeed is English public opinion: great and good is England! Her very blunders have a nobleness in them which penetrate into Mofussil thannas, and exempt many a poor wretch from petty torments who could not point to the direction in which England lies.

Again—an interfering age declares that we must have roads and rivers, and that the people must be educated. The result of the first demand is a scheme of imperial railway communication in *posse* and some 300 miles of railway in *esse*, within five years. The second demand is singularly audacious, coming from that good John Bull who cannot agree how to bring up his own children, owing to difficulties on the subject of baptismal regeneration and such like. With splendid inconsistency he overlooks all this, and demands with philosophical composure that we shall reconcile at once the jarring claims of Hindu, Mussulman and Christian; cut at once the knot of religious difficulties and give at least sound secular instruction. Yet so powerful is John, so emphatic are his most inconsistent demands, that we obey like lambs. The fact that a system of secular education, extending to millions of men the power of reading and writing, blessings as undoubted as those of sight and hearing, is being spread over the face of India, may be attributed to a strong whim of the great awkward ignorant inconsistent interfering monster—English public opinion.

Once more, we hear much now-a-days of social reform. This is a movement which has not originated in India. This is the one phase of improvement which we have never steadily faced. It was said of Lord Dalhousie that social reform was the one question which he professedly left untouched. If this were strictly true indeed, it would be a withering condemnation of that statesman's Government; but the term social reform has merged its etymological in a conventional meaning, and all that is meant is that Lord Dalhousie rather promoted the external progress of the country, roads, railways and telegraphs

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than studied the internal relations of men to each other and the Government. Lord Dalhousie was emphatically the representative man of Anglo-Indianism: what he neglected we all neglect. We do not state this as a matter of self-reproach: on the contrary we believe we have hitherto followed a natural and a true instinct. Our first business was to tame physical nature; this is the first real step in social reform. But the fact remains. We make railways, we do this and that, but we do not know, and we scarcely care how the individual Hindustanee men and women who make up the hundred and fifty millions, who give their blood and bone to raise that revenue, the distribution of which we make the subject of such elaborate science, by whom and for whom the Government of India exists, how these men and women live and how they die. We make no reproach of inhumanity against the Indian Government. We believe that the tendency and wish of every individual Magistrate is and has been to bring down the oppression of the rich and to help the humble and meek. But to care for our neighbour, to take a real interest in our poorer brethren, has been from the days of the apostle James a very hard duty; and harder than ever here in India, where the immense extent of humanity with which each European has to deal, tempts him continually to lose sight of the individuals, and to recognize only "the mass." Least of all can people in England taunt us with indifference. For though it be true that we have received the lesson of social reform from them, yet how short a time it is since they themselves learnt it. If modern Europe has grown up under the influence of the French revolution, so has modern England been permanently modified by the crisis of the Reform Bill. It is but four and twenty years since class was pitted against class in hostility almost deadly: since the very term "social reform" would have been scouted as little less than blasphemy by every Bishop, by the immense majority of clergymen, and by the greater number of men with good coats on their backs. It is much less than twenty years since good men in England lived in constant dread of a positive rupture between rich and poor; awe-struck by the fearful, the unnatural, the impossible chasm of mutual indifference, mutual ignorance, mutual suspicion, which separated the man in fine cloth from the man in fustian: since wise writers implored their hearers for God's sake to leave off talking of the duty of obedience, and themselves to learn something of the duties of sympathy and charity. The earnestness was needed, the fear was justifiable. We believe that the future historian of England will regard the two decades from 1825 to 1845—as the critical period during which the high pressure of aristocracy brought a strain upon England which could only be relieved by concession or revolution.

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Thank God the happier and wiser alternative was chosen. The English aristocracy, and we include in the phrase every man who is certain of his bed and dinner from Monday to Saturday, was wise in time. It was warned, reasoned, frightened and ridiculed into a recollection that there was some such revolutionary maxim as "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The earnest eloquence of Dr. Arnold, the benevolent Parliamentary efforts of Lord Ashley, the ungenial but not unhealthy radicalisms of Douglas Jerrold, and the plastic wit of *Punch*, all these very different laborers were instrumental towards the same end. We do not say,—Heaven forbid we should so provoke an awful hemeoxis,—that social reform is an accomplished fact in England, or that all even of the worst features of class indifference and dislike are obliterated: but at least the evil is discovered, is proclaimed, is acknowledged. Speeches which would have provoked a crown prosecution thirty years ago—must now receive the homage of lip-compliment at least from the Attorney General: men who would then have been hunted out of society as disciples of Tom Paine, Robespierre, or the devil, must now be only tacitly opposed: even a Bishop must pronounce a gracious eulogy on the "amiable intentions" of men whom in those days the whole bench would have combined to excommunicate.

And England has communicated her new experience to this country, and bids us prove our work; calls upon us to remember that Governments are made for men and not men for Governments; challenges us to test our success or failure by the condition physical, intellectual, and spiritual of Sham Singh and Pir Buksh.

Doubtless there is much confusion in the demand, much injustice in the challenge. The circumstances of those two individuals, which we are in no way answerable for, are not sufficiently considered; the progress we have made in conquering those circumstances is not sufficiently credited: still it is a good thing that we should be tried by a test foreign to our habits and education, and *that*, after all, the test of humanity. Plead what we will, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and our Government must ultimately stand or fall by the state of Sham Sing's body and soul. Our most elaborate apparatus, leagues of Railways, continents of Telegraphs, myriads of soldiers, universities of schoolmasters, libraries of able reports—nought will save—nought will justify us—if when all is done the Bengalee is still a coward and the Punjabi a blockhead, Sham Sing no nearer the attainment of Heaven or the enjoyment of earth than when we first took him in hand. This is the crucial test to which social reformers would submit the actions of the Indian Government: this in the slang of the day is the awful examination which Governor Generals

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and Anglo-Indian society are expected to pass. By Sham Sing's grade in the ranks of humanity we are passed or plucked.

Such then are some of the disadvantages and advantages of that interference which is in any case inevitable. That our Government may be seriously hampered by a foolish Parliamentary vote; that we who are working in this country at the extreme pressure of Anglo-Saxon power should be treated with the injustice and insult which accompanies power when combined with ignorance and jealousy; that Indian civilization should be thrown back half a century by unwise attempts to make it a name before it is a thing; this is what we have to fear. That the ambition of Indian Governors should be kept in check, that a strong governing class should be kept free from the taint of selfish despotism by the antagonistic influence of a distant public opinion; that men engrossed in the details of business should be stimulated into a perception or recollection of the poetry and religion of politics, by a remote public which can itself afford without an effort to be both poetical and religious; that those who are daily dealing with thousands should be reminded continually that each one of those thousands is a man; nay we will not scruple to add that in daily commerce with Hindoo and Mussulman, learning perforce the doctrine of toleration, too apt to learn the doctrine of indifference, we should be told—it may be by bigots and fools—but still in a voice loud enough to compel our attention,—that the Englishman's superiority to the Asiatic is but secondary to the superiority of the Christian to the gentile; this is what in the way of compensation we have to hope. The state of the case then is this. In India, notwithstanding the *Times*, there is no public opinion; in England there is a very powerful and very great one. This great power is fixing itself on India with a strength which we cannot resist. The youngest man about town who reads the morning paper over his breakfast table at the club, participates in that strength and is armed with a force which the Governor General of India does not possess. On the other hand there is a power of experience which Englishmen in England will do very unwisely to ignore. The youngest Assistant Magistrate who in a blunder headed way decides a civil suit between Ramditta and Gopal Chand is participator in a force which the President of the Board of Control does not possess. Between these two poles, English imperial public opinion, and Indian practical experience, the fate of British India perpetually oscillates. Between these two extremes, to change the figure, is a great gulf fixed which must be spanned. We cannot go to them—for they will not receive us. Let us not flatter ourselves that any amount of self-assertion however just; any denunciation of ignorance however merited will ever indu

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English people to make India over to us on trust. And the true Friend of India will not wish for any such result. He knows that although the ludicrous errors of persons without local information strike us broadly and seem the worst errors that could be committed, these are after all venial compared with the error of provincialism :— the error which the Eastern and Western world have both stereotyped in the homely proverb, "there is nothing like leather;"—in the becoming so imbued with the glory and greatness of India as to lose sight of the far greater glory and greatness of England and the West. Assuming then as we safely may that the gulf between the English and the Indian view of India will not be filled up, by the former consenting to yield their opinion, in deference to our superior knowledge; earnestly hoping that we shall not act so treacherously as to yield our real independent knowledge to the power of English opinion, it remains that the gulf must be spanned in one way or another, and it is clearly to our interest to have a good bridge.

A bridge of Pardiggles God forbid that we should tolerate. That is to say it would be a fearful thing were the power of England to be conveyed to this country through a medium of professional philanthropists, who frequently exercise the auxiliary trade of hacknied politicians. The keystone to the Pardiggle bridge will be laid in that day, when the *Press* newspaper announces the triumph of the policy which it has consistently advocated; when *Punch* has an Indian article in that semi-maudlin, semi-facetious style, in which it occasionally expatiates, and in which on every occasion it so signally fails; when the *Times* has a "splendid leader" congratulating the millions of the West on the tardy emancipation of their elder brethren the myriads of the East; when Mr. Bright's successors, if he has any, begin to hope for their country: when the army is reduced, and the revenues so saved are paid to Ministers; when Brahmins and Mahomedans sit in high places selling justice, and preferring after their nature the cause of the strong to that of the weak : when the ryot is emancipated in the language of Printing-house square, and betrayed by benevolent crotchets to despotism and intrigue in the stern language of fact; when every platform in London rings with the new era which is dawning on India, and every prudent man in Calcutta or Bombay has sold every Rupee's worth he owns of Government paper, and taken a passage for himself and family to Southampton. Such would be the consummation of Pardiggleism, of which it is impossible to deny we have already seen the beginning, in England, if not here. We believe it will never come to this. But if we may hope to escape a bridge of Pardiggles we have yet little expectation of seeing one of Dalhousie's. If indeed we could hope for a succession of Governors equal to the

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last, then we should wish for nothing better than that public opinion in England should be at once confronted by despotism in India. Lord Dalhousie knew where to yield and where to resist: he initiated a policy which has made absolute dependance on England an impossibility, without in any degree shocking or alarming the jealousy of the English authorities. But it would be an evil day for this country, when any Governor General with a partial perception of the necessity of independence in the Indian Government, should precipitate a conflict with that English Government which is so much too strong for us. If we could indeed recall to upper air the full principle of individual responsibility; if the English people could in the nineteenth century find the energy to say, we know little or nothing of India, we appoint this man Governor General—with immense powers—with splendid dignity—we commit all to him; did such a Governor General come to India—we do not say with his life in his hand, but knowing of a truth that if he failed there was nothing for him to fall back on, that his reputation was for ever wrecked in the sight of the whole world; then we should indeed think an absolutism by far the best form of Government for many years to come in India; we should say let good and bad—wise and foolish—selfish and benevolent—have their talk out in England, so long as action is left to the Government in India.

But this cannot be. The infallibility of the Governor General is gone, for us Europeans, as hopelessly as that of the Pope; nay even the Company is no longer a word of permanence:—it is vain to talk of continuing an absolute rule in India, when debauched princes kicked out of the path of advancing humanity have learnt to assert jaunty indifference to the decree of both Lord Sahib and Company Bahadoor; and express an intention,—which recent events have rendered not utterly ludicrous—of appealing to the House of Commons.

If then we cannot contemplate without horror the thought of making over this great country in which we all feel a personal interest, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of native justice, *Press* newspaper politics, *Punch* philanthropy and Exeter Hall religion; if on the other hand we acknowledge as candid men must, that the age of the Civil Service is past, that it is not in Magistrates and Collectors, not in Governor Generals, not in the East India House, to divert from Indian affairs the free, harsh, ignorant yet not unwholesome criticism of the public mind of England, let us rather believe that this great change is in the course of a wise providence; that it becomes us to think how we shall meet, mould, temper, and improve—rather than how we shall ridicule and abuse it.

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We believe that the problem was solved, or rather its solution anticipated, when members of the Government of each Presidency, charged with all the prejudices of the exclusive service, trained in the habits of a despotic Government were found lisping under the tutelage of Lord Dalhousie—the rudimentary forms of a popular assembly. The Legislative Council combines that reality of local knowledge which is so necessary for Legislation in India, with that appearance of constitutional respectability which is so necessary to avert legislation in Westminster. A Legislative Council sounds so safe, so orthodox, so agreeable to every standard idea of British liberty! And if a tame native or two were brought into the Council, the illusion would be complete. What leaders might we not then write, of the true orthodox Parliamentary stamp, which alone the *Times*-bred reader really comprehends; about the public opinion of the millions of India as represented in its Council! We do not sneer at such an idea; far from it. Centuries hence we firmly believe it will be realized. But as our English contemporaries seem bent on *discounting* history, and enjoying to-day the results which should belong to their children's children, the Legislative Council has the additional advantage of not only containing the germ of a real development for the future, but inducing our imperious masters at home to believe that it is already in the act of accomplishment. That the tendency of a Legislative Council in this country at present is to measures such as should characterize a strong paternal Government, is proved by its one great act, the enfranchisement of Hindu widows. That the most despotic acts are tolerated or praised if carried though by a machine with a constitutional nomenclature, is established by the silence or approbation of the English Press as to this most important measure. An Indian community may struggle against English public opinion in vain. We have our organs in the Press—but too few and feeble to withstand the concerted chorus of our opponents. An Indian Supreme Council may entrench itself in the heights of Civil Service aristocracy, but is little calculated to attract the favor or even the reasonable indulgence of an English public. A Governor General may be a great man, and some such we have had; but it is only as a despot that a Governor General can be great, and a despotism is what the English conscience and prejudice, awake with respect to India while the English mind still sleeps, will no longer endure. But in the Legislative Council we may long retain in this country the reality of power without offending the pride of England. A Governor General ten years hence would probably strive in vain to resist becoming the unwilling Registrar of the decrees of a Vernon Smith. But the House of Commons, would perhaps pause before supporting a minister against the strong-

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ly expressed opinion of the imperial legislature of India. At first it would be in accordance with the prevailing sentimentality to profess a strong deference for native opinion as represented by the tame Baboos, who, as we have already suggested, should with all haste be admitted into the Council. Presently it will be found inconsistent with policy to come to a breach with what will be felt before it is owned to be the real Government of India,—and ultimately perhaps inconsistent even with safety. We do not anticipate an Anglo-Indian civil war; although our rulers at home forget, we continually remember, that India is not a colony. We do not even dread an Anglo-Indian secession: but we do believe that the legislating, ruling and thinking class in this country would be tempted to make such a demonstration as would create consternation in Downing Street, before they consented to betray the interests of the country they have served so well and know so thoroughly to the chances of a majority of the House of Commons, and that the House of Commons of 1856.

But while sincerely hoping that the Legislative Council may prove the rock on which the wave of English interference may break harmlessly, we are equally sincere in hoping that we may not be found too proud or too indolent to neglect the sound lessons which that interference should teach us. India is a great country, but England is a greater. We have much to be proud of in having reared an Indian Empire, but the Indian Empire is but a portion of that of Great Britain. We may well laugh and be angry at some things which we hear about ourselves, but let us depend upon it that all is not to be despised. There is a public opinion in England about India which is noisy, foolish, and offensive; but there is another which says less and thinks more, which does not venture to prejudge facts but relies with confidence not easily shaken on eternal principles. Let us listen to what these men have to say: and if their sympathy for a poverty-stricken population seems to us excessive, because we learn in this country to associate poverty with apparent contentment, yet let us take away the lesson, that perhaps this very contentment is the worst part of the evil. If they clamor for the employment of the natives with an ardor which seems to us almost ludicrous when we reflect what justice is and what the natives are, yet let us remember that this disparity between European and native is what every sensible man will admit as a present, but no good man will acquiesce in as a permanent, fact.

Again for the exercise of this discretion, for discriminating the good from the bad in English views of Indian affairs, we look to the Legislative Council. It is their place to see where the rough vaguely expressed sentiments of England are in accor-

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dance with fundamental facts in India, in spite of some error, some folly, some injustice in the expression. And if in these points they give way : and make haste to show to England that they and we are anxious in every legitimate point dutifully to consult her wishes and profit by her counsels ; they will have a firmer standing ground from which to resist undue encroachment, and the people of India will owe them a double debt, for what they have withstood not less than for what they have allowed. But it will be a sad and fatal error if the efforts of the new Council are wasted on little struggles for independence, in which they may be crushed. In a point of etiquette, it matters not on which side justice is, the House of Commons will ride over the infant senate with contempt, and ninety-nine out of one hundred Englishmen will laugh and say well done. The weakest will go to the wall ; and if without due cause the Legislative Council thwarts the English Parliament, it will find this to its cost. But on great state questions, with knowledge on its side—with the whole Indian service at its back, and the unexpressed interest of the whole Indian nations in its keeping, it need not fear gradually to try its strength against the eloquence of "the Press"—the groans of "the Record" or the make-believe earnestness of the President of the Board of Control. To interpret English opinion aright, to adopt the true, to oppose steadily the false, is the task of the Legislative Council for the next few years. And if this task be performed with wisdom and firmness, that body may earn the praise of having preserved to India the real fruits, of what at present has been justly described as the greatest danger which threatens her—newly-awakened, well meant, ill-judged English interference.

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Art. III.—*L'Inde Contemporaire*, Par F. de Lavoye. Paris, 1855.

If India is ever to be fairly understood in England it must be, immediately or mediately, through knowledge acquired *in* India. And as the *Times* and England, in obedience to the *Times*, seem decided to put out of Court the evidence of Anglo-Indians (so long, at any rate, as serving in India) as interested and untrustworthy, this country has, more than most, an interest in being well travelled. We are content to look humbly to Europe for our piece-goods and enlightenment—*ex occidente lux*—hoping only that our masters will consent to draw some of the raw material from the East. To write a book of travels is said to be the only way left of putting money in one's pocket by amusing oneself, and those who practise it should be forearmed against some envious severity in their critics. But in this country we cannot afford to be fastidious. Mere tourists are not much more common than angels ;* and from us, in our individual plurality, no stranger shewing that amount of interest in the affairs of this country which can induce him to come and study it, has to fear any hypercriticism upon such accounts as it may please him to publish of his observations. Still we have our preferences even among travellers. La Fontaine says that :

"Queconque a beaucoup ver
Pent avoir beaucoup retenu ;"

and so he may. It has also been said that a man will gain knowledge by his travels, in direct proportion to the knowledge he takes to them. Nevertheless, our own fancy is for younger, and fresher inquirers—for persons thirsty to learn, even though they be a little hasty and credulous, rather than for men who come to recruit arguments for opinions already rigid. It is very possible that Mr. Vernon Smith † might gain considerable acquaintance with India by a few years passed in it ; but it is doubtful

* Why should this be so ? Probably from a presentiment among the tourist class that a tour in India would be at once expensive and uncomfortable, whilst without the dignity of danger or the distinction of rarity. Yet a gentleman of some distinction, a systematic traveller, who visited this country a few years since, and who, on his return, had the honour of being quoted (or perhaps mis-quoted) by Lord Ellenborough in the House of Lords, assured us that, of all his many travels, those in India had been by far the most exhilarating and instructive.

† All readers of any Parisian journal are probably aware that the French are a good deal in the habit of making fun of our President of the Board of Control. They pretend that he is obscure, and that he deals in *galimatias*. Even so prudent an authority as the *Annuaire des Deux Mondes* (1855) says :—"It is not easy to draw from this minister's exposition any clear and precise notion of the actual state of the Indo-Britannic empire. All that it is possible to say is that it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion from his financial dialectics."

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if he could ever acquire so just and elevated a conception of the "great Asian mystery" as it is believed, Lord Stanley succeeded in deriving from his short visit. But in some respects foreign travellers—we mean visitors from America, or the continent of Europe,—are the most desirable of all. "The opinion of foreigners," it has been said, "is the judgment of posterity." Of course this must be taken with some allowance. Contemporary foreigndom will be free, naturally, from many of our prejudices, but it will have others of its own, and it does not follow that these will be adopted by posterity. Besides, can we assume that all posterity will rest in one opinion? The present age, at any rate, has shewn no delicacy in hearing appeals from the most consecrated authorities, and little diffidence in reversing decisions hitherto unquestioned. Still, no doubt, the views of attentive and informed foreigners are *less* likely to be coloured by prejudice; for, though not uninterested in our affairs, their interest will generally be of a calmer and only speculative kind. And this is a difference of considerable moment. In morals as in physics, the mere removal of obstructions, the diminution of friction, is one of the mightiest sources of power. The revision of a clumsy, rather than unjust or exacting tax has before now opened the gates to a flood of wealth. If Englishmen had not long ago made up their minds about India they could not be so ignorant of it. Thus a traveller from the continent of Europe would be freer to form an absolute and disengaged comparison, of the manners and measures of the rulers, with the wants of the natives of this country. Indeed it would not be very unreasonably sanguine to expect to meet, in the writings of such foreigners, with suggestions so practical as to be immediately available for local adoption. But besides the direct and instant advantage, which may be hoped from the observation of capable foreigners, their indirect, or rather reflected, action would be still more useful. Travellers are reproductive: a country well observed in one of its aspects is sure soon to be described in all its others. And the English public, notwithstanding its conceit or patriotism, is more accessible to French, than to Indian, criticism. An English publicist will take his views, upon an Indian question, with the utmost docility from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, who would be indignant at being supposed to derive his inspiration from the *Friend of India*. Foreigners come before the tribunal of English opinion as independent, impartial witnesses; or, at any rate, the foreign bias is supposed to be mensurable, and susceptible of easy rectification.

For these and other reasons (which we spare our readers) it seems that quite sufficient interest should attach to the judgment of the continent upon Indian affairs, to justify us in bringing it, at intervals, before our readers.

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With every desire, then, to magnify our occupation, we are forced to confess that our present budget includes no work of commanding interest. Jacquemont, no doubt, still remains the chief of French travellers, at least in the present century, and without any very close rival. Since M. D. Warren's publication, formerly noticed in this work, perhaps the most conspicuous writings upon Indian subjects are from the pens of M. M. de Janciqùy, Théodore Pavie, and Ferdinand de Lavoye. The first named of these, in addition to some papers published from time to time in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, chiefly upon the late changes in the relations of the Indian and Home Governments, and always marked by care and candour,—is the author of a very complete and conscientious study of the character and times of the Great Akbar. It is true that neither the inspiration, which M. de Janciquy has largely drawn from our own Elphinstone, nor his personal experience of this country, which has been considerable, have preserved him from some errors in fact, or from one or two singular offences against the *conteur locale*. Nevertheless all this gentleman's remarks are invariably deserving of respect, as the fruit of genuine labour directed by intelligence and the desire of truth.

M. Théodore Pavie is also qualified, by some length of residence (chiefly, however, in the sister presidencies), and by acquaintance with Sanskrit literature and with more than one spoken dialect, to raise his voice on Indian matters. He has bestowed much attention on the historical vestiges of the development of Brahmanism, especially to its long struggle with the Kshattrya caste. His principal merit, however, as an Indian writer seems to us to be his genuine, unfactitious partiality for the scenery of this country, and the character of its people. Most Englishmen deny themselves that pleasure of frank admiration, which the peculiar beauties of Indian scenery are surely worthy to afford, and they seldom sympathise, easily and naturally, with the Indian people. Immense benevolence, profound pity, not merely "the noble fervour of an hour," but such as sustain through years of benevolent thought, and beneficent action, are to be found amongst us, but springing almost always from a sense of duty not from liking; and performed, in final purpose, for the performer's sake, and often too evidently alloyed by a certain patrician luxury of patronage. We are able to project our sympathy into the lowest ranks of Irish, or continental, life; but it would require consummate literary skill to make us feel the "touch of nature" with reference to a Hindoo hero, or heroine. The novelist who should popularize to English readers, without effacing their characteristics, the various classes of Indian society, would give the former more than an amusement.

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The liking might then pass from literature into life, and might win a confidence from the people of the country which they will persist in denying us whilst claimed only on the ground of moral superiority. If we would only understand their feelings, they would more easily forgive our mistaking their interests. Indeed, we should be less likely to mistake them, since without kindliness it is hardly possible to be even just. Now M. Pavie has the merit of throwing that degree of grace and ideality over the subjects of his Indian sketches, which is necessary to enlist sympathy, whilst he has happily escaped the snare of morbid undistinguishing sentimentality. He is far from going the length of Lessing :—"Only upon the Ganges are there men." His Brahmans are not all passionless philosophers ; never is he happier than in describing the fat repose of some holy sage, under a peepul tree, near a well, fanning his stomach slowly and with partiality, with his air, half paternal, half supercilious, always shrewd, sensual and selfish. He sees and paints vividly too, yet in measure and keeping, the vices and the hardships of his heroes of low caste—their stupidity and cunning, simplicity and ready wit, their politeness and their cruelty—not much extenuating, and certainly setting down naught in malice. In short although M. Pavie may not be of the first rank either as a painter of character, or as an Indianist, he combines the two qualities in a sufficient degree to make his writings fair specimens of a literature we would gladly see arise among ourselves.

We cannot dismiss M. de Lavoye so briefly. His work, *L'Inde Contemporaire*, essays to give a picture of India almost as it is. For such an attempt even five hundred pages are certainly not space too much. The work is accompanied by a rather well executed map, and by some statistical tables.* In short this is by no means one of those hair-trained productions, made up of crotchets and adventures, which he that runs might write, but a laboriously meditated and collated *opus*. The "*principal* authorities" alone consulted by M. de Lavoye in the course of his composition are thirty-four in number, and are not all of an easy or flippant description. Bopp, Burnouf, Gorresio, Langlois; Professor H. Wilson, Mill, "Sir Elphinstone" and Buckingham, are amongst them—not to mention the Ramayana in the original, and the Rig Veda, the Mahabharata, the Bhagavata Purana, Ferishta, Baber, &c. in translation. M. de Lavoye was (so to say) marked out, and called to this undertaking. His previous studies, and the advice of Burnouf, his "illustrious and venerated master," pushed him to it, and when some affairs connected with business

* Unfortunately owing to misprints and some other sources of error the tables in question have "eventuated" hardly more useful or apposite than as many pages of Babbage's Logarithmic Tables would have been.

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removed the pecuniary obstacles, in a way which it would not, perhaps, be right to call providential, he may be said to have had no option. It is always pleasant to be able to picture to one-self the appearance of the author with whom we are to travel any distance. M. de Lavoye must have been, at the time of this journey, which extended from 1850 to 1853 a little less than forty years of age. We judge so because he confesses himself in one place a "young" man, whilst in another he apostrophizes his fowling piece as "the faithful companion of twenty years." His raiment "invariably" included a large straw hat, a *blouse*, and gaiters of a strong linen cloth *(coutie)* something like our ticking. We have but scant data for pronouncing upon his diet; yet our readers may see cause for believing that (like Jacquemont's) it usually consisted of curry and rice; unless, sometimes, when the occasion offered for breaking out upon French hermetically sealed provisions.

M. de Lavoye being the bearer of numerous recommendatory letters, many of the best houses in India were everywhere thrown open to him. He had the advantage of personal intercourse with Lords Falkland and Dalhousie and with many of the chief personages in all the presidencies. Mr. Thomason in particular, always fond of the society of foreigners, made some statements, we learn, with regard to the administration of the North West Provinces which must be confessed to be of a very unexpected character. Lastly amongst M. de Lavoye's qualifications and credentials is the circumstance that he visited and in no hurried manner a very large part of India. From Bombay his route lay through Mhow, Agra and Delhi to Simla and the Hill provinces of Gurhwal and Kumaon—thence by Bareilly and Oude to Calcutta whence he diverged to Assam and Sikkim and finally returned, viâ Ceylon, Madras and Ootacamund to Bombay. If our author, therefore, be not allowed a respectful hearing for his opinions on the country he will be refused something like a right.

There is no occasion to dwell much on the circumstances of M. de Lavoye's voyage from Suez. If we allude to his pre-Indian experiences at all, it is only to regret that the conduct of the Suez Agent of the "*Transit East Company*" should have been such as already to excite, on the threshold of India, unfavourable anticipations of Anglo-Indian character in the mind of the traveller. M. de Lavoye had been specially recommended to this Agent by the French Consul at Alexandria; and yet this person received £100 from M. De Lavoye as the price of his passage! In fact M. de Lavoye gained nothing whatsoever from his "special" recommendation save "some useful hints, and that his cabin proved to be one of the best on board."

One other painful incident shocked our author much: but we

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will not venture to characterize it in other than M. de Lavoye's language :—

"Amongst the plebeian herd which occasionally crowded against the inviolable barriers, separating the space allotted to the second class, from that appropriated to the first, I was not long in remarking a man in shabby clothes and untrimmed hair and beard, but whose intelligent eye, and dignified but calm expression contrasted with his poor apparel. Seeing that I watched him with some curiosity he addressed me in French. He was one of those noble missionaries whose courage, resignation and vast acquirements every one in the East is eager to acknowledge. After a short visit to France he was returning to Thibet where he had already lived long, which he knew far better than any member of any Geographical Society in Europe, and where he 'hoped (said he with a smile) God would grant him to serve mankind either by his life, or by his death.' Well, this admirable priest, who assuredly had not his equal among all the showy passengers of the first class, was penned up in the second. Consequently he was allowed to breathe no air but that in the neighbourhood of the engine.... He slept in a den somewhere in the hold....The table at which he ate was supplied from the remnants from that of the first class, and...."

but we decline to go further into these humiliating details. We are not quite certain, however, in what proportions M. de Lavoye would apportion his blame between the guilty parties—whether he would only have had the first class passengers emulously combine to rescue the intelligent missionary from his degrading position; or whether he would rather require that the "Transit East Company" should concede first class privileges for second class fares to *all* good and learned men. But we must be allowed in our own person to doubt if everything is for the best on board those best of all possible steamers. Even if the rights of property, the principle of primogeniture, the conservation of the House of Lords, of the Lord Mayor and the Constitution in general, be too much at stake to permit the *barriers* of expence and privilege which, on steamers and railways, separate the porcelain from the pottery of mankind, to be lowered by hair's breadth, it may be yet questioned if some modification might not be introduced, which should conciliate a greater consideration for the feelings of poorer travellers, with the dividends of shareholders—if, with regard to the Peninsular and Oriental Company's Steamers, for instance, the fare might not be a little less sumptuous and the fares somewhat less costly—if the champagne which a passenger could, but does not, consume might not be retrenched from his passage-money—if, in short, the principle of the *caste* might not be introduced, at any rate in reference to wines, without injury to any interests save those which are sordid and subterranean enough to be advantageously disregarded.

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After a short stay at Bombay during which he made pilgrimage to the grave of Jacquemont—whose simple epitaph, harmonizing so well with his last, pathetic letter to his brother, seemed doubly affecting to a countryman about to undertake so similar a journey into many of the same regions,—M. de Lavoye proceeded to Poonah from whence his expedition may be properly said to have commenced. This was the manner of his start.

"Mounted on a horse purchased from an officer of the camp at Poonah, my pistols in good order, I opened the march, closely followed by two poor devils on foot, whose joint pay might amount to thirty francs a month, of whom the one called *sais* was in reality the groom, and the other, the *gassyara*, or grass-cutter, was mâitre d'betel to my stud. They carried my guns loaded with ball, or shot, according to occasion, and when I galloped, they ran, for such is the custom. In groups round a rude cart, made of bamboo and drawn by two oxen, on which my baggage made its slow progress, walked the grand master of my wardrobe, a cook who was also to wait at table, a man to clean my plates, whereof I had as many as two, and a *beetcheti* or water-carrier. Besides the driver of my cart, another man of the same caste goaded before him an ox of burthen laden with the smallest tent that ever figured on the roads of India."

M. de Lavoye's equipage for more than its modesty demands a comparison with that of Jacquemont as, twenty years earlier, he took his departure from Barrackpore. He had thus described it: —

"Mounted on a white horse (I am predestined to have white horses) pistols in good order, &c. &c., I shall open the march followed immediately by two poor devils who will cost me twenty-four, or thirty francs a month, one of whom called syce is properly the groom; and the other *gassyara*, or grass-cutter, is laden with my horse's food. Each will carry one of my guns loaded with ball or shot according to circumstances. When I gallop they will run; this is the custom.

"In various groups round a rude car made of bamboos, and drawn by two oxen on which my baggage will slowly advance will walk the grand master of my wardrobe, *sirdar beerah*, a *kedmatgar*, as waiter at table, and (by an ingenious combination) at the same time cook, a mochaltchi, or plate-washer (*nota benè* I have two plates) and a *beetchete*, or water-carrier. Besides the driver of the car another will drive as far as Benares an ox of burthen carrying the smallest tent in India."

Indeed in our author's pages we find many things to remind us of Jacquemont. We do not mean that there is anything in M. de Lavoye's style, or habit of thought, to remind us of that acute and lively writer, but that there is a remarkable sameness in the adventures which befel each, such as the asserted monotony of Indian travel is hardly sufficient to explain. For instance Jacque-

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mont had met with a Civilian at Roganatpore, a little beyond Raneegunge, whose style of marching struck him with considerable astonishment. Strangely enough M. de Lavoye met the same Civilian, (as there seems every excuse for believing) more than twenty years later and on the other side of India—in fact, only two marches from Poonah. Habits, particularly habits of luxury, are not easily broken; and the comparison of the accounts of this gentleman's equipage at two distant periods of his life will shew how curiously inveterate was habit in his case.

Jacquemont.

I found that (the dâk bungalow) at Raganatpore occupied by a Collector on a journey with his wife and young child. He has an elephant, eight cars like mine, two cabriolets, and a particular car for his child, two palanquins, six saddle and carriage horses; sixty or eighty porters to carry him from one bungalow to another independently of at least sixty household servants. He dresses, changes his dress and dresses again, breakfasts, tiffs, dines, and in the evening takes tea exactly as at Calcutta, without abating an atom; glass and China are packed and unpacked from morning till night; glittering plate, clean linen four times a day, &c. &c.

M. de Lavoye.

At my second stage from Poonah I divided one of these establishments, (a dâk bungalow) with the Collector of a district in the Deccan who was conducting his young wife and a little baby to breathe pure air on the hills of Ahmenagara. He travelled with an elephant, eight carts like mine, two cabriolets, a separate vehicle for his child, two palanquins, six saddle or carriage horses, and to transport him from one bungalow to another he had no less than a hundred bearers besides as many servants attached to his establishment. Every day without the smallest derangement of his habits he dressed, dressed again, bathed, and dressed again, breakfasted, &c. &c.

just as in former days. If it should be pretended that we are too hasty in assuming the identity of the two Collectors, we willingly appeal to the reader if it be not still more improbable that two Civilians of habits, and with establishments, coinciding so miraculously, should be met with under the same circumstances, than that a luxurious man should preserve the same *entourage* at an advanced age, and in another presidency. Of course, there are difficulties under either hypothesis; but are they insuperable? Perhaps it must be conceded that the lady, whom Jacquemont met on the Benares road in 1829, was not the "*jeune femine*" who appeared to M. de Lavoye in 1851. But is it impossible then for a Civilian of fifty, "worth £600 a year dead, or alive," to procure a second partner of age which may, without extravagant hyperbola, be accounted "young?" As to the baby, it will be allowed by any thoughtful and candid person that *that* presents no real difficulty.

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And as to the objection—how comes it that the Collector of 1829 was in 1851 only a Collector still?—we do not conceive ourselves bound to pry into those circumstances in the past life of a member of the Civil Service which, justly or unjustly, may have suspended his promotion. But this is only one of a host of instances of this curious identity in the destiny of the two travellers. When at Agra, calling on the Roman Catholic Bishop, Jacquemont found him at dinner :—

"I found him dining at noon with excellent appetite and a very slender dinner—ruddy, active, jovial, fat,—he had the finest face, and most splendid gray beard I ever saw." Accordingly M. de Lavoye remarked in this prelate's successor precisely the same fine manners, and large appetite :—"He was old, an Italian by birth, of about 60 years of age, tall, with a fine face, strongly marked and regular features, a superb beard, and manners gentle and gay, notwithstanding the appearance of power shed over his whole person. He was despatching with a marvellous appetite, and the finest teeth in the world, the remains of a more than modest repast."

As the last instance which we will cite of this fatality—whilst in the Hills M. Jacquemont had visited the Rajah of Nahan, and describes the interview in his own animated manner.

"The moment I perceived him, I alighted from my horse. He at the same time descended from his elephant, and we advanced gravely towards each other on foot. We embraced each other on either shoulder, *like uncles on the stage;* and, after exchanging every other form of Indian politeness usual on such occasions, the Rajah invited me to mount his elephant, and climbing up after me, we took the road to Nahan. Several other elephants followed ours, carrying the vizirs and other great officers of the modest crown of Sirmoor. Some fifty horsemen, armed and dressed in the most picturesque manner, pressed around us. The foot were much more numerous, and bore silver maces, banners, halberds, the royal parasol, &c. I had never till then seen anything so like the groups which an European imagination delights in placing in an Indian landscape."

Might it not almost be supposed from the following account of M. de Lavoye's meeting with the son and successor of Jacquemont's Rajah that the later traveller was unconsciously repeating from his recollections rather of Jacquemont's adventure, than of his own?

"I met the Rajah coming to meet me about a league from his residence. I dismounted at once on seeing him descending from his elephant to approach me. We saluted each other after the oriental fashion, embracing each other on either shoulder; after which I was the first to violate etiquette, by taking the Rajah's hand and shaking it *à l' emopéenne*, whilst he addressed me in some words of politeness. He invited me to mount his elephant, and then followed my example, leaving his slippers on the ground, and giving his sword to one of his

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officers. His brahman, wuzeer and other courtiers followed upon more elephants. The cortège was headed by the infantry, and closed by cavaliers. Everything combined to make the scene picturesque ... I thought I beheld the representation of one of the state receptions, so often described in Sanskrit poetry."

But, closely examined, the two accounts present differences enough to make this idea unnecessary; if what follows did not make it indispensable to acknowledge (unless we are prepared to charge M. de Lavoye with imposture as well as plagiarism) that he really did visit Nahan, and its Rajah, as he relates, and did there make his own independent observations. Thus Jaquemont describes the father as "a handsome young man of 22, elegant in his manners like the Indians of high rank in the plains; open, active and communicative like the inhabitants of the mountains. He pleased me so much that I remained two days in his capital." But M. de Lavoye gives a picture of the Rajah of his day presenting no more than a family likeness:—"He is a young man of 18 or 19 years of age, with features, if not handsome, yet regular, and distinguished. His open, lively and modest manners, together with his mountain frankness, pleased me so much, that I determined to remain some days in his capital." One author remarks severely upon the ungracious manner, in which the English visitors at Simlah receive the interesting young Rajah's efforts at courtesy. One instance which he gives is not, let us hope, quite accurately narrated, but the prevalence of such a fault among us, elsewhere than at Simlah, is undeniable, and the fault itself as little creditable to our prudence as to our good breeding.

"Lady H..... an indefatigable traveller, just returned from Peshawur and Cashmere, having halted a few hours at Nahan, the gallant young Rajah offered her the homage of a magnificent male elephant superbly caparisoned. The great lady accepted the present. Unfortunately, elephants, like prettier things, are prone to caprice. Hardly had Lady H...'s acquisition gone two miles, when it left the road to plunge into the depths of the forest. In vain the mahout drove his goad into its head, the obstinate beast continued its erratic course, which became faster, and more dangerous, every minute. Lady H..... clung to the howdah with all her strength to avoid being thrown out. The mahout seated by her side, and the *postilion* perched on the neck of the animal, spoke not a word, and seemed as frightened as herself. The furious beast darted like a torrent down a ravine, where all three fully expected to perish, but it happily ascended the opposite side with the same agility. Lady H..... traversed in this way a glorious valley, abounding with the most picturesque points of view, but she had at this time no admiration to spare for all the scenery in the world. There was a wood just ahead in which Lady H... already, in apprehension, saw herself torn to pieces by the projecting branches, suspended like Absalom by her hair, or perishing

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in some other agonizing way. The mahout, seeing no other mode of safety, prepared to jump down from the elephant, and leave the great lady to her fate. When she reproached him with the baseness of such a step, he drily replied:—"There is no hope for your ladyship; is it reasonable that I should sacrifice my life as well?" and, so saying, he let himself down. By this time the dreaded jungle was only a few yards distant; yet the pace of the elephant shewed no symptom of slackening. Lady H... took the resolution of following the mahout's example — an attempt full of risk, but which, by dint of courage and adroitness, she contrived to accomplish. In a few hours she arrived at Subathoo where, snugly ensconced in a good bed, she stoutly maintained for three weeks that she was dying of fever, and from whence she drew up, in cold blood, a formal complaint, against the mahout, the elephant and its generous donor, for a plot against her life—a plot, of which the Rajah was to be considered the originator, the mahout an accomplice, and the elephant, veritable incarnation of Satan, the instrument trained and tutored for the purpose with infernal skill. The English official, before whom the complaint was lodged, of course appreciated its real merits, but felt nevertheless constrained to sentence the poor mahout to a year's imprisonment not to mention five and twenty lashes to begin with. The elephant was found some days afterwards in an almost wild state, and Lady H.... sent it back to the donor with an insulting letter. All this has not given the Rajah a very exalted idea of the gentleness of the noble dames of Europe.'

Uneasy rests the head that wears a crown; and slights of the above nature are not the only sorrows which checquer the brilliant lot of this interesting young potentate. On parting with our author, he pressed on him a superb hookah as a farewell present and accompanied it with a speech evincing a tone of thought upon men and institutions unusual, we think, among Hill Rajahs. He called the hookah:—

"A slight token to remind him of the orphan of Sirmoor, vegetating on a worm-eaten throne, amidst the choking dust of crumbling institutions, and the heavy yoke of foreign domination. The part of Rajah is hard to play now-a-days in India. The charge of oppression is so easily incurred, and the English make it such a terrible weapon, and so useful for their ends. It hangs alike over the prince who strives to introduce fertilizing measures, and over him who brutalizes himself and people over the corpse of the past. My father drank deep of the bitter cup of calumny and disgust ere he met his cruel death, and he was not then forty years old....I have a presentiment that I shall die young like him, and" he added with a bitter smile, "if I die without an heir, my domains will fall into the direct rule of the Company."

M. de Lavoye remarked at Simla the dulness and formality which have been in all ages we are told the sad fashion in which the English take their pleasure. "Except," he says, on some

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rare occasion—a copious banquet, or a solemn libation of tea—the Simlah society hold apart in decorous isolation on the peaks, overhanging precipices, upon which their dwellings are dispersed." And yet, so comparative are our judgments we are perhaps accustomed to consider Simlah as emphatically a *gay* place. It is true that whilst there M. de Lavoye refused to depart from his invariable costume which was, as we have seen, a large straw hat, a blouse, and gaiters of ticking; and he attributes to this circumstance that he received from the Simlah residents none of those attentions which a distinguished traveller might not unnaturally expect. But he was fortunately "cuirassed against this little calamity," by the reflection, that "the same would have happened to Humboldt, or to Jacquemont." Besides, as he justly says, he had not come to Central Asia, and climbed the backbone of the world, to maintain the pomps and vanities of Hyde Park, and the Bois de Boulogne. Still we hope he is wrong, in thinking that the result would have been much different, if he *had* worn "patent leather boots and straw coloured gloves."

M. de Lavoye visited Jumuvotie, where the officiating Brahman enchanted him by at once exclaiming, on the mere mention of Jacquemont's name,—"*Aristoutelis, el' Zeman*" (the Aristotle of the age!) shewing forcibly, as M. de Lavoye remarks, the singular reputation which the French sage has left among the learned of India. From Jumuvotie and Gungvotie he passed, through Gurhwal and Kumaon, to Almorah, fascinated by the scenery which he prefers to that of the Alps of Europe, and amused with the clear evidence he obtained of the prevalence of polyandry. From Almorah, he accompanied "Master Sm..., the Commissioner of Rohilcund," on a sporting excursion into the Terai, and was there the hero of an adventure which will convince even the sceptical *Friend of India* that there are still in India sportsmen who hunt tigers and that there are also tigers which hunt sportsmen.

"In the course of conversation the Rajah spoke of a tiger which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood, and asked if we were disposed to storm his jungle. I, for my part, hailed the proposal with all the eagerness of a man who after more than a year passed in India, still felt the shame of never having seen a tiger except in a menagerie. As for M. Sm..., his eyes had sparkled at the Rajah's first suggestion, and he was for starting on the instant.

"We found the Rajah's beaters guarding the jungle, and an immense concourse of amateurs from the neighbouring villages, exhibiting in their countenances the same exhilaration, and excitement, as is seen in England on some great race-day. The Rajah was mounted on a little elephant, bred in the Terai, where these animals do not attain the usual stature of their species. That of the Rajah

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was not much larger than a Cotentin ox, and was furred like a deer. On the other hand the Commissioner's two elephants, upon which he and I were mounted, were of the largest description from the forests of Arracan. The Rajah was seated on a low howdah with two or three loaded muskets beside him. The Collector (Commissioner?) was also furnished with a formidable battery of every calibre, which, from his position, he could make use of over his mahout's head, I was satisfied with a fowling-piece, my faithful comrade during twenty years, and a pair of pistols by Chatellerault.

"We proceeded for a couple of miles across a plain, covered with high grass and brushwood, where we raised at every step quail, and wild fowl of all kinds, besides numerous beautiful antilopes, who fled in every direction at our approach. Amongst them I noticed the splendid animal, little known to naturalists, which the Hindoos call *mohr*. His stature is greater than that of our largest stags. His skin is a deep brown. His horns, spreading but not tyned, which sometimes measure upwards of six feet from point to point, are suggestive of a class of mighty beasts which are elsewhere unknown save in a fossil state. We did not fire at this beautiful and gentle creature, from fear of compromising the more momentous chase in which we were engaged; and for a long time I watched him, bounding over the lofty bushes with prodigious agility.

"We had now marched in silence for some twenty minutes, when suddenly our elephants, raising their trunks, uttered a shrill cry, and set to stamping violently with their fore feet. After a moment of hesitation, however, they resumed their march, slowly, indeed, but firmly, with raised trunks, ears stretched, and their intelligent little eyes fixed on the dense jungle in front of them. "We are not far off now" said the Superintendent (Commissioner) "and, if the tiger gets up before you, fire wherever you see the grass move." He had scarcely spoken when my elephant began to stamp more violently than ever, and my mahout immediately exclaimed:—"There he is! There he is! I see his head." At the same instant there was a sort of growl—something between the noise of a cat, and that of a bull—and then I saw the tall grass bending, and waving, as with the passage of some large animal beneath. I fired where I guessed the animal to be; and the motion of the grass became still more visible; and then I fired a second shot at a yellowish body which passed like a flash through the reeds. A terrible roar shewed that I was not mistaken. The tiger's flight became more precipitate, and we could trace him no longer. Yet when we reached the limits of the jungle, the beaters assured us that he had not escaped. "In that case" said the Rajah, "you must have hit him; for, otherwise, he would have made for the plain, and thence for the forest. We must now beat him up with the elephants; but, if he is at all badly wounded, it will be a serious business." Hearing this, the amateurs, on foot and horseback, who had hitherto followed us, began to beat retreat in every direction; whilst, followed only by a few beaters armed with lances, we made for the point where, it was supposed, the tiger must have ensconced himself. In vain, however, we searched. Twice we passed up and down, through the

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whole length of the jungle, without any other sign of the vicinity of a tiger than the manifest uneasiness of our elephants. This uneasiness gradually extended itself to the mahouts. "Oh, saheb," said my mahout to me, "this tiger is a *man-eater*, you may be sure: that's why he is so crafty."

"Night, meanwhile, was drawing on; and we were about, very reluctantly to cease our attempts, when, just as we reached, for the third time, the further limit of the jungle, the Rajah's little elephant suddenly bolted, in spite of all the mahout's efforts, and to the Rajah's mortification, and placed itself just in front of M. Sm....

"As I was speculating on the motives of this proceeding of the Rajah's elephant, I felt myself gently pulled from behind. It was the man who held my umbrella: his dark features were livid with terror. Pointing with outstretched arm, and haggard eyes to the furrow of twigs, and grass, which was reclosing in our wake, he gasped out:—"There saheb, there! the man-eater!" and there, in fact, in the very track which the Rajah's elephant had just vacated, gliding like a serpent, cautiously and noiselessly was a huge black and yellow thing, with smoking jaws, tongue protruded, and eyes fixed with all the expression of fierce appetite upon the young Hindu prince, whom he seemed to have selected as victim, whom he had now dogged for two hours with an infernal pertinacity, and who, utterly unsuspicious of the danger impending over him, had just returned, from politeness towards his European guests, to place himself actually within the spring of the terrible man-eater!

"I saw the tiger gather himself up, like a spring about to go off; and I had barely the time to take aim and press the trigger. The ball struck the monster in mid-leap; and he fell, his shoulder shattered, within two yards of my elephant, who, rushing upon him like an avalanche first crushed his loins with a furious kick, then transfixed him with his tusks, and finally hurled him to a distance with the force of a catapult, and left him to die full ten yards off."

After this adventure M. de Lavoye proceeded to Bareilly which he rightly pronounces to possess little to interest the artist or the antiquary. We were not even aware that the place is remarkable for its "manufacture of coarse pottery which employs the bulk of its 60,000 inhabitants and is carried thence all over India." Indeed, we still rather wonder how it pays the expence of such distant carriage. From Bareilly, he diverged to the ruins of Kanouj, which he places at only 35 miles from Bareilly, and where he crossed the Ganges, already about a mile broad, in his palanquin placed upon a dozen of the said Bareilly jars. Before leaving this part of the country we cannot resist the temptation to extract the account of a criminal attempt which occurred there, and which might deserve place among the "*causes celebres*" of India.

"A rich merchant of Bareilly, named Ibrahim, had a young and pretty wife Chumbelli of whom he was very jealous. He had no

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child; and all his property would at his death pass to a distant relation, one Khan Beg, a mauvais sujet, reduced by idleness and debauchery, to great distress. This scoundrel, wishing to make certain of a fortune, which at any moment might escape him, succeeded in gaining, by lavish promises, a confidential servant of Ibrahim to his interests. He employed this vulgar Iago to excite, by every possible means, the jealousy, always sufficiently awake, of the suspicious husband. Ibrahim began by dismissing all his wife's servants, leaving her only a single, half-idiot, slave-girl. Although he had hitherto treated Chumbelli personally with gentleness, it happened that one day, maddened by the rêports of his treacherous servant, he forgot himself so far as to strike her. Unused to such treatment, the poor woman uttered loud cries. The next day she was nowhere to be found, and, as the report spread abroad that she had been murdered, the police soon made their appearance at Ibrahim's premises to institute an investigation. Emmani, the treacherous servant, deposed that he had been present at the quarrel, but that his master having immediately after it employed him upon a commission which carried him to a distance, he could not tell what further had taken place.

"The soil of Ibrahim's garden shewing in one place symptoms of having been lately disturbed, they dug there, and exhumed the body of a woman. The corpse, however, was *headless*: but on one of the arms was a bracelet which Emmani recognized as belonging to his mistress, from the circumstance that he had a few days before taken it to be mended by a jeweller whom he named. This evidence was confirmed by the jeweller in question.

"Ibrahim was thrown into prison, notwithstanding his protestations of innocence. He declared that, almost immediately after his quarrel with his wife, he felt oppressed by an irresistible stupor, under the influence of which he fell asleep, and did not awake until late on the following day. The slave girl for her part stated that she had been so terrified when her master was beating her mistress that she ran and hid herself in her room which she had afterwards been unable to leave inasmuch as some one had in the meanwhile fastened her door on the outside. She, however, seemed convinced that the corpse exhumed was really that of the unfortunate Chumbelli. Still the head was wanting to make this point certain; but all search after it was vain. Nevertheless, as on the one hand the jealousy of Ibrahim was notorious, and the cries of his wife had been heard over the whole neighbourhood; and on the other, as he had concealed her too carefully from all eyes for even his most intimate friends to be able to pronounce an opinion against the presumed identification of the corpse, he was condemned to death, and the day of his execution fixed.

"Meanwhile, as Khan Beg's hopes grew brighter, his arrogance increased, and he already gave himself the airs of a man of wealth. People remarked, too, with some disgust that Emmani seemed to have totally deserted the master, whose bread and salt he had so long eaten, and to have attached himself to his presumptive heir.

"No suspicion however yet attached to either of these men until the day before that fixed for Ibrahim's execution, the English Magis-

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trate of the district received intimation that Chumbelli was still alive and sequestrated in a tomb, about 20 miles from the spot of her supposed assassination, by a band of fuqueers. To get on horseback followed by a sufficient number of sowars, to gallop to the spot indicated, and surround the tomb, arresting the fuqueers and restoring to liberty the captive Chumbelli, was for the Englishman only the work of a few hours. The repucitée placed at once in a *doolie* was brought back to the city with the utmost speed. It was nevertheless dawn before she arrived and the crowd assembled around the scaffold destined for her husband was already impatient for the promised spectacle, when, to the general astonishment and perhaps disgust, a chuprassi of the Magistrate arrived to announce the unexpected turn of affairs.

"Emmani and Khan Beg were in their turn arrested; and the former confessed at once every particular of their atrocious scheme. His passion for gambling had put it in Khan Beg's power to tempt him, and they had agreed to destroy Ibrahim. They had procured the body of a young woman, but lately dead, whose head they cut off, so that it might not be recognized. A powerful narcotic had been administered to Ibrahim, and when Chumbelli herself had fallen asleep by dint of crying, they had dragged her from her bed, rolled her in a woollen razai, and delivered her to the fuqueers of the tomb who had been previously bought over to take her into custody. The plot had been well combined; but the avarice of Khan Beg baffled the whole. He had subtracted a few rupees from the pay of the men engaged in Chumbelli's abduction, and it was one of them who caused the saving information to be given to the Magistrate.

"Khan Beg and Emmani were condemned to hard labour on the roads for life, and it was from their own lips that my informant had received the tale. He could not, however, tell me whether this lesson had cured Ibrahim of his jealousy."

Desirous as we are of presenting M. de Lavoye's observations in his own language we find it necessary to limit our extracts, and must renounce the amusement of accompanying him on his further journey. We will therefore only mention, before giving briefly the results, and some of his observations, upon the relations between the rulers and the people of the country, his account, new to us, of the discovery of the process of *ice-making*. This is due, we learn, to Mr. R—z, when, a few years ago, Judge of Benares. This gentleman "had the happy idea of eking out his insufficient salary by the manufacture of ice—an invention as original as it was, in such a climate, agreeable and useful. Indeed it had the triple merit of filling its inventor's purse, of affording an inappreciable luxury to the rich people of Benares, and of giving a means of subsistence to a multitude of poor wretches, who would otherwise be without any."

M. de Lavoye has a remark that the English are as hard to please with praise as with blame. Some of us may, perhaps, be fondly inclined to plead, that praise, to be truly satisfactory,

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should be somewhat pertinent—a quality not always found even in the most gracious admiration of foreigners. Our author, at any rate, uses much reserve in pronouncing upon our manners. It is rather from a pervading accent of discomfort and uncongeniality,—than from express strictures, that we perceive how profoundly antipathetic to him are our Anglo-Indian ways. Of course, like all travellers from the continent, he bears abundant witness to our generous hospitality, however much this may be prompted by a patriotic vanity. But, even here, his disposition to feel real attachment to some of his Indian hosts perplexed and baffled him, hardly less than the want of sympathy, which usually characterized his relations with our countrymen. Evidently, if he could only have kissed a few of his undemonstrative Amphitryons upon the two cheeks, his pages on English manners would have been dictated in a less depressed tone. In short the general effect which society in this country appears to have produced on him was that of a formality, a want of naturalness and individuality, and a slavish if unsuccessful pursuit after fashion, which can hardly be so well expressed as by the word vulgarity. Indeed—and this, too, rather reminds us of Jacquemont with Lord and Lady W. Bentick—he betrays some complacency in the idea that a kind of freemasonry of contempt for the monotonous inter-imitation prevailing among the mere mob of Anglo-Indian aristocracy, united him to some of the very highest personages of the land. We rather regret this judgment: because, if perfect candour will not permit us to deny it all truth, we had nevertheless flattered ourselves that—allowance made for certain uniformities of style in living &c., absolutely imposed by the necessities of the climate upon rich and poor alike—there was more manliness and independence and less of this (what shall we say?) *snobbishness*, amongst the Anglo-Indian, than the English, gentry. It is true that the comparative acquittal would still leave room for condemnation more than enough.

It is but fair to state that M. de Lavoye could breathe more freely in a higher atmosphere, and that he found that congeniality of spirit and manners, the want of which elsewhere so much depressed him, in the society of some few of the very magnates of the land. Amongst these the late Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces was the one with whom he enjoyed the most familiar intercourse. His introduction to that respected personage took place after a remarkable, not to say melodramatic, wise. M. de Lavoye was viewing the interior of the Fort of Agra. He had heard how the British officers, who had been formerly quartered in the ancient palace of Akbar, finding the open chambers extremely cold in winter, had walled up the arcades, and buried the exquisite columns, of black marble and lazerlite, under

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coarse masonry. "At the spectacle of this profanation," says our author, "I could not restrain an exclamation and a gesture, which an individual, whom I had not hitherto perceived, who was taking views by the daguerreotype process, coldly interpreted into these words:—"When the barbarians of the 5th century installed themselves in the temples and palaces of Greece and Rome, they did neither better nor worse." Having gone that very evening to pay my respects to the Lieutenant Governor of Agra, what was my surprise to recognize in this exalted personage my friend of the daguerreotype, and the biting sentence of the morning! The strange manner, in which we had comprehended each other, did me more good with him than all the letters of recommendation with which I was abundantly furnished."

The result of this happy introduction was a series of most curious communications regarding public affairs on the part of Mr. Thomason, such as, we are satisfied, no one of his most trusted and intimate friends ever heard from the lips of that cautious statesman. We have barely room, however, for the following *apercu* of the Indian judicial and police system; for which M. de Lavoye gratefully acknowledges himself solely indebted to the condescension of the late Lieutenant Governor.

"First, then, in order comes a native tribunal of which the cotwal, or mayor, is president: it is a sort of jury of arbitration, taking cognizance only of light cases. Above this, in the hierarchy of justice, come three denominations of native magistrates, who, according as their jurisdiction extends to the city, *illaga*, or *zillah*, bear the titles of Moonsiff, Ameen, or Sudder Ameen. They receive from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 per mensem, and decide civil suits to the amount of Rs. 1000. They fulfil in short pretty much the same functions as our *juges de paix*. Our *tribunal de première instance* is represented by the English Judge of the zillah; and our *cour d' appel* by the Commissioner, whose jurisdiction extends over half a dozen zillahs. Appeal lies to him from all judgments, whether civil, or criminal; he examines the documents, approves, or rejects, the sentence, and has even the power to substitute another of his own. But in all cases where this sentence involves death, transportation beyond sea, or pecuniary interests of a sufficiently great amount, appeal against it may be made to the high Court (or *Sudder*) which decides finally like our *cour de cassation*. Such is the organization of justice not only in the North West Provinces but in all the presidencies of India—an organization so defective that no one defends it even among those who live by it...." You perhaps imagine," said Sir Thomason to me in our last interview, "that I have revealed to you all the blots in our Indian judical system. I have not yet spoken of the police arrangements which are adopted to the former, and are its corollary, from Peshawur to Calcutta, from Assam to Cape Comorin. Learn then that our Zillah Magistrates, in addition to their duties as Administrators, Collectors, Civil and Criminal Judges, exercise also those of Prefects of Police."

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This is only a single one of many novel expositions which M. de Lavoye considers himself to have received from the late celebrated Lieutenant Governor; and, with reference to which, he confesses that:—"they initiated me more deeply into the mysteries of British Indian administration than all the host of volumes I had studied on the subject." Although justly severe upon the too great inaccessibility of justice to the poor, and especially, as regards Bengal proper, on the actual want of protection against the extremity of violence, M. de Lavoye on the whole opines—indeed a chaprassy in Rajpootana told him as much—that the natives of India prefer (and are better off under) the English rule to that of any native prince who could be expected to arise in India.* Still the inadequate ministration of justice seems to our author a second and imminent danger for the permanency of our rule in India—the first being the rude and unwinning character of our manners. Our third great peril, it seems, is from the want of any sufficient outlet for the natural ambition of half-castes. The reality of this danger M. de Lavoye was enabled to ascertain from the unreserved communications of a distinguished member of the class, a "Colonel Z.... Companion of the Bath, and Aide-de-Camp to the Governor General," in fact, Lord Dalhousie's right-hand man. It would be too long, and perhaps indiscreet, even in the traces of M. de Lavoye, to repeat this remarkable person's confidences. But it must be evident that a class including perhaps many officers such as Colonel Z.... whom so good a judge of men as the late Governor General could select to survey and watch the whole course of the Indus, and afterwards to settle the annexed domains of the Sikkim Rajah, besides many other missions of confidence, cannot safely be driven to despair. Not that M. de Lavoye at all implies that Colonel Z.... contemplates himself raising the standard of revolt. During Lord Dalhousie's life, at any rate, gratitude

* *On this point* M. de Lavoye *agrees with all* his countrymen who have travelled in India. The *Annuaire des Deux Mondes* has this passage:—"So numerous a population and one so diversely composed cannot, it will be easily conceived, be easily well governed. But this is certain that amongst all the modern travellers who have examined the question of the Government of India we do not know a single one who has desired for the people of India a native government.

M. de Jancigny, no partial witness, confesses that the aim of the British Government is "to raise more and more the social condition of the peoples of Hindostan until they become competent to apply and administer for themselves the laws and principles of whose utility their English masters will have convinced them." And this is the recompense which he holds out to England for her efforts:—

"Perhaps the Providence which has for the time confided to England the destiny of Hindoostan, may permit that, by a miracle of human wisdom and prudence, the English shall one day renounce voluntarily and with dignity, without precipitation and without collision, the gigantic domination which they exercise.

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will keep him inactive; for that munificent nobleman rewarded his services with immense *jâghirs*, upon which, situated (as we think we gather) on the Neilgherry Hills, he strives to balk his energies with horse-breeding on a grand scale for the use of the Madras Cavalry.

Before taking leave of M. de Lavoye we must do him the justice to confess that he is not one of those doctors, learned to detect poison, but without resources to suggest a cure. There is in this book a remedy laid down for every wrong. Only nothing can be done until even the remaining share of the Company in the Government of India is totally abolished. Nothing healthy and vigorous can grow under its shadow. "For the last twenty years" we learn, "the Company has been confessing this, by all the thousand voices, through which it speaks both in the Parliament, and in the Press."

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Art. IV.—*The Indian Civil Service.*
The Times. 1855.

Our Indian Empire is no longer a terra incognita. As a people we are beginning at last to appreciate the value of a dependency which has long been monopolized by a class.

Steam has united *India* to *England*. Travellers explore the remains of its byegone magnificence and politicians seek a party cry in instances of its present mismanagement. India in fact is rapidly absorbing that large share of public attention which is its due, and various are the ways in which this has been displayed. The Peers call for papers, the Commons for reports. The *Times* thunders, the Press clamours, and the partizans of the India House bemoan its coming fate. Various also are the causes. Nothing however has more contributed to this change, from supineness to activity, from languid indifference to busy interference than those clauses of the last India Bill, which in throwing open the Civil and Medical Services to competition, marked the first step towards the destruction of the Leaden Hall Street Empire. Sir James Hogg might well exclaim that in those alterations he saw "the beginning of the end."

The working of the clause relating to the Medical Service is already a thing of the past; a Chuckerbutty is one of its results. But the system of competition regulating the nominations to the Civil Service is as yet of the future—is still a subject of discussion.

In whatever light the probable results of these arrangements for the appointing the future Indian Civilians may be viewed, whether politically or socially, none can be more interested in them than we who are connected with India by so strong a tie as that of residence. The subject too will speedily be brought before us in substantive strength, and no long period will elapse ere the entire mechanism of the system will be brought into full work. We look forward with confidence to the results of a measure which has been so unanimously demanded. That it will be perfect, it would be presumptuous to suppose. It is human. But we may reasonably conclude that the new system will be an improvement upon the old. It was recommended by men of large experience and considerable attainments, and was matured by the collected wisdom of a council that numbered Macaulay and Melvill, Lefevre and Lowe amongst its members.

There are some however who view with no satisfaction the alterations thus effected. Apprehending evil in every reform, they mistrust a scheme which has thrown open a close service to national competition. Uttered as they are by men, conver-

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sant with India and its wants, there is an air of plausibility about these objections which renders them peculiarly dangerous. The experience of the propounders gives an influence to their arguments by no means intrinsic to them.

These arguments appear in a collected form in an article on the Indian Civil Service published in the *Blackwood* of April last. In the following pages it shall be our endeavour to assign them their true value.

The article in question has been attributed to the pen of Mr. Seton Karr; but its general tenour impresses upon us the belief that the author of "the Indian Civil Service" is or was a Madras Civilian. He is conversant with his subject, familiar with that Presidency, and has apparently served in those situations, the sorrows and discomforts of which he so pathetically describes. The melancholy strain which pervades his composition is only what we might expect from one who has gone through the terrific mental torture of "endorsing blank stamped paper" or of "cross-examining a kurnum" who has feasted off "scraggy mutton-chop" and "the loaf of bread received by post." Such a diet of itself would be sufficient to ensure dyspepsia. But the author of the Indian Civil Service is evidently a doleful man. The fact of his drawing all his arguments from the Madras Presidency, arguments too so peculiarly "ad hominem" as "scraggy mutton" and "Post-borne bread," evince an undue partiality for the dark side of life. These arguments we have no doubt are drawn from the life, but life at Madras, if such is the case, is no criterion of life in Bengal.

The Madras Civilian may, but the Bengal Civil Servants do not drag on the miserable existence so vividly pourtrayed in *Blackwood*. "Signing blank stamped paper," "cross-examining kurnums," and dining off "scraggy mutton and Postal bread" may be the daily incidents of the Madras Civilian's life; but the Assistant in Bengal leads a very different existence. If he signs "stamped paper" he does so with an air of such reckless happiness that his signature is perfectly illegible. If he examines a "Patwarree," it is the Patwarree who is mystified not the Huzzoor. His mutton would do credit to "Gibblett" and his bread is not sent him by post. The life of the young Civilian in Bengal is indeed any thing but a dreary one; with sufficient work to make his leisure acceptable, he has not so much time to himself that the hours can hang heavy upon his hands. We assume, of course, that he has some resources of his own; miserable indeed must the man be who has none. In the hot weather, that season in which the European has a foretaste of purgatory, he is not without enjoyment. But it is in the cold weather and in the N. W. P. that the

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young Civilian is to be met with in all his glory. Five months out of the twelve he is under canvass, exploring the Tuhseel under his particular charge, checking the Patwarrees' papers, and making himself acquainted with his own peculiar corner of the district. You come upon his camp snugly situated in the grateful shade of a mango tope; the white tents standing out in high relief against the deep, "black-greens" of the foliage above and around. At times so exuberant is the leafy covering that the groups of expectant solicitors alone enable you to distinguish the place of encampment. Pleasant is the sight that greets our eyes as we arrive in view of the Assistant's camp. The crisp cold air and the green corn fields remind us of an English spring, but it is the idea only of a moment. The sandy soil, the flat open country unhedged and almost undivided, the groves of large trees that break the monotony of the plain, the dusky cultivators and their clumsy ploughs, the village well with its invariable attendants, the graceful water-drawers in their picturesque garments quickly dispel the illusion. All plainly tell us that we are far from home. And now as we draw near to the camp, we mark incidentally the evidences of the manner in which the young Civilian occupies his leisure. Picketed close to the tents stand three knowing looking Arabs, stripped of their clothing to be groomed; the laid-back ears, the uplifted hind-leg as the syces rub them down, the glancing eye, their satin skins, their muscular arms, with curious tracery of veins and ligaments, all speak of spirit, power and endurance. Coupled up to a tent peg are two deep-chested, snake-headed greyhounds sleepily watching the movements of a Calashee cleaning a pair of gun barrels; and lastly the slender Bamboos with their bright steel laurel-shaped heads resting against the kennauts tell of sports more exciting than coursing. At present however the young Assistant is occupied with duties somewhat less congenial to him than pig-sticking. Seated under the shade of a giant mango tree he has on one side of him his Foujdarree Sheristadar, a grey-bearded Mussulman, on the other his Collectory Mohurrirs. Bundles of Persian writings, records of cases and proceedings under adjudication are scattered around. In a semicircle before him are gathered groups of witnesses and plaintiffs interspersed with a few Mooktears and Peons, while the background of the scene is filled up with scattered knots of disputants discussing with native volubility and gesture, the points and probable results of their claims. Soldier-like Rajpoots, sturdy Jats and dirty-looking chumars are all awaiting their turn to be called forward. The assemblage is not a very quiet one. There is at times considerable noise. Now and then, a miserable looking individual will come

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in howling to show the Chota Sahib his wounds and to call for "Dohaee, dohaee, Companee ka dohaee." Nevertheless the work proceeds steadily and at sunset the Cutcherry breaks up. In this manner with an occasional day's shooting or pig-sticking, regular work and regular rides to the surrounding villages to test their papers, the camp life of the young Assistant passes pleasantly away.

But we must return to our *Blackwood*.

Whoever he may be, Mr. Seton Karr or a Madras Civilian, the author of the Indian Civil Service after adverting to the miseries of the Assistant's life proceeds to review the changes made by the Act of 1853 in the constitution of the Civil Service. They embrace—

First.—The mode of selection.

Second.—The age and qualifications of the selected.

Third.—The mode of their subsequent education and training for their future duties.

To the mode of selection he offers two objections based upon certain tendencies, which appear to him to grow out of the principles of competitive examination :—

First.—A possibility that the selected candidates will not be gentlemen.

Second.—That all kindly connection between the Directors and Civilians will cease.

We will dispose of these objections in their order.

There are few we imagine who will differ with us when we assert that India to be well governed, must be governed by gentlemen. But let us not be mistaken. We mean that India should be governed by men of gentlemanly feeling, *i. e.* by men of an elevated morality, cultivated intellect and Catholic sympathies. It is a broad definition that we have given of the "gentleman" but not a wit too wide. If then there are "gentlemen by education" as well as "gentlemen by birth," and unless it can be shewn that these qualities making the "gentleman" are possessed only by "gentlemen by birth" or in a far greater degree by them, there exists no necessity that the Members of the Civil Service should be taken solely from that class. It is sufficient that they should be men of gentlemanly feeling. For it is no matter to Cheyte Singh, Hurnam or Rajkishen whether justice is dispensed to them by the descendant of a long line of nobles, or by a parvenu, so long as it is justice that they obtain. The starving man does not look at the hands of his benefactor nor the drowning man at those of his preserver. What do the Bengalees know of Mr. Pierpoint's ancestral antecedents? Smith is as good to them as Plantagenet. The author of the article under review has attached some weight to caste as likely to influence the native

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mind in appreciating the advantages of birth. But the very prejudices of caste upon which he relies are opposed to any acknowledgment of English hereditary gentility. Our native subjects can discern the gentlemanly feeling of the governing race. They value it highly. But they cannot appreciate any other gentle blood than that "Sangue Azul" which runs in the veins of their princely families, of their High Rajpoot Nobles, and Mahomedan Ameers. It is notorious that the great bulk of them can form no idea of the dominant race which does not relate to power, vigour, resources and incorruptibility. Gentlemanly feeling whether it be the result of the domestic or the moral education is all that is required in the Indian Civil Servants in addition to the proper capacity for the duties which devolve upon them. If it can be shewn that the alteration in the selection of the body is likely to diminish the element of "gentlemanly feeling" which is at present its attribute, the objection urged by the contributor to *Blackwood* may be considered most pertinent.

It remains however to be seen whether the nominees to Civil appointments under the new Rules will be inferior in this respect to their predecessors under the old.

There are two guarantees, we think, that such will not be the case. The education, and the expense of that education. It is an old saying one too that is not likely to be forgotten for want of being quoted.

"Liberus didicisse artes,
Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros."

As boys we learnt it in our Latin Grammar, as men we have practical experience of it in life. A belief in the truth of this aphorism will justify the conclusion that the liberal education, which must perforce, be bestowed upon the selected candidates to ensure their success, will also ensure gentlemanly feeling. It is acknowledged that the necessary education must be liberal. It is also an unfortunate truism that in few places in England can a liberal education be secured at a cheap rate. The very expense then that is necessary to provide the required education conduces to the belief that the nominees to the Indian Civil Service under the new rules will be taken from those same middle classes which have hitherto supplied India with her administrators and politicians. We take this second guarantee at the value our opponents will attach to it. We are content with the liberality of the education, which we think will give us sufficient security that the new Civil Servants will be gentlemen in mind. But it must not be forgotten that one examination has already taken place which gives us some criterion for the truth of our remarks. As a rule the competitors *then* were gentlemen by

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birth as well as men of considerable education. And though it has been stated that one of the selected candidates on that occasion was the son of a porter it should be borne in mind by those who grieve thereat that the son of a peer was one of the rejected.

On the whole while we allow the possibility that under the new arrangements nominations to the Civil Service may be bestowed upon men of a slightly lower rank than its present members, we deny the probability that the gentlemanly element will be less strong than heretofore.

To pass on to the second objection. That which has had no existence save in imagination is for the purposes of argument of no practical value, it requires no refutation. Plato tells of Socrates's mother who was a midwife that she could not deliver a woman who was not pregnant. We however *can* refute an argument which has no foundation; and while we think we shall be able to show that the intimate connection between nominee and nominator to which the Madras Civilian alludes as existing between the Directors and the Civil Servants had its prototype only in his imagination, we shall be able to expose the fallacy of his argument. It is said by the Madras Civilian, and we believe it to be the case, that the Directors themselves feel a kindly interest in those who owe their original entry in the race for honors and distinction to the kind patronage of the Leadenhall Street potentates; but that the feeling is reciprocated so warmly as he would have us to believe is not so evident.* We have reason to conclude the reverse. Neither in most instances could it be otherwise expected. Mr. So and So's uncle has four stars attached to his name in the proprietary list of the India Stockholders. In addition to his four stars representing four votes this gentleman has the disposal of six other votes belonging to his family. Having given the benefit of these ten votes to one who has with their aid successfully contested an India House Election, he feels that he has some right to a return for his services. Mr. So and So his nephew has no money and no profession. An Indian writership would suit him, and his uncle's interest secures him the desirable appointment. Having successfully kept his terms at Haileybury he is taken to sign his covenant, to return formal thanks for his appointment, and to receive formal advice for his

* A gentleman, who had been for thirteen years in the direction, and has therefore had considerable patronage to dispense gives the following as the result of his experience on this point. "With one single exception no recipient of my patronage has in his Indian afterlife taken the trouble even to thank me."

This single exception was a Military man not a Civilian.

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future conduct. In many cases client and patron see each other only this once. No doubt but there were many instances, in which the kindliest feelings were mutually entertained and reciprocated. But in these cases the kindly feelings were not those of client and patron but of father and son, nephew and uncle. It was not the tie of patronage but the tie of relationship that bound the men.

Supposing however the objection thus urged to be founded upon fact : allowing that under the old regime this peculiar good feeling between patron and client had an actual existence, and further that under the new system no such feelings can be entertained—What then? are the present nominees likely to prove worse public servants than the old ?

Perhaps the Madras Civilian means to tells us (we believe that he does some where say so) that this affectionate feeling is with the present Members of the Civil Service an incentive to exertion ; that they are animated to their work by a sense of what they owe to the individual Director who may have appointed them. It may be so. But we are somewhat disinclined to believe that Mr. Colvin in his own mind associates his educational cess with the name of that Director who nominated the Lieut. Governor to the Service ; that Mr. Thomason was actuated by this feeling when he sanctioned and advocated the project of the Ganges Canal; Mr. Raikes in his exertions to suppressinfanticide; or Mr. Grant when he propounded his scheme for liberating Hindoo widows from their domestic disabilities. However, if it was so, it says nothing against the new arrangements. There are other and stronger motives to exertion than mutual kind feeling between Director and Civilian. What have self-interest and emulation no existence in the East ? Is ambition no longer an incentive to honourable labour ? Are the "Springs of human action" peculiar to Europe ? No.

"Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt."

The sharpest spurs in the Life-Race have lost none of their keenness. The ambitious man will not be hindered in his ambition, the grasping man in his greed. Colour and clime make no difference to the manly mind. Sense of duty and self-respect exert as much influence upon those who owe their appointments to competition as upon those who receive them by favour.

Indeed we have seldom met with a more nonsensical argument than this of the contributor to *Blackwood*. Divested of extraneous matter it stands thus :—

"In public life those who receive their appointments by favor render more zealous service than those who acquire them by their own exertions. The Indian Civil Servants under the old system received their appointments by favor, under the new

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arrangements they earn them by competition. Therefore the members under the old system will render more zealous services than their successors under the new."

That this should be the case is entirely opposed to all experience. If we are to believe in the consistency of the human character, we are justified in predicting that those, who earned their first step by competition, will compete also for their promotion. It might as well be urged against the system of competition for artillery and engineers that those who succeeded at Addiscombe would make worse officers in after life than their less successful brethren in the line.*

Passing on from the mode of selection the article on the Indian Civil Service proceeds to criticize the alteration affecting the age at which the future Civilians will arrive in this country.

Under the former rules nominees to Civil appointments could not come out at an earlier age than nineteen or later in life than twenty-three. The period has now been extended from twenty to twenty-five. It is not unadvisedly that this change has been effected. Of the numerous experienced men who gave evidence before the Parliamentary Committees on the subject of our Indian Territories, during the late discussion on the East India Company's Charter, a large majority recorded their opinion favorable to this extension. It is now however said that the nominees to Civil appointments will not only be physically incapacitated by their greater age, but that it will also stand in the way of their acquiring certain maxims of Indian Polity which it is necessary they should learn. If the latter part of this assertion be true it says but little in favor of the Political maxims to be taught. That a body of men of ability, talent and education should find a difficulty in assenting to the truth of the axioms thus laid down for their acceptance is a circumstance so singular as at once to surround these doctrines with suspicion. We are at a loss to conceive what these abstruse maxims may be. Let us hope that they do not comprise the judicial dogmas of Mr. Thomas or the revenue practice of the *Kitto*, and thumbscrews.

The arguments of the Madras Civilian relating to the ill effects of the "greater age" appear as far as we can understand them to centre upon two points; the one train of reasoning proceeding upon the comparative difficulty of acclimatizing the man of twenty-five; the other upon the supposition that men of that age are distinguished by a particular obstinacy of mind.

* Perhaps no truer objection has been urged against the Indian Civil Service system than that of "promotion by seniority" which is a part of it. It is true that this is now no longer in tact, but under the new system it cannot be a source of complaint if "rising by seniority" ceases to be the rule.

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The first objection partakes more of the medical character than the metaphysical and we leave it for the medical authorities to confirm or demolish. We may remark incidentally that the Captains of the Queen's Regiments newly arriving in India are about and over this age, when they come out. We have not as yet heard that they are less efficient than their Subalterns. The case however is different with regard to the second objection. We have from practical experience every reason to believe the "greater age" of twenty-five does not as a general rule carry along with it the serious disqualification of obstinacy of character. The liberal professions at home, the Bar and the Church are primarily occupied by men of this very age to which the Madras Civilian imputes stubbornness of disposition. Does the author of "the Indian Civil Service" then mean deliberately to assure us that the members of the professions distinguished as liberal are notorious for their illiberality. Would he have us to believe that the prolonging of a liberal education from hobbeday-hoyhood to manhood has no other than deleterious and ennervating effects, that it enfeebles the mental powers rather than expands them. The acute observer of the human character in its different stages of development will tell us that at the very age, when according to the Madras Civilian the young man of intellect and education is supposed to be obstinate and self-sufficient, his mind is most open to well demonstrated reasoning and well founded conviction.

Great stress is laid by this opponent of the new system upon the docility with which the younger mind is apt to receive impressions. We do not dispute the existence of this docility. For ourselves we prefer the more matured opinion of the older man; resulting from facts well weighed and conclusions carefully drawn it is more valuable than that which owes its origin to boyish credulity and youthful eagerness. The political principles which can so easily be instilled into the mind yet immature are laid aside with equal facility, and if the younger man is quicker in accepting what is laid down for him, he also displays greater activity in getting rid of his belief. It is to this malleability of mind that we owe the continuance of errors which would otherwise have long ago ceased to throw a slur upon our Indian administration. The younger man has taken both the good and the bad handed over to him by his predecessor, the wheat with the chaff; but he has not sifted them. His age renders him a facile victim of Hindooism but does not qualify him to be a pioneer of civilization.

We anticipate as much benefit from the extended age as from the mode of selection. Nor are we without examples which well corroborate the opinion we have expressed.

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The papers on the "Gypsies of the Doab" and the "Boureah tribes" were written by two gentlemen who having received an University education came out at a later age than the general run of Civilians. In publishing these papers the Government has paid a tribute to the abilities of the writers, but has exhibited no apprehension of their obstinacy or self-sufficiency.

Viewing in the light that he does the effect of greater age upon the utility present and future of the Civil Service as it is now organized, it is without surprise we find the Madras Civilian proceeding thus to remark upon the probable value of *its member's acquirements* in relation to their future duties :—

"Surely" some one will exclaim, "Surely if there be a doubt which age is most convenient there can be none as to the advantages of superior education ; none certainly, if by that expression be meant that the superiority consists in greater knowledge of what is necessary to be known but if it lie in the possession of an excess above that measure, the same conclusion does not follow—too much may be as detrimental as too little. Let us first take a hasty survey of what may be called the stock in trade of the two men. He of Haileybury has a fair knowledge of his own language, and a moderate acquaintance with those of Greece and Rome : his researches in Mathematics have not been profound : and his view of History, ancient and modern is rather superficial ; but he has been well instructed in the Principles of Jurisprudence and Political Economy, and has succeeded in mastering the rudimental difficulties of two or more of the oriental languages. On the other hand the prizeman of twenty-five possesses all these qualifications in a much higher degree ; his style of composition will be found vigorous and correct. If he have wooed the muses, his classical knowledge will not, like that of his younger rival, be merely sufficient "emollire mores," but extensive and critical ; not simply such as to render pleasurable and refreshing the occasional reference to his Homer, Virgil, or Horace in minutes snatched from the wearying drudgery of the police or revenue office, but such as enables him to "decide where Doctors disagree" and arbitrate where Porson, Brunck, Hermann, and Hartung are waging internecine war as to whether Te or De ought to be read in some unintelligible chorus. Or if, of sterner mood, he have won his crown in the arena of the exact sciences, his knowledge will not be limited as that of his companion, to the problems useful in the transactions of ordinary business ; he will not only be competent, as well as he to understand the "village account" or oppose with the force of common sense the prurient falsity of the intriguing Hindoo who may seek to mislead his judgment, but may perhaps be able to express algebraically the "unknown quantities" which he will find so thickly scattered over the calculation of the "Kurnum" ; or explain, in scientific language to the mendacious Brahmin, the regular steps of the logical process by which he has arrived at the dishonesty of his conduct, even though he find the power of logic insufficient to demonstrate to the worthy functionary the moral identity of the

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"Utile" and the "honestum." No one will deny that every candidate for the Indian Civil Service ought to be compelled to prove that he has received such education as is usually bestowed on English gentlemen, and known as 'classical and liberal,' and that he has duly profited thereby; but it is not so manifest that the degrees of excellence therein over and above the *necessary* quantum, are a true and proper measure of qualification for service in that country. On the contrary it may be that the very superiority may to a certain extent, unfit the possessor for the particular work in question, while it causes him to be selected to the exclusion of others, who having enough but no more of the indispensable cultivation, may possess other qualities, physical and mental, in which he is deficient, but which would render them were their admission possible more valuable servants of the state than himself."

We have already said that these remarks do not surprise us. We almost anticipated them. Nor are the opinions thus expressed altogether singular. In common with many others the Madras Civilian has fallen into the error of mistaking a test of present capacity for a positive measure of future ability.*

* The following remarks uttered by Mr. Macaulay in a speech delivered in the House of Commons on the 10th of July, 1833 are so apposite to the subject we are discussing, being indeed particularly directed to competitive educational tests as applied to the Indian Civil Service, that we do not hesitate to transcribe them.

"It is said I know that examinations in Latin, in Greek, and in Mathematics, are no tests of what men will prove to be in life. I am perfectly aware that they are not infallible tests: but that they are tests I confidently maintain. Look at every walk of life, at this House, at the other House, at the Bar, at the Bench, at the Church, and see whether it be not true that those who attain high distinction in the world were generally men who were distinguished in their academic career. Indeed, Sir, this objection would prove far too much even for those who use it. It would prove that there is no use at all in education. Why should we put boys out of their way? Why should we force a lad, who would much rather fly a kite or trundle a hoop, to learn his Latin Grammar? Why should we keep a young man to his Thucydides or his Laplace, when he would much rather be shooting? Education would be mere useless torture if at two or three and twenty, a man who had neglected his studies, were exactly on a par with a man who had applied himself to them, exactly as likely to perform all the offices of public life with credit to himself and with advantage to Society. Whether the English system of education be good or bad is not now the question. Perhaps I may think that too much time is given to the ancient languages and to the abstract sciences. But what then? Whatever be the languages, whatever be the sciences, which it is, in any age or country, the fashion to teach, the persons who become the greatest proficients in those languages and those sciences will generally be the flower of the youth, the most acute, the most industrious, the most ambitious of honourable distinctions."

"If the Ptolemaic system were taught at Cambridge instead of the Newtonian, the senior wrangler would nevertheless be in general a superior man to the wooden spoon. If, instead of learning Greek, we learned the

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His arguments assume the successful competitor to have entered upon the necessary curriculum of study with the immediate object of qualifying himself for future administrative duties. That this is not the case, but that the examination was fixed upon very different principles must be evident to all who have read the Report of the Civil Service Examination Commission. In the House of Lord's Committee upon Indian Territories Lord Monteagle of Brandon put the following question to a witness. It embodies the principle of the actual scheme since organized. "If the Education that is required be a species of education peculiarly and exclusively adapted to India, then undoubtedly if the student fails in obtaining an Indian appointment, it is a total failure; but if the system which has been pointed out in your examination, namely a more general system of European instruction, were adopted, then, even if a failure took place there, would not the system of education that had been pursued be available for British objects as well as for Oriental ones; because, although the Sanscrit might be useless, the Mathematics must be available." This course of education broad, liberal and comprehensive is laboriously followed up not in the hopes that its immediate effects will be to make the student an able Magistrate or skilful financier, but with the view of qualifying him to pass the ordeal for "selected candidates." The Madras Civilian has found one of his metaphors on the race course. From the same sporting locality we select a figure that will perhaps serve to illustrate the primary object of the necessary education. The training undergone by the "thorough bred" is not bestowed upon him that he may *hold* the "challenge whip" his owner is only too well aware that a time will come when that honourable distinction of the Turf will be wrested from him by some more vigorous competitor. It is to capacitate him to run for the prize that he takes his gallops on the "Warren Hill." In stable phraseology the animal is said to undergo this training to "bring him fit to the Post," that he may have as good a chance as any other horse of winning the race. Thus it is with the competitor for the Indian writership. His education fits him to compete for the prize held out; but his

Cherokee, the man who understood the Cherokee best, who made the most correct and melodious Cherokee verses, who comprehended most accurately the effect of the Cherokee particles, would generally be a superior man to him who was destitute of these accomplishments. If Astrology were taught at our Universities, the young man who cast nativities best would generally turn out a superior man. If Alchymy were taught, the young man who showed most activity in the pursuit of the Philosopher's stone would generally turn out a superior man."—*Macaulay's Speeches*, *p.* 150.

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learning and acquirements will neither make him an extempore magistrate, nor at once qualify him for the Judicial Bench. He will again have to exert himself to hold the prize he has thus honorably won.

We will not enter into the question of the merits or demerits of the standard fixed. We will not assert that the test by which the candidates are to be selected is the best test that can be applied; but we do assert it to be a test sufficient to prove those who pass it to be superior either in industry or intelligence to the general mass of young men from whom they are taken, that they equally with any others, are capable of being formed into efficient Civil officers.

The English "Tacitus" has well observed "India is entitled to the service of the best talents which England can spare," and we think there will be found few to deny the truth of this assertion. The scheme which is now being carried out is calculated to secure the service of such talents as England can spare; we cannot imagine one better adapted for the purpose. In truth the arguments adduced by the Madras Civilian against competitive tests, if applicable to the present scheme, apply with equal, aye greater, force to the former system. Neither under the old nor under the new arrangements is it possible to lay down the rule that the student at Haileybury or the "selected candidate" will necessarily make efficient public officers. But if talent or industry, genius or application, separate or in combination be any guarantees for future success in life, we may reasonably predict that the future Civilians will surpass their predecessors. Our readers will perceive from the Extracts we have already given that in the opinion of the Madras Civilian this intellectual superiority will not only stand as a bar to probable success, but will disqualify its possessors for the performance of a Civilian's duties.

It is not worth our while to waste any time in confuting a doctrine which though it has no other recommendation has at all events the attraction of novelty. We have yet however to see what are the respective acquirements of the representatives of the two systems. The Madras Civilian is not a passionate pleader. We will not deny that his clients possess all the learning he has attributed to them. We will even excise the epithets fair and superficial which he has applied to their knowledge of History and Languages. We assent also when he says that the Haileybury student has been well instructed in the Principles of Jurisprudence and Political Economy. With such eminent men in their several departments as the late Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Empson, Professors Malthus and Jones, it could not be otherwise. It is one thing

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however to sit at the feet of Gamaliel, quite another to have profited by the discourse of the preacher. We shall express no opinion on the subject matter of the legal and economical education given at Haileybury. The fulness of the reports upon the Indian territories makes it unnecessary for us to do so. From them, we learn what the Education at Haileybury actually is; and what the Education of the Civil Servant properly should be. The Principal of the East India College has stated that "four-fifths of the student's time if he be industrious are given to the Oriental Department and one-fifth to the European." The Madras Civilian knows that under the European Department are comprehended Classics, Mathematics, Law, History and Political Economy. He must know by experience too that the whole time devoted to lectures during the week does not exceed fourteen hours, and that except professorial no other tuition is bestowed upon the Haileybury Collegian. He must know also how much out of these fourteen hours is given up to the European Department. Two hours a week are devoted to the study of Law. The same period also is allowed for the acquisition of the elements of Political Economy. Knowing this to be the case we are not astonished to hear Mr. Melvill say "that the student's time is far too much engrossed by the Oriental Department." "It would be advisable that there should be more time given to the European"; and again "you might raise your tests in European studies."

But the Principal of the College is not the only one to point out the failing in the Haileybury education; an Education it must be borne in mind intended to prepare the student for judicial and financial duties. So long ago as 1830 Mr. Mount Stewart Elphinstone said "the attention of the students should be directed more particularly to Political Economy and the General Principles of Jurisprudence."

Mr. Lestock Reid, a Bombay Civilian, sometime a Member of Council in that Presidency recommends that "greater attention be paid to the studies of Jurisprudence and History." "I think that the system of Haileybury is capable of very great improvement. The object of the education in this country should be to complete the European Education." Says Mr. Marshman. To the question "Do you consider that the portion of time and instruction, which is, at Haileybury, devoted to Law and Jurisprudence and kindred subject, is adequate to give the preliminary instruction to which you have referred," the author of "Modern India" replies "certainly not." I may also add "that I may almost call the study of that subject and kindred subjects a voluntary study, because a man may pass through College without having studied Law at all."

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Mr. Hawkins, sometime a Sudder Judge at Calcutta, referring to his own College experience says "I had no judicial training at all of any kind." Such testimony might be multiplied "ad nauseam;" but this is sufficient to show that the Haileybury student requires a judicial education which he does not obtain. He arrives in India altogether deficient in judicial knowledge, and is obliged to trust to practical experience for the acquisition of it.* The Madras Civilian has alluded to this "practical experience." He has laid considerable stress upon the advantages accruing from it. We will tell him what Mr. Courtenay Smith, a Civil Servant of great talent and ability, said on this subject. Speaking of the office of Registrar, an office by holding which it was thought judicial servants might be instructed in the knowledge of their business, he aptly compared the practical experience thus acquired to teaching the principles of Anatomy by dissections of the living subject. But notwithstanding the cruelty attending this practical experience there are instances, too many of them, which show that it fails to elicit judicial acumen or to secure equitable Principles of Jurisprudence. Instances which justify us in denying what the Madras Civilian asserts "that the student leaving Haileybury *was* fully qualified to commence in India that training for his future duties which no preparation in England can dispense with," that "he carried out with him as much education as his circumstances needed, and as much knowledge of the Principles of European Law and Political Economy as were likely to be useful to him in the very different circumstances of India." We do not know what these different circumstances are but whatever they may be, whether of clime, colour or religion they cannot authorize deviations from the broad path of Equity. There are certain truths of universal application and the Principles of Equity are common to all humanity. It requires no deep learning, no abstruse reasoning to perceive that if to condemn the innocent, to acquit the guilty, be repugnant to Europe, such practice is equally obnoxious in Asia. The merest tyro in forensic knowledge will tell us that for the prevention of crime the more serious punishment should be inflicted for the more serious offence; that the same punishment should not be applied to different degrees of crime; that certainty is a better preventive than severity; and that above all things arbitrary punishments are to be deprecated. But well known though these principles may be, commonas they are to England, India, and all mankind,

* The late Mr. St. George Tucker was well aware of this deficiency and its consequent results. For its removal he suggested that the Civilians should be detained in England for two years to attend the English Courts and to qualify themselves for the exercise of judicial functions.

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they are daily overlooked and set at nought in our Indian Courts.

Subjoined are a few random instances from the records of the Agra Sudder :—

1. Toorsee goes to the house of his wife's parents to bring back his wife Mussumat Parbuttee. On desiring her to come home she refused with an abusive expression. Toorsee then attacked and murdered her with repeated sword-cuts, inflicting severe wounds. The prisoner is convicted of wilful murder. The Judge sentences him *to imprisonment for life in transportation*. The Sudder very properly sentence him to be hanged.—*Sudder Reports, Vol. IV. No. 7 of* 1854, *p.* 100.

2. Ram Singh with others is accused of the wilful murder of a man and two women. Mr. Dick, a Sudder Judge convicts the prisoner of the crime charged, remarking in passing sentences that "the absence of circumstances of mitigation would justify capital punishment." He then deliberately proceeds *not* to sentence the prisoner to death *but to transportation for life*.—*Sudder Reports, No. 7 of* 1854, *p.* 94.

3. Chutter Bhoj and Seela Dhur kick Nunkee, an old woman fifty years old, in so brutal a manner that she dies the next day. In summing up the Judge remarks "a most savage and brutal assault is perpetrated by two strong men upon a defenceless old woman, and the injuries are seen to have been inflicted with a force and on a part of the person that can leave no doubt that the intention of the offenders was to produce serious bodily harm. A further aggravation of their guilt is to be found in the absence of either instant violent provocation on the fairly sustained excitement of angry passions." He then proceeds to sentence the prisoners *to five years' imprisonment with labour and irons*.—*Sudder Reports, No. 7 of* 1854, *p.* 114.

We have nothing to say against the summing up, but the sentence is totally inadequate to the offence. To inflict such a punishment for such a crime is a mockery of justice.

4. Further on we find the exact measure of the punishment of these woman-killers inflicted upon an unfortunate who is found in possession of property, by no means clearly proved to be stolen, valued at a few pice.—*Sudder Reports, Vol. IV. No.* 5, *p.* 532.

5. Purshad and Bisnu are rival barbers. One morning at dawn Bisnu has occasion to go to a field close to Purshad's house; the latter watches his opportunity, comes behind Bisnu and cuts his throat with a razor. The Sessions Judge convicts the prisoner of wilful murder and sentences him to death. The Sudder *endorse the crime of murder but transport the murderer for life*.—*Sudder Reports, Vol. IV. No.* 6, *p.* 654.

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6. Hunsa and Kabool quarrel with a man for putting up a thorn fence round his field. The fence is disagreeable to them and they insist upon its removal. The owner of the fence refuses to comply. Upon this they seize him and beat him about the head with lattees, and he dies within ten hours. *In this case of aggravated homicide the prisoners are sentenced to five years' imprisonment with hard labour.—Sudder Reports, Vol. IV. No.* 10, *p.* 556.

7. This is the exact punishment inflicted by the Judge of Seharunpore upon three men convicted of theft of property valued at a little more than 300 Rupees.—*Sudder Reports, Vol. IV. No.* 4, *p.* 445.

8. And again by the Judge of Bareilly upon some men convicted of stealing water-melons valued at a Rupee, and beating their owner.—*Sudder Reports, Vol. IV. No.* 10, *p.* 515.

The affixing such punishments to crimes so different in degree would be ridiculous in theory, but it is something worse than folly in practice.

9. Sookha kills his sister-in-law with a wooden club loaded with iron. His only excuse, if excuse it can be called, is that she refused to give him attah. He is convicted of wilful murder and *transported for life.—Sudder Reports, Vol. IV. No.* 11, *p.* 749.

10. Gopal is tried for the murder of his wife. He says in his defence that he mistook her for a thief. The following are the remarks by the Sudder:—"We do not find any circumstances, stated in the evidence, which support the defence of the prisoner. The corpse of his wife was found lying on a bed, and not as if killed whilst standing erect so as to be mistaken for a thief. The infliction of the first wound, which was slight, must have made the prisoner sensible of his error if he really had mistaken his wife for a thief: but after killing her, as he says, under a mistake, he did not arouse the people of the house, or give any alarm of thieves, but without saying anything, left the house and threw the sword into a well. Indeed, it does not seem that he mentioned to any one his having killed, as he supposed, a thief, until apprehended by the Police Burkundaz. There is also reason to think that the prisoner changed the bloody clothes he wore when committing the deed. It is true that no previous quarrel between the prisoner and his wife is stated in the evidence, though prisoner's mother states that they may have had some dispute; consequently no immediate motive for the Act is made apparent; but putting aside the prisoner's defence, as entirely refuted by the facts established by the evidence the Court must infer malice, and that some motive existed for the Act and can consider the crime only as a

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murder." After coming to this very proper decision, and again declaring the crime to be "evidently a murder" the Court deliberately proceed to stultify themselves and ignore justice by passing sentence of *transportation for life.—Sudder Reports, Vol. IV. No.* 11, *p.* 649.

We might quadruple, quintuple, these instances of Indian Criminal justice from the recorded cases in the year 1854 alone, to which year we have restricted our selections ; but we are wearied with wading through such records of justice perverted, law misapplied and crime unpunished. We will however add three other examples of the extraordinary ignorance of the commonest Principles of Law and Equity displayed by the Indian Bench.

1. A man is found guilty of Rape with aggravated circumstances. The usual punishment for this heinous crime is seven years' imprisonment. The Sessions Judge of Furruckabad in recording sentence enunciates the novel doctrine that a circumstance which aggravates an offence may be allowed to mitigate the punishment. He says "considering the RESPECTABLE BIRTH of the prisoner" *eighteen months' imprisonment* will be sufficient punishment.—*Sudder Reports, Vol. I. No.* 4, *p.* 291.

2. Khus Ali is arraigned on a charge of matricide. The crime is clearly proved against the prisoner, who confessed successively before the police and the magistrate, saying that his mother and he had constant disputes. Two medical men express their opinion that he was in his sound mind when he committed the crime. The Sudder also in passing sentence say it is evident the prisoner was in possession of his reason at the time of the murder. They then sentence him to *imprisonment for life with light labour.—Sudder Reports, Vol. I. No.* 4, *p.* 217.

It is impossible to discover the grounds for this wonderful decision. We have not the capacity for refined reasoning which belongs so peculiarly to the Sudder. If the Court had (*any*) reasons, they probably hinge upon the evidence of the fellow villagers of the murderer, who declare him to have been insane at times for three years preceding the commission of the crime.

3. Again, Radhakishen was charged with murdering his wife and wounding his mother. The crime charged was most clearly established against him. The following is an extract from the most ridiculous sentence we have ever seen recorded.

"The acts of the prisoner were those of a responsible man however unexplained is the motive which incited him to the crime."

"The circumstances of his confession are quite inconsistent with the conclusion that the prisoner then or shortly before, was unconscious and incapable of knowing that, in killing his wife he was doing a Criminal Act."

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"We therefore convict the prisoner on the clear evidence on record of the crimes laid to his charge; but considering that there is sufficient evidence of a degree of mental unsoundness to make a remission of capital punishment, and transportation proper in his regard, we sentence the prisoner Radhakishen Jat to imprisonment for life with labour in irons in banishment."— Sudder Reports Vol. IV. No. 6.

No language that we can employ can sufficiently express our contempt for a system which produces such Judges as these.

In the two last instances we have given there is positive, patent injustice committed. Like Blue beards' key whichever way we turn it the stain appears, wash it out from one side it escapes to the other, and we take it out from thence only to see it revert to the old place.

In either way that we look at these two decisions, whether from the side of the convict or from the side of society, the stain of injustice clings to them. Either the convicts were mad, when they committed these crimes, or they were not. If they were mad they were entitled to acquittal, and should have been locked up in a mad-house. If they were sane Society had a right to demand their capital punishment.*

It must not be supposed however that the Sudder at Agra are any worse than the Sudder at Calcutta or the Appellate Courts of the Punjab; neither is Bengal the solitary Presidency where the most trite maxims of equity, the commonest principles of justice are thus set at nought. Of Bombay we know nothing.† But of Madras, besides what Mr. Norton proves to us, we know that it has had the benefit, such as it is, of Mr. Thomas's services.

We have done with this wearisome task of chronicling judicial

* An English Judge, Justice Erle has laid down the following rule for juries in cases where the defence is insanity. Indian Sudder Judges would do well to remember it :—

"The jury ought not where an enormous crime had clearly been committed, to acquit a prisoner on the ground of insanity. Unless these were circumstances surrounding it totally irrespective of the crime itself, which left no reasonable doubt that, at the time of its commission, the party accused was not in a condition of mind to distinguish between right and wrong, or to be aware that he was committing a crime."—*Reg. Brough Kingston Assizes, August,* 1853.

† Mr. Norton in his "Administration of Justice in Southern India" gives us too much reason to conclude that his condemnation of the Madras Judges and their decisions is not unfounded. For his instances we refer the reader to his pamphlet. His condemnation we transcribe. "Throughout the length and breadth of the whole of this Presidency, those who occupy the Judicial Bench are totally incompetent to the decent fulfilment of their duties." And again it is one uniform dead level of incompetency.

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imbecility. We think that we have succeeded in showing that "the affairs of Great Britain in the East" are not as the Madras Civilian says "transacted in a manner which the chosen of Cannon Row can never surpass;" that the Civilians under the old Rules had not a sufficient judicial and legal education; and though it comprises in its ranks men of the greatest talents, the service comprehends also many of very mediocre ability. On the other hand we believe it will be admitted even by the most prejudiced that while there is nothing in the education or position of the competitors under the new Rules that will disqualify them for Civil duties in India, there is much in the after education* they will receive as "selected candidates" which will fit them, already having proved themselves to be men of talent and industry, for their judicial and administrative duties: and while there is no reason to believe that they will in intellect be inferior to their predecessors, we have some cause to opine that they will surpass them in capacity.

There is one point in the arguments of the Madras Civilian which we shall pass by unnoticed: the Civil Service salaries. It is not very easy to divine what will be the result of Mr. Vernon Smith's openly announced policy or of Mr. Ricketts' clipping Commission. At present, the coming Civilians can without difficulty discover that the lowest Civil appointments (Covenanted) are comfortable competencies, that the higher are most liberally remunerated.

In conclusion we have but to remark that whilst pointing out the faults of the Civil Service as it is we have not forgotten the many good qualities that go far to counterbalance them. Whatever the failing of the present Civil Service the wish to do well is always present with the body. The leaven now to be introduced will quickly spread through a mass so ready to be leavened; and in the points in which the newcomers may at first excel, the good men among the old will soon come up to them. Esprit du corps and individual emulation will not suffer them to lag behind. European education and Indian experience will amalgamate. From their elder brethren the newcomers will meet with a hearty welcome, and the "Service as it is" will afford a sure foundation for the success of the "Service as it will be."

* The late Mr. Tucker's proposal, which we have already alluded to, is in part to be carried out. During the two years they remain in England the "Selected Candidates" are to attend the judicial sittings of the Privy Council, and the Courts of Law.

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ART. V.—*The Despatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G., during his various campaigns in India: compiled from official and authentic documents.* By Lieut. Col. GURWOOD, Esquire to his Grace as Knight of the Bath.

THE interest attaching to Sir Arthur Wellesley's Indian career is of course much increased by the subsequent achievements of the Duke of Wellington on a more conspicuous theatre. But even if he had never conducted the arduous Peninsular contest to a successful conclusion, or completed the destruction of Napoleon's power on the field of Waterloo, his early campaigns and political services in India would have been sufficient to stamp him as a soldier and statesman of a high order. In the discharge of his various duties—military, civil and diplomatic—during the campaign in which he broke the strength of the Mahrattas in the Deckan, he displayed the same high qualities,—the same energy, sagacity, foresight, patience, and resource—the same union of promptness and of comprehensiveness of view— the same noble equanimity and stern determination to overcome all obstacles and difficulties—and the same animating public spirit,—that afterwards enabled him to give the first great check to the torrent of French invasion which threatened to overwhelm Europe. In reality, no extraneous considerations are necessary to invest the Indian career of the Duke of Wellington with interest. The transactions, in which he bore a principal part in this country, took place at what may be styled the turning point of British dominion in the East; and he was one of the most eminent of those eminent men who decided the question—whether the British Government was merely to be one of many Indian powers, or to be that one to whose pre-eminence all the others must bend or before which they must be broken. Sir Arthur Wellesley, therefore, in his capacity of a distinguished Indian soldier and politician, well deserves to be illustrated in a periodical devoted to Indian subjects.

A gale of wind may be literally said to have changed Wellington's destination from the West to the East Indies. In the spring of 1795 he had returned to England from Holland with the Duke of York's beaten army, after having shown spirit and intelligence as commanding officer of a brigade in the rearguard during the retreat before the victorious French. In the autumn of the same year Colonel Wellesley embarked with his regiment, the 33rd, at Southampton, for the West Indies. For six weeks the fleet was tossed about by contrary winds and then returned to port with the loss of many ships. The 33rd regiment was landed, and before it could be re-embarked,

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its destination was changed to India. The change was undoubtedly fortunate for its gallant commander. In the West Indies, it is probable that no opportunity of distinction would have been afforded him beyond the inglorious capture of a sugar-island or two. In the East Indies he soon had armies to command and to encounter, and the fortunes of nations to deal with. His regiment sailed for the East in April; illness prevented him from accompanying it, but he joined it at the Cape of Good Hope; and in February, 1797, arrived with it at Calcutta.

Colonel Wesley (for such was the form of the name then used) was at this time in his twenty-eighth year. His appearance in the prime of manhood is described* as indicating both strength and activity. In height he was nearly five feet, ten inches: his shoulders were broad, his chest expansive, his arms long; with large but well formed hands and unusually bony wrists: the whole frame-work evincing a capability of great exertion and endurance of fatigue. His gray eyes were keen and brilliant, and his sight was remarkably acute. His countenance, as it appeared in later years, is familiar to all. Some one has remarked that the Duke of Wellington owes half his fame to his victories and the other half to his nose. But in his earlier years the nasal organ did not stand out so prominently from the other features as advancing age made it afterwards appear to do. It was merely a high aquiline; and his features generally were striking and expressive: the face was long, the brow open and developed; and the lower portion of the countenance presented a marked contrast to the stern expression of all above the mouth. The general expression of his face was however calm and cheerful; and in his demeanor and conversation he was described by Lord Teignmouth, who knew him well in Calcutta, as exhibiting a union of strong sense and boyish playfulness such as he had never seen exemplified in any other individual. Lord Teignmouth, indeed, with the almost intuitive perception of character which he is said to have shown on many occasions, seems to have perceived the remarkable character of his young friend from the first. His Lordship, then Sir John Shore, was Governor General at the time of the Colonel's arrival in Calcutta, and the first interview between them was at a levee. As the young soldier retired, Sir John, turning round to his Aides-de-camp, exclaimed "If Col. Wesley should ever have the opportunity of distinguishing himself, he will do it—and greatly."† Many years afterwards, when the Duke of Wellington was astonishing all Europe with his victories in the Peninsula, Lord Teignmouth reminded one of those whom he had thus addressed and who had

* Maxwell's Life of Wellington.
† Life of Lord Teignmouth.

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not until then returned to Europe how completely his prediction had been fulfilled. Col. Wellesley had carried to the Governor General the following brief note of introduction from a former Governor General, the Marquis Cornwallis, who happened to be Colonel of the 33rd Regiment : "Dear Sir, I beg leave to introduce to you Col. Wesley, who is Lieut. Col. of my Regiment : he is a sensible man and a good officer, and will I have no doubt conduct himself in a manner to merit your approbation." Col. Wellesley was received with much attention by Sir John Shore. He was a frequent guest at the Governor General's table ; and nearly forty years afterwards, in writing to the son of his distinguished host, he expressed his sense of the great kindness and condescension with which Lord Teignmouth had always treated him.

After a few months of ordinary military duty at Calcutta, Col. Wellesley was called to take part in an expedition fitted out for the attack of the Spanish island of Manilla. On this occasion he addressed a Memorandum to the Governor General, suggesting that, prior to the attack on Manilla, the island of Java should be attacked and the Dutch settlements upon it destroyed. This document, although not included in the Wellington Despatches, was the first of that remarkable series of writings which have given the Duke of Wellington a place among the authors of England ; and it is marked by the public spirit, the business-like method, the clear, concise, straightforwardness, and the fulness of provision for all contingencies, which in so large a measure distinguish his subsequent despatches. The troops embarked in August. Col. Wellesley, having received an order that in case of coming to action while on shipboard, the troops were to be under the command of the Captains of the ships, fired at the supposed indignity. From on board the Company's ship *Heroine* he addressed an indignant remonstrance to the Governor General, declaring that had he known that field officers were to be put under the orders of Captains of Indiamen and were to have the command of their own soldiers taken from them, he would have quitted the military service sooner than have embarked on such terms. "However, Sir", he characteristically adds, "uncomfortable as I feel it embarking under such circumstances, I shall do everything in my power, and shall make those under me do everything in their power, to forward the service." Sir John Shore, who had evidently never dreamt that his instructions were interfering with military etiquette, at once expressed regret for the inadvertence which he had committed, and with many compliments to the zeal, alacrity and spirit of Col. Wellesley and his regiment, revoked the obnoxious order. The Bengal portion of the expedition proceeded to

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Penang where they were to be joined by a detachment from Madras—the whole to be under the command of Genl. St. Leger. Lord Hobart, who was at that time Governor of Madras and who was in a position to watch closely the suspicious movements of Tippoo Sultan, had been entrusted with a discretionary power of recalling the expedition ; and he arrested its further progress at Penang, under the apprehension that Tippoo might be induced by the absence of the troops to invade the Carnatic. Col. Wellesley accordingly returned with his regiment to Bengal. He soon afterwards visited Madras to meet Lord Hobart who was about to depart for Europe, and after spending two months in an examination of the military establishments of that Presidency with which his name was destined to be so honorably associated, returned to Calcutta. Here, on the 17th of May, 1798, he had the pleasure of welcoming his brother, the Earl of Mornington, to India as Governor General in succession to Sir John Shore.

The Earl of Mornington devoted his first attention to the proceedings of Tippoo Saheb, and the result was a determination to reduce that great enemy of the British power. In his own time, and for many years afterwards, the Governor General was severely censured by many for thus promptly engaging in war with Tippoo. But we presume that in the present day none will be found to deny that the destruction of Tippoo was necessary, probably to the safety, certainly to the domination, of the English in India. Lieut. Genl. Harris, Commander-in-Chief at Madras and who had taken part in Lord Cornwallis' campaign against Tippoo, was directed to enter the Mysore territory with the army under his command. The 33rd Regiment was at the same time transferred to the Madras establishment ; and in November (1798) the greater portion of the troops were assembled at Wallajahbad under the command of Colonel Wellesley, who retained the superintendence of them until General Harris' arrival in February. Col. Wellesley's arrangements and management during his temporary command were highly commended in a general order by the Commander-in-Chief. The Mahrattas and the Nizam, both of whom had felt the weight of Tippoo's arm, co-operated in the war. The force contributed by the Nizam consisted of the British detachment serving in his dominions, above 6000 strong, under Col. Dalrymple ; about an equal number of the Nizam's own infantry under Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm, who had also the political superintendence of the whole contingent ; and a large body of the Nizam's cavalry under Capt. Walker. This force was under the general superintendence of the Nizam's minister, Meer Allum, who requested that the Governor General's

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brother might be appointed to command it. As Genl. Harris had determined that a British regiment should be added to the Nizam's Force and the whole formed into a division, in order to increase its respectability and efficiency, and as it was necessary that the Commander of the new division should possess not only his own confidence but Meer Allum's, he at once complied with the request made by the latter in favor of an officer who had so recently called forth his commendation. The 33rd Regiment was accordingly attached to the Nizam's force, and Col. Wellesley was appointed commander of the new division, now amounting to about 14,000 men. At this time Major Genl. Baird, who had served in the former war against Tippoo and had languished for above three years in the prison of Seringapatam, commanded the first European Brigade consisting of four regiments. It was natural that a brave, high spirited and experienced officer like Baird should feel hurt at a junior officer being appointed to a more important command than he himself held in the army. He addressed Genl. Harris, remarking on the extraordinary fact that a Major General, sent out expressly to serve on the staff in India, should command only three battalions, while a Lieut. Col. should be placed at the head of thirteen corps. He added that he was privately acquainted with a good reason for such an arrangement in the circumstance of Meer Allum's request in favour of the Governor General's brother; but as this was not known to the army at large, he requested that it might be made public, to save him from appearing degraded in the eyes of his brother officers. The appeal was, as we have said, a natural one; but Genl. Harris did not choose to soothe Genl. Baird's wounded pride by making it appear to the army as if Col. Wellesley had no other qualification for the command of a division than that of being Lord Mornington's brother. As this was not the first occasion of a collision between Baird and Wellesley, so it was not the last. During the projected expedition to Manilla, two years previously, Col. Baird had been grievously disappointed at his regiment, the 71st, having been passed over at the formation of the expeditionary corps in favour of the 33rd; and it will be seen that the rival commanders again jostled each other at Seringapatam, in a projected expedition to Java, in the expedition to Egypt, and finally in the Deccan. With another of the officers whom we have mentioned, Captain Malcolm, Col. Wellesley appears to have now met for the first time; and a warm and lasting friendship, afterwards cemented by a community of military and diplomatic service, was formed between these distinguished men. Thanks to the French officers recently in the Nizam's service, the force sent

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from Hydrabad to join the British army on this occasion presented a marked and favourable contrast to the motley horde which—undisciplined, unofficered, and displaying the most grotesque arms and armour of every variety from the Scythian club and the Parthian bow and arrow to coats of chain mail and spears eighteen feet long—had assisted or rather encumbered Lord Cornwallis in 1791 and 1792.* Col. Wellesley with his division joined the army, which had already commenced its march towards Mysore, on the 18th February. In the progress onwards he usually marched parallel to the main army, for the protection of the heavy artillery, baggage, and commissariat, which occupied the intermediate space. The army now entering Mysore was the most splendidly equipped and disciplined force that had ever assembled in India, and numbered considerably upwards of 30,000 fighting men. Of this fine army Genl. Harris was not only in unrestricted military command, but was empowered to exert all the civil authority which would have belonged to the Governor General in his situation He was provided with a political and diplomatic commission, composed of Col. Wellesley, Col. Barry Close, Col. Agnew and Capt. Malcolm. These "Political Agents" were altogether subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief, and their duty was not to control but to advise. It would have been happy if a similar arrangement had been observed in some of our later Indian campaigns.

On the 27th March Genl. Harris, slowly advancing, reached Malavelly and discovered the army of Tippoo drawn up on a height a few miles distant. Tippoo at first retired and took post on a second rising ground, whence he opened a fire upon the advanced picquets of the British. The whole army then moved towards the enemy, the right wing under Genl. Harris, and the left wing under Col. Wellesley. The Sultan, perceiving an opening between two brigades, charged with his cavalry, one body of which rushed forward with such impetuous gallantry as to penetrate through some intervals in the British line, and passing beyond it exchanged pistol shots with Genl. Harris' staff. None of these daring men returned alive. Meanwhile Tippoo's extreme right was strongly posted on the elevated crest of a rocky ridge; and Col. Wellesley, whose division was formed nearly opposite, proposed to attack it. Genl. Harris consented; and Wellesley advanced en echelon of battalions, supported by three regiments of cavalry under Genl. Floyd. A corps of two thousand of the Sultan's infantry came forward to meet them, and moved down upon the 33rd. That regiment received the fire of the enemy at a distance of sixty yards, and, returning it rapidly advanced upon the enemy's column which gave way.

* Wilks' Sketches of Mysore.

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This was the decisive moment. Floyd charged with his cavalry and destroyed the retreating column almost to a man. Tippoo then fell back with his army, and the British troops pursued him until he was beyond the reach of their guns. In this brilliant affair the enemy left behind him about a thousand killed and wounded: the British loss was extremely slight. Col. Wellesley and Genl. Floyd bore the brunt of the action, and undoubtedly its success was owing to their judgment and spirit. In the Battle of Mallavelly Col. Wellesley first came in contact with an Indian enemy.

On the 5th April the British army had approached within a few miles of Seringapatam, the capital and chief stronghold of the proud, vain-glorious, self-willed sovereign who had once more dared British power and once more brought a British army in sight of his palace. The army at once took up their ground nearly for the siege. A tope or grove of beetul-nut trees and some ruined villages in front afforded cover to the enemy, and it was necessary to dislodge them. Two detachments under Col. Shawe and Col. Wellesley proceeded upon this duty soon after sunset. Shawe seized the ruined village which was the object of his attack without having occasion to fire a shot. Wellesley was not so fortunate in his share of the enterprize. On entering the tope he was assailed by a hot fire of musketry and rockets. The darkness of the night, the badness of the ground, and the uncertainty of the enemy's position threw the 33rd into disorder, and they fell back, leaving several killed and prisoners behind. Meanwhile Genl. Harris was sitting up in his tent in great anxiety as to the result of all this firing; when, towards midnight, Col. Wellesley entered in some agitation to report the disaster which had occurred. Indeed he had experienced great difficulty in finding his way back to camp, and it is believed was for some time separated from his men with only a single companion. Next morning, a stronger detachment, accompanied by five guns, was put under his command to make another attack on the tope and to drive the enemy from their whole line of outposts extending from the tope to the river Cauvery. In narrating the circumstances attendant upon this little affair, it is impossible to avoid remarking on the difficulty of ascertaining the exact truth of all the particulars of an occurrence, even where we have before us the testimony of men of undoubted honor, well acquainted with the circumstances of the case. Mr. Theodore Hook, in his life of Genl. Baird, states on the authority of that gallant officer that the latter found Genl. Harris on the parade ground at the appointed hour, waiting for the appearance of Col. Wellesley to take the command of the troops who were drawn up in readi-

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ness for the attack. An hour passed without Col. Wellesley's appearance, and Genl. Harris becoming impatient ordered Genl. Baird himself to take the command. The General mounted his horse, but a moment afterwards paused and going back to Genl. Harris said : " Dont you think, Sir, it would be but fair to give Wellesley an opportunity of retrieving the misfortune of last night ?" Genl. Harris listened to the considerate proposal, and shortly afterwards Col. Wellesley appeared and took command of the party. This statement is certainly circumstantial enough: On the other hand Col. Gurwood disbelieves the whole story, and asserts on the authority of the Duke of Wellington that his Grace never even heard of it until many years afterwards. The matter is in itself one of no consequence ; but it derives some interest and has excited some discussion from the subsequent career of the great soldier who, on this occasion, when it might be supposed that his whole soul was on the alert to make up for the previous night's disaster, is supposed to have failed in his usual punctuality of duty. We are inclined to believe that a statement given by Col. Shawe on the authority of Sir David Baird, and which is to the same effect as Mr. Hook's with the exception that the suggestion to wait for Col. Wellesley a little longer came from Genl. Harris and was cheerfully acceded to by Genl. Baird, is correct. A natural delicacy, on the part of even the best natured friend, may have kept the circumstance from Col. Wellesley's ears. Captain Mackenzie, who had taken part in the attack on the tope on the preceding evening, used to relate that Col. Wellesley was so excessively fatigued on his return to camp that he threw himself on a table and at once fell asleep ; and it has been remarked that nothing can be more probable than that he overslept himself next morning. Mr. Lushington, however, in his Life of Lord Harris, attributes Col. Wellesley's delay to his not having been warned in time for the duty. It is not easy to discover why Genl. Harris, in place of waiting for an hour to see if Col. Wellesley would come up, did not at once send to him. But enough of this petty matter. At nine o'clock Col. Wellesley advanced with his force and speedily drove the enemy out of the tope ; and Colonels Shawe and Wallace, rushing upon the adjoining villages, carried them without difficulty. Col. Barry Close, the able Adjutant General of the Army, who had accompanied Wellesley on this service, at once proceeded to Genl. Harris' tent with the pleasing announcement, " It has been done in high style and without loss."

This is not the place for a detailed description of the storming of Seringapatam. On the 3rd of May (1799) the breach was reported practicable ; and the storming party, above four thousand in number, the majority of whom were Europeans, were

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placed in the trenches before daybreak on the 4th. Genl. Baird had volunteered to lead the assault. Col. Wellesley was to remain in the advanced trenches in command of the reserve, to support the assaulting troops if necessary. At one o'clock in the afternoon the attacking column under Genl. Baird rushed forward, forded the Cauvery in the teeth of a tremendous fire, and in less than ten minutes had planted the British colors on the summit of the breach. The troops then filed off to the right and left, and overpowering all opposition were soon in possession of every part of the ramparts. Tippoo had fallen at one of the gateways, gallantly fighting to the last. Resistance ceased and Seringapatam was won. The killadar of the Palace conducted Genl. Baird to the spot where Tippoo had fallen; and by the light of torches—for it was after dusk—the Sultan's body was discovered, to use Genl. Baird's own words, "under a slaughtered heap of several hundreds." When it was dragged out from among the slain the eyes were open, and the body itself was so warm that Col. Wellesley, who had by this time entered the fort, was doubtful whether the Sultan was not yet alive. But on feeling his heart and pulse that doubt was at once removed. He had received three wounds on the body and a ball had entered the temple. The fallen Sultan was placed in a palankeen and carried to the Palace. Genl. Baird, having despatched parties in every direction to stop the plunder and having posted guards at the palace, threw himself down on a carpet in the verandah to rest after the fatigues of this eventful day. His reflections must have been strange. He, now the master of Seringapatam, reposed but a few hundred yards from the spot where he had pined for three years a wretched captive, while the powerful sovereign who was then the arbiter of his fate now lay vanquished and dead within a few paces. Scarcely has the stage exhibited a more signal or more curious instance of the mutability of fortune. History does not record a more impressive situation than that of General Baird at this moment.

Early on the morning after the assault Genl. Baird proceeded to take measures for restoring order. He was thus engaged when Col. Wellesley arrived to relieve him. Baird was overwhelmed with astonishment at being thus deprived of the command of the Fort which he had so gallantly won. He returned to camp in a mood of the highest indignation. "Before the sweat was dry on my brow," he wrote to a friend, "I was superseded by an inferior officer." He immediately addressed Genl. Harris, bitterly complaining of the slight which had been put upon him. Genl. Harris vouchsafed no other explanation than that he would permit no subordinate officer to remonstrate with him on the propriety of his measures or on his selection of

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officers for situations of public trust ; and he severely censured Genl. Baird for a total want of discretion and of respect towards him, his immediate superior. Col. Wellesley's temporary command of the fort was in a few days made permanent. This permanent supercession of Genl. Baird by Col. Wellesley in the command of Seringapatam is a matter that deserves examination, not only as affecting the reputation of three of our most distinguished soldiers but on grounds of historic justice.

It is evident that once the assault was over and the fort taken possession of, the tranquillization of the inhabitants, the restoration, of good order, and the carrying out of such arrangements as would induce the people to return to their ordinary occupations, became the primary object of the commander of Seringapatam. Now, was Genl. Baird the officer best fitted for such a task? His long and rigid imprisonment in that very place could not but be remembered by him with some bitterness—and he did remember it. Not only so, but recent cruelties on the part of Tippoo might well have exasperated and roused to vengeance a man of more self-control than Baird. In the trenches, previous to the assault, he had recognized among the soldiery several of his former fellow prisoners; and he assured them that they would soon have an opportunity of paying off old scores. While breathing his men for a few minutes on the ramparts during the assault, he had been informed that Tippoo had cruelly put to death his European prisoners by having nails driven through their skulls ;* and while proceeding towards the Palace, he vowed to a brother officer that if the story were true he would deliver over Tippoo, as soon as he laid hands upon him, to the men of the 33rd, to be tried by them for the cold blooded murder of their comrades. What fate the royal ruffian would meet at their hands could not be very doubtful. So justly incensed was he that, long after all resistance had ceased; he hesitated to accept the offer made by the Princes to surrender the Palace on a promise of protection, unless they would inform him where their father was. It is true that Genl. Harris was not aware of all these circumstances, but he doubtless anticipated the tone of feeling that led to them. He must have felt that a man in Baird's position, who had just stormed the town, was not the fittest person to tranquillize its inhabitants. He also knew that Baird's temper was easily roused and not easily restrained. Indeed the whole career of Sir David Baird shows that, notwithstanding his many excellent and soldier-like qualities, he

* It was afterwards satisfactorily ascertained that the mode of death was the equally cruel one of twisting the neck. The unfortunate soldiers taken at the unsuccessful attack on the beetul-nut tope were put to death in this barbarous manner.

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had an unhappy knack of getting into hot water with those around him. In his very first independent command—that at Tanjore—it had been necessary to remove him on account of his dissensions with the Resident. Every one knows the story of his mother, when informed that Tippoo's captives at Seringapatam were chained two and two, exclaiming, "God help the poor fellow that's chained to our Davie!" Whether this anecdote be authentic or not, the frequent collisions of Sir David Baird with his official brethren prove that its spirit was correct. Baird's immediate "supercession" in the command of Seringapatam is accounted for by the fact that, soon after the assault, he had requested that the storming party might be relieved on account of the fatigue they had undergone. Col. Gurwood merely says that, in consequence of this request, Col. Wellesley, being next on the roster, was ordered to take the relief. But this does not account for the permanent command (the necessity of which was pointed out by Col. Wellesley himself) being entrusted to him. Genl. Baird himself always regarded the matter as a deliberate supercession—a supercession that pointed him out to the world as one not fit for any command of importance. We think that the considerations which we have mentioned had their weight in bringing Genl. Harris to the conclusion that Genl. Baird was not particularly well fitted for the command of Seringapatam. At the same time we must say that there does appear to have been an excessive desire on the part of Genl. Harris throughout the campaign to afford Col. Wellesley every opportunity of distinguishing himself. But we attribute this, not to any sycophancy to the Governor General, but partly to a natural feeling of gratitude and partly to a conviction of Col. Wellesley's own eminent merits. For this particular kind of duty he expressed his opinion that Col. Wellesley was the fittest officer in the army. As to Lord Mornington, so convinced was he of his brother's pre-eminent qualifications for the envied post, that he announced to Genl. Harris that if the latter had not entrusted the command to Col. Wellesley, his Lordship himself would have done so. We certainly think that, of the two, Wellesley was, by temper and tact, fitter than Baird to have the command of Seringapatam. Col. Wellesley appears to have sympathized with the wounded feelings of Genl. Baird on the occasion; and, soon after taking command in the fort, he presented Tippoo's state sword to the General as being the man who had the best right to the trophy. Col. Wellesley in his new post speedily showed that Genl. Harris' choice had not been misplaced. He found the town crowded with European and Native soldiers from all the regiments in camp, and plundering and disorder prevailing on all sides. Safeguards were at once placed by himself personally over the

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houses of the principal inhabitants; protection flags were hoisted in different quarters; and, after repeated warnings by beat of drum against plundering the houses or molesting the inhabitants, three men were executed for the former offence. Order and confidence were soon restored by these measures. The inhabitants, most of whom had left the town on the night after the assault and slept in the open fields, began to return to their houses; and in three days after the storming, the main street of Seringapatam was so crowded with heaps of provisions and merchandize and with buyers and sellers as to exhibit the appearance of a fair.

The submission of the whole country of Mysore quickly followed upon the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo. The Governor General appointed a Commission, consisting of Genl. Harris, Col. Wellesley, Mr. Henry Wellesley, Col. Kirkpatrick and Col. Close, with Major Malcolm and Capt. Munro as Secretaries, to conduct the arrangement of the conquest under his Lordship's orders. He determined to reconstitute, under British protection, a portion of the Mysore state under a descendant of the Hindoo Prince whom Hyder Ali had deposed, reserving the remaining portion for distribution among the allies. It was found that the Rajah's widow was still alive and that the representative of the family was a child only five years of age. The able Brahmin, Poorneah, the fallen Sultan's minister, who showed no disinclination to transfer his services from the late dynasty to one of his own race, was chosen to signify to the family the good fortune that was in store for them. Before however any step was taken publicly in the matter, the family and relatives of Tippoo Sultan were, out of delicacy, removed to Vellore which was to be their future residence, and which, some years afterwards, and partly in consequence of that residence, became the scene of a dreadful tragedy. The removal of the disinherited princes was entrusted by the Governor General to Col. Wellesley as an officer likely to combine every duty of humanity with the prudential precautions required by the occasion. This painful but indispensable measure being effected, the British Commissioners proceeded to visit the future Rajah. They found the fallen family in a state of poverty and humiliation which excited the strongest compassion. The ancient palace of Mysore had been utterly destroyed by Tippoo, who wished to extinguish all remembrance that such a place had ever existed. The Commissioners were received in a mean apartment in a small house in Seringapatam. The young Rajah was surrounded by the males of his family, and the females were secluded behind a curtain which ran across the room. Here a formal communication of the intentions of the British Govt. was made by the

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Commissioners, and gratefully responded to by the Rance from behind her curtain. The ceremony of enthronement took place in what had once been the old town of Mysore. A temporary building was erected for the purpose, and the old throne of the Rajahs of Mysore, which had been found at Scringapatam, was used on the occasion. The British Commissioners and a British Regiment attended to do honor to the proceedings. The young Rajah was met at the entrance by Genl. Harris and Meer Allum, each of whom took his hand and conducted him to the musnud, where he was hailed as Rajah of Mysore amid the acclamations of an immense multitude of Hindoos who had some reason to testify their delight at being emancipated from Tippoo's brutal tyranny. Nearly forty years had elapsed since Hyder Ali usurped the government, and now was made fully apparent the truth of the observation, which had become almost proverbial in Mysore, that "Hyder was born to create an empire, Tippoo to lose one." By treaty with the new state a British subsidiary force was received by the Rajah; and the British Govt. were authorized to interfere in the affairs of Mysore, and even to assume the management of any part of the territory whenever they judged it necessary. These preliminaries being concluded, the executive administration was organized. Poorneah, who was a man not only of eminent ability but of what is much rarer among native ministers—integrity, became the Rajah's Dewan or chief minister; Col. Close was selected as the Political Resident; and Col. Wellesley was appointed to the military command. The appointment of a Native to the highest civil office in Mysore, and indeed of Natives to all the civil offices and most of the military offices in the country, was hailed with applause by the people in every part of India. Under the management of Poorneah, controlled by the British Resident, the experiment succeeded admirably. The Marquis Wellesley, at the close of his administration, declared that the success of the Mysore arrangements had fulfilled his most sanguine expectations. But Poorneah was a man in a million. He left the country at his death in a highly flourishing condition. The young Rajah, however, turned out to be of the common class of Eastern Princes—indolent, prodigal and oppressive; and the usual result followed. Mysore has been for many years wholly managed by British officers.

Col. Wellesley applied himself with great energy and discernment to his new duties. In organizing the military establishment, he replaced the most intelligent and experienced of Tippoo's officers in their former posts. He made it a primary object of his attention to open roads and communications throughout the province. In order to prevent Tippoo's disbanded soldiers from combining in marauding bands, he ordered that every

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horse in Mysore should be registered and that no horseman should be allowed to travel through the country without a passport. He himself made a tour of inspection through the different districts. He guarded the authority of the Govt. of Mysore with what Major Wilks called a "parental description of care." The task of quieting the country was a difficult one, as may be inferred from the following passage of a letter (of May, 1800) to his friend Munro: "I think that upon the whole we are not in the most thriving condition in this country. Polygars, Nairs and Moplas in arms on all sides of us; an army full of disaffection and discontent, amounting to Lord knows what, on the Northern frontier, which increases as it advances like a snow-ball in snow. If we go to war in earnest however (and if we take the field at all it ought to be in earnest), I will collect everything that can be brought together from all sides, and we ought not to quit the field as long as there is a discontented or unsubdued polygar in the country." At this time he received an offer, from the Governor General, of the military command of an expedition designed to be despatched against Batavia in conjunction with a naval squadron under Admiral Rainier. He wished to go, but left it to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, to decide the matter according to his sense of the public convenience. Lord Clive at once requested him to remain in a situation, which, (to use his Lordship's words), "I have long felt, and still feel, that you fill with singular advantage to our own country as well as to Mysore; a situation, in which, for the prosperous settlements of our new acquisitions, integrity and vigilance of conduct are indispensable; and in which your acquired knowledge and experience, especially in the event of active operations, must give you the advantage over other men; and in which I should find it not only difficult but impossible to replace you to my satisfaction." Under these circumstances the Governor General, in a private letter to his "Dear Arthur," expressed his opinion that his brother could not quit Mysore at that time, adding, with his usual fraternal regard, "your conduct there has secured your character and advancement for the remainder of your life, and you may trust me for making the best use of your merits in your future promotion." Affairs in Mysore were in a state that demanded instant attention. Banditti infested the country; many chiefs were disaffected; and Dhoondiah Waugh ravaged the frontier with an army of freebooters. This leader, although in himself, as described by Col. Wellesley, "a despicable enemy," might become formidable by leaguing with the disaffected, with whom he was already in communication; and his destruction was therefore necessary. Mr. Webbe, Secretary to the Madras Govt., announced to Col. Wellesley that he was to pursue the daring freebooter and hang him on the first tree.

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The name of Dhoondiah Waugh has become famous from his having been the object of the Duke of Wellington's first campaign as a commander. Dhoondiah's career had been an extraordinary one, and a full account of it would throw a strange light on Indian character and on the condition of Southern India before the English became dominant there. But we have space merely to mention that, though a Mahratta by birth, he had been forcibly made a Mahommedan by Tippoo, and that he commenced life as a private horseman in Hyder Ali's service. He was a bold, dexterous, unscrupulous and ambitious man, who aspired to erect a principality for himself out of the disordered provinces of the Southern Mahratta country. In this he might have succeeded if he had had only Mahrattas to deal with. His band had swelled to an army, and he had managed to become master of several Mahratta forts which he duly garrisoned. But, unfortunately for him, the British were at hand. Col. Wellesley, having, with some difficulty, obtained the Peshwa's consent to pursue the marauder into the Mahratta territories, marched against him in June (1800.) He was joined by Bappoo Gokla (afterwards the Peshwa's famous commander in his last struggle with the British) and by some other Mahratta officers with their troops ; but they proved of little service. Indeed strong suspicions were entertained that the marauder was secretly encouraged by the treacherous Court of Poona. Col. Wellesley soon cleared the country between the Werda and the Toombuddra of Dhoondia's adherents and seized several of his forts, the freebooter himself moving rapidly from place to place. On the 19th of July Wellesley writes to his friend Munro that he had given Dhoondia one run and had established an opinion of the superiority of the British force throughout the country. A few days later Col. Wellesley arrived at Dummul, a strong fort on the Mahratta frontier garrisoned by about a thousand of Dhoondia's men. The killadar, when summoned, refused to surrender, on which the fort was attacked and carried by escalade. The killadar, being regarded as only an officer of freebooters, was hanged. On the 30th the British force, after a march of twenty-six miles, surprized a detachment of the enemy, about five thousand strong, encamped on the banks of the Malpoorba in charge of Dhoondiah's baggage or rather plunder. Wellesley charged them with his cavalry, and with such determination that they were almost to a man killed or driven into the river. An elephant, several camels, many bullocks, and innumerable horses were taken, as well as a number of women and children. The enemy's guns, six in number, were on the opposite side of the river, and Col. Wellesley being without the means of crossing made some of his Europeans swim over next morning to seize a boat. The guns were thus got possession of,

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and he presented them to his Mahratta allies. He continued hotly to pursue Dhoondiah with the corps under his personal command and with a detachment of the Nizam's subsidiary force under Col. Stevenson, coming sometimes so close to the freebooter as to capture some of his guns and supplies. All this time Dhoondiah was in communication with several of the officials of the country, by whom he was kept well informed of the movements of the British troops. One killadar endeavoured on some pretext or other to detain Col. Wellesley at his fort, in order that Dhoondiah who was not far off might have time to escape; but, as Wellesley wrote to his friend Munro, "I was not to be prevailed upon to stop, and even went so far as to threaten to hang a great man sent to show me the road, who manifested an inclination to show me a good road to a different place." At length, on the 10th September, after many doublings and evasions, the King of the Two Worlds, as Dhoondiah styled himself, was run in upon by the British force. He drew up his army, consisting of five thousand horse, in a strong position at the village and rock of Conahgull and stood for some time with apparent firmness. Col. Wellesley, forming his four regiments of cavalry in one line in order to render it equal in length to that of the enemy, charged with such rapidity and spirit that the whole line opposed to him gave way and fled. They were pursued for several miles, many were killed, and the remainder were dispersed in small parties over the face of the country. Dhoondiah was among the slain, and his body being recognized was brought into the British camp on a gun by the 19th Dragoons. Thus terminated the adventurous life and the ambitious schemes of Doondiah Waugh, who, if he had lived fifty years earlier, might have become a second Hyder Ali. Major Munro, writing to Col. Wellesley on hearing of the death of the King of the Two Worlds, as both of these officers were fond of styling the aspiring freebooter, remarks, "Had you and your regicide army been out of the way, Dhoondiah would undoubtedly have become an independent and powerful prince and the founder of a new dynasty of cruel and treacherous Sultans." An infant son of the fallen leader, named Salabut Khan, was found among the baggage and brought to Col. Wellesley, who kindly took charge of him. He had him educated in Mysore, and on his departure from India left several hundred pounds for the boy's use. Salabut Khan grew up a handsome and intelligent youth, and entered the Rajah of Mysore's service. He died of cholera in 1822. The death of Dhoondiah put an end to the warfare against him; and Col. Wellesley received the thanks of the Governor General for the professional knowledge, the skilful management of resources and supplies, and the enterprizing and active spirit, which he had

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displayed throughout the campaign. This eulogy was from a brother : but all who, from proximity to the scene of action, had an opportunity of forming a correct opinion, appear to have heartily coincided with it.

A few months after the termination of this warfare, Col. Wellesley was apprized that he had been appointed by the Governor General to the command of a considerable force about to be assembled at Trincomalee, with the object either of proceeding up the Red Sea to co-operate with the British army engaged in Egypt against the French, or of attacking the Mauritius which had long been a nest of French privateers, according as circumstances might render advisable. The Mauritius was at length fixed upon as the object of attack, and the expedition against it was intended to be undertaken in conjunction with the squadron of Admiral Rainier, Commander-in-Chief in the Eastern seas. Col. Wellesley accordingly proceeded to Trincomalee, and occupied himself in making the necessary arrangements. In this he was much assisted by the gallant Captain Malcolm, brother of Sir John Malcolm and afterwards well known as Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who was then in command of H. M's. ship *Suffolk*. The Commissariat, as usual, occupied a principal share of Col. Wellesley's attention. To Mr. North, the Governor of Ceylon, who had proposed that the expedition should start without certain requisite stores in hopes of their being despatched afterwards, he wrote ; " Articles of provision are not to be trifled with or left to chance ; and there is nothing more clear than that the subsistence of the troops must be certain upon the proposed service, or the service must be relinquished." The expedition, however, never took place. Admiral Rainier declined to take part in it, on the ground that such a distant and hazardous expedition could not be undertaken without the express command of the British Govt. signified in the usual official form. In vain did the Governor General endeavour to convince the Admiral that, if no advantage was ever to be taken of the temporary or accidental weakness of the enemy's possessions in the East without express orders from England, many opportunities of reducing their power and resources would be lost. The gallant Admiral was a thorough disciple of the red-tape school, and remained immoveable. The Governor General, thus thwarted, turned his attention to Batavia, for the reduction of which he had express instructions from England,—so that Admiral Rainier had it not in his power to refuse the co-operation of the Naval squadron. The forces at Trincomalee were therefore directed to proceed against Batavia. Here General Baird came once more into collision with Col. Wellesley. The General had been for above a year in command of the Dinapore division,—when, hearing of the proposed

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expedition, he hurried down to Calcutta to seek the command of it. He warmly expostulated with the Governor General against employing a junior Colonel to command such an important expedition while the services of a Major General were available. The result of some very animated interviews with the Governor General on the subject was that Genl. Baird was appointed commander of the expedition, with Col. Wellesley as second in command. Minute instructions were drawn up, in accordance with which Genl. Baird, after taking Java, was to remain there as Governor, while Col. Wellesley was to proceed, with as many troops as could be spared, to attack the Mauritius, of which he was to assume the civil and military government. It is very evident that the Marquis Wellesley, throughout his viceroyalty, had a truly fraternal regard to the interests of his younger brother and lost no opportunity of affording him the means of distinction and advancement. But this expedition met the fate of that previously projected for the Mauritius, and never took place. In February (1801) the Governor General received instructions from England to despatch a force to Egypt to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercrombie in expelling the French. The troops which were assembled at Trincomalee were appointed to this duty, Genl. Baird retaining the chief command. Col. Wellesley was as deeply mortified at his supercession in command of the Trincomalee force as Genl. Baird had been when superseded in the command of Seringapatam by Col. Wellesley. There was something like poetic justice in the manner in which the rival commanders thus alternately got the better of each other. Writing on the subject to his brother Henry (afterwards Lord Cowley) who had recently arrived in India, Col. Wellesley thus lays bare his heart—"I was at the top of the tree in this country. The Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, which I had served, placed unlimited confidence in me, and I had received from both strong and repeated marks of their approbation. Before I quitted the Mysore country I arranged the plan for taking possession of the ceded districts, which was done without striking a blow; and another plan for conquering Wynaad and reconquering Malabar, which I am informed has succeeded without loss on our side. But this supercession has ruined all my prospects, founded upon any service that I may have rendered. I ask you has there been any change whatever of circumstances that was not expected when I was appointed to the command? If there has not (and no one can say there has, without doing injustice to the Governor General's foresight) my supercession must have been occasioned either by my own misconduct or by an alteration of the sentiments of the Governor General. I have not

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been guilty of robbery or murder, and he has certainly changed his mind; but the world, which is always good-natured towards those whose affairs do not exactly prosper, will not fail to suspect that both or worse have been the occasion of my being banished, like General Kray, to my estate in Hungary. I did not look and did not wish for the appointment which was given to me; and I say that it would probably have been more proper to give it to somebody else; but when it was given to me, and a circular written to the Governments upon the subject, it would have been fair to allow me to hold it till I did something to deserve to lose it. I put private considerations out of the question, as they ought and have had no weight in causing either my original appointment or my supercession. I am not quite satisfied with the manner in which I have been treated by Govt. upon this occasion." "However," he concludes with manly sense. "I have lost neither my health, nor temper in consequence thereof—but it is useless to write any more upon a subject of which I wish to retain no remembrance whatever."

In February (1801) Col. Wellesley sailed from Ceylon for Bombay with the Trincomalee troops. He had received no orders to take this step; and his letters, public and private, show how apprehensive he was that he would incur Lord Wellesley's displeasure by it. But he felt it to be his duty not to delay anticipating what he believed to be the Governor General's wish, and deeming it to be his duty he acted upon his conviction at once. His special object in going to Bombay was to hasten the arrangements for the supply of provisions to the troops,—for in all his military undertakings, the Commissariat, on which the efficiency of an army so much depends, never seemed for an hour absent from his thoughts. Lord Wellesley, with his usual kindness and consideration in whatever concerned his brother expressed approval of his having gone to Bombay although without orders but privately alluded to the dangerous precedent which such a step might create. The Governor General, at the same time, in a private letter to Genl. Baird, who was then on board ship in Saugor Roads on the eve of starting for the Egyptian expedition, expressed his hope that the General would admit Col. Wellesley to his cordial confidence and give the public the full benefit of that officer's talents. Genl. Baird heartily told the Governor General in reply that his brother's talents would have full scope. "Trust me my Lord" he added, "I harbour no little jealousy—all in *my* breast is zeal for my king and country." Genl. Baird, on arriving at Bombay, found that Governor Duncan and Col. Wellesley had been so active in laying in provisions and preparing transports that the expedition was nearly ready to proceed to sea. All the arrangements for embarking

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for Mocha had been completed when Col. Wellesley was seized with intermittent fever, of which he had had a previous attack at Trincomalee. Genl. Baird therefore sailed without him. So anxious was Col. Wellesley to follow that it was with difficulty his medical adviser restrained him from going on board ship. His illness at length became of so serious a nature that he was obliged to resort to a course of nitrous baths, and all thoughts of taking a part in the Egyptian expedition were abandoned. He was extremely solicitous that his friends and the public should not think that Gen. Baird's demeanor had anything to do with this ; and in a letter to Baird himself he frankly acknowledged that gallant officer's kind and handsome behaviour towards him, candidly adding that he had not expected such treatment. His illness continuing to render him incapable of proceeding on active service, he determined to return to his old command in Mysore, which he had quitted with regret and now rejoined with pleasure. He anticipated however, all manner of evil consequences to his reputation and future views from abandoning the Egyptian expedition. "But" he philosophically remarks "it cannot be helped ; and to things of that nature I generally contrive to make up my mind." The most sagacious of us are but short-sighted mortals, where our interests or passions are concerned. There now appears something, ludicrous in the Duke of Wellington having bewailed his supercession in the command of the barren expedition to Egypt as an almost irretrievable blow to his reputation and prospects. The Egyptian expedition, although barren as to practical results was highly creditable to Genl. Baird. That commander, by the exercise of great fortitude, skill and judgment, performed the difficult and perilous enterprize of marching his troops across the desert of Suez with perfect success. But the fate of the French army in Egypt had been decided previous to his arrival. Baird returned to India and was placed on the staff of the Madras establishment.

In April (1801) Col. Wellesley was formally directed by the Madras Govt. to resume the command of the forces in Mysore, and he accordingly proceeded from Bombay to Seringapatam. Here, for upwards of a year, he was occupied in concluding the organization of the military administration of Mysore and completing the pacification of the country. At this time he was promoted to the rank of Major General. His position in Mysore was such as to subject him to heavy expences ; and a very handsome allowance had therefore been granted to him by the Govt. of Madras. The Court of Directors, who had for some time, been growing dissatisfied with the Marquis Wellesley's great military expenditure, took this opportunity of

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aiming an indirect blow at him and ordered his brother's allowances to be reduced on the ground of their being extravagant. The Marquis fired at this, and bitterly complained that the Court had offered him "the most direct, marked, and disgusting personal indignity which could be devised." He further expressed his opinion that if the Court thought him capable of permitting the Madras Govt. to grant an extravagant allowance, or thought his brother capable of accepting such an allowance, it ought to remove both from its service. This circumstance, combined with some other matters of dispute with the Court, led the Governor General in January, 1802 to intimate a desire to be relieved of his high office at the close of the year. The Court of Directors, however, with many complimentary expressions, requested him to prolong his stay for another year. The state of British relations with the Mahrattas soon put all thoughts of quitting his post out of the Marquis Wellesley's head; and it was well that such a man was at the head of the Govt. in the contest which speedily ensued with the great Mahratta chiefs. The time had come for deciding whether the strangers from beyond the sea, or the mountain tribe which had so strangely risen from a horde of marauders to a nation of conquerors, were to be the Lords of India.

It would be out of place here to enter into a detail of the internal contests among the Mahratta chiefs, which led to the direct interference of the British Govt. in the affairs of the Mahratta Empire. It will be sufficient to state that the Marquis Wellesley was desirous of forming a subsidiary treaty with the Peshwa, the nominal head of the Mahratta confederacy; and while the arrangements for this were in progress, Holkar, who was in arms against Scindia and the Peshwa, defeated their combined forces near Poona in October, 1802. Upon this the Peshwa, Bajee Rao, fled to Bassein near Bombay, and threw himself upon British protection. Here, on the last day of the year, a treaty was concluded with him by Col. Close, the late Resident at Poona, whereby, among other stipulations, it was agreed that the British and the Peshwa would conjointly defend each other's territories against all enemies, and that the Peshwa would receive permanently into his dominions a subsidiary force and, while exercising complete sovereignty over his own subjects, would conduct all his relations with other states under British advice. Dowlut Rao Scindia and Ragojee Bhonsla, the Rajah of Berar, the two leading Mahratta chiefs, were decidedly adverse to any such British interference as was here contemplated, and were, besides, displeased at not having been consulted regarding the Treaty; while the third great Mahratta chief, Jeswunt Rao Holkar, was at the time lying at Poona

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with an army hostile to the Peshwa. Thus a war with these chiefs seemed almost inevitable as soon as the British Govt. proceeded to carry out the stipulations of the Treaty of Bassein. A British force had been previously assembled at Hurryhur, on the North West frontier of Mysore, as a precautionary measure in consequence of the disordered state of Mahratta affairs. In March, 1803, this army, which was commanded by Genl. Stuart, numbered twenty thousand men ; and a strong detachment of it was ordered to advance into the Mahratta territory under the command of General Wellesley, who had been selected for this service by Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, as possessing (to use his Lordship's words at the time) much practical experience, great local knowledge and personal influence among the Mahratta chieftains, and eminent ability for the discharge of the political as well as military duties which were requisite to be performed. At this time, indeed, Southern India exhibited an array of officers of ability and political experience such as never before or since appeared at any one period in Anglo-Indian history. A mere enumeration of the names will be sufficient to show this. In addition to Genl. Wellesley, the destined leader in the impending war, there were Major Malcolm (who was to accompany him as Political Assistant), Col. Barry Close, Resident with the Peshwa, Col. Collins, Resident with Scindiah, Major Kirkpatrick, Resident with the Nizam, and Mr. Josiah Webbe, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Major (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro, and Major Wilks, the historian of Mysore, who were variously employed in Mysore and the Deccan. Nearly all of these took part in some capacity or other in the war about to commence. Nor must we forget Genl. Baird, of whom we are now to take a farewell here. That gallant but very sensitive officer was in command of a division of the Madras Army, but finding that his corps was much reduced by drafts made upon it to strengthen Genl. Wellesley's force, and deeming that he was neglected in order that his more favoured rival might be advanced, he remonstrated with the Madras Govt., and this not proving successful he relinquished his command and returned to Europe. On a calm review of all the circumstances attending Genl. Baird's distinguished career in the East, it is impossible not to sympathize in some degree with his feelings on this occasion. The conquest of the Cape of Good Hope soon, however, afforded scope for his energy and zeal ; and his conduct in Spain, as second in command under Sir John Moore, afterwards more widely extended his reputation. It is remarkable that on the very first service in which Sir Arthur Wellesley was engaged after his return to Europe—the Expedition to Copenhagen—there also was his

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old friend, Baird. It is gratifying to add that by none were the Duke of Wellington's successive victories in the Peninsula hailed with a warmer feeling than by Sir David Baird.

General Wellesley's advancing force numbered about ten thousand men, including one Regiment of European Cavalry and two Regiments of European infantry, besides a large body of the Rajah of Mysore's horse. The object of the advance was in the first instance to encourage the jagheerdars in the Southern Mahratta country to declare for the Peshwa, and then to proceed to Poona and establish there an order of things favorable to the Peshwa's return to his capital. Wellesley marched with his army from Hurryhur on the 9th March (1803,) crossed the Toombuddra on the 12th and reached the Kistna on the 31st. Since the General had been in this part of the country, three years previously, there had been nothing but one continued contest for power and plunder between the great Mahratta jagheerdars. His conduct in the command of Mysore and in the campaign against Doondiah Waugh had given him fame and extraordinary influence among these turbulent chieftains; and he took care on this occasion to conciliate the inhabitants by preventing all plunder and excess. The consequence was that his army were everywhere received as friends; and the heads of the great Mahratta families of Gokla, Putwurdhun, Vinchor, Dessye, and others, ceasing their contests for the time, joined him with their forces, consisting principally of horse. In these chiefs it was easy to observe a thorough detestation of the Peshwa's person and a decided apprehension of his power, founded on a long series of mutual injuries. It was indeed rather to General Wellesley than to the Peshwa that they tendered their support. During his march onwards he relieved the Nawab of Savanore, a starving brother-in-law of Tippoo-Sultan, with a present of five thousand Rupees. Being joined on the 15th of April by the Hyderabad subsidiary force under Col. Stevenson, he proceeded towards Poona so as to secure the Peshwa's march to that place from Bassein. Meanwhile Holkar had retired from Poona with his army and withdrawn to Chandore, three hundred miles distant; but Amrut Rao, the brother of the Peshwa by adoption, and whose son had been placed by Holkar on the musnud, was left behind with a small detachment. Repeated intimations were conveyed to Genl. Wellesley by Col. Close from Poona that Amrut Rao intended to burn the city previous to retreating. Accordingly, General Wellesley pushed on by forced marches with his cavalry over a rugged country and through the difficult pass of the Little Bhore Ghaut, and arrived at Poona on the 20th April, having marched sixty miles during the preceding thirty-four hours. Amrut Rao moved off with

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pricipitation on the morning of General Wellesley's arrival, leaving the city uninjured. The British were welcomed at Poonah as deliverers by the few inhabitants who had remained in it, and great numbers who had fled to the adjoining hills at once returned to their houses and resumed their occupations. It was found that Holkar's barbarities and the ravages of the bands of Pindarrees attached to his camp, had reduced the country for a distance of a hundred and fifty miles from Poona to an uninhabited desert. The grain and forage had been consumed; the houses had been pulled down for firewood; the inhabitants had fled with their cattle; and for fifteen days before reaching the Mahratta capital, the British army did not meet with a human being excepting in one village. Such was the devastating nature of Mahratta warfare.

The Peshwa reached Poona on the 13th May under a strong British escort. Next day he admitted Genl. Wellesley to an interview, which was mutually satisfactory. The General was struck with His Highness' quickness and ability and with his apparent anxiety to perform all the stipulations of the Treaty. The Peshwa, on his part conversed with the British commander with frankness and cordiality, invited him to an entertainment to be given in his honor and soon afterwards showed his confidence in the General's integrity and discretion by transmitting through him all important orders to the Mahratta Sirdars. But in the course of a few days Genl. Wellesley discovered that Bajee Rao's graceful person, polished demeanor and flowing conversation concealed a fickleness of purpose, an incapacity for government, a jealousy of British influence, and an excessive malice towards all who had ever opposed him or whom he had ever injured, that rendered him a very unsafe ally. It was not until a later period, however, that he fully fathomed the depths of that base, inhuman, treacherous and vindictive disposition which marked out Bajee Rao as a bad man even among Mahrattas.

Previous to this it had become apparent that a confederacy was being formed among the great Mahratta chiefs with the view of opposing British influence and subverting the Treaty of Bassein: Scindiah crossed the Nerbudda with his army and advanced to Burhanpoor; the Rajah of Berar was preparing to join him; and negotiations were carried on between Scindiah and Holkar for the accommodation of their mutual differences and with the view of inducing Holkar to take part in the confederacy. In this conjuncture the Governor General had despatched Col. Collins to Scindiah's camp to learn the intentions of that chief. On Collins requesting to be informed if there was any intention to obstruct the fulfilment of the Treaty of Bassein,

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Scindiah coolly replied that he would answer the question as soon as he had held a conference with the Rajah of Berar, when the Colonel should be informed "whether there was to be peace or war." This insolent and hostile declaration, as the Governor General justly deemed it, rendered it necessary to prepare for active hostilities. Genl. Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, was directed to assemble an army in Northern India. Col. Stevenson with the Hydrabad subsidiary force had previously proceeded from Poona to the Nizam's frontier, which had been threatened by Holkar; Genl. Wellesley marched with his army from Poona on the 4th of June (1803); and Genl. Stuart advanced with the reserve army to a position from which he could co-operate with Wellesley and Stevenson. The Governor General, aware that in the course of the transactions whether of diplomatic intercourse or of warfare, with the confederate chiefs, many questions might arise demanding prompt decision, resolved to unite for a time the general direction and control of all political and military affairs in the Deccan under a distinct local authority. and having full confidence in his brother's military and political abilities and in his zeal, judgment and experience, vested these powers in his hands. Similar powers were afterwards entrusted to Genl. Lake for Hindustan. The Marquis Wellesley had formed a vast scheme of military and political operations, with the view of reducing the great military power of Scindiah, excluding the Mahrattas from Northern India and from communication with the Sikhs, destroying the quasi-French state which Perron and other adventurers had established on the Jumna, delivering the Emperor of Delhi out of the hands of the Mahrattas or rather of their French subordinates, establishing the Peshwa and the Nizam in their respective Governments under British protection, obtaining possession of the Doab, of the Jumna and Ganges, including Delhi and Agra, of Bundelcund, of Cuttack and of the seaports of Guzerat, so as thoroughly to consolidate and secure the Company's dominions. His object in a word was to render the British the paramount power in India. Of his success in this grand scheme our present position in India is the result and the standing proof.

Genl. Wellesley's vigorous and judicious measures soon justified his brother's generous confidence in him. On the very day of his march from Poona the armies of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had formed a junction on the frontier of the Nizam's territories. Holkar had retired into Malwa to watch the course of events. The negotiations between Col. Collins and the confederate chiefs dragged themselves slowly on. The language of these chiefs displayed the vagueness usual in Mahratta diplomatic intercourse, and might be made to bear any meaning. But it

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became gradually evident that their object was to gain time so as to draw Holkar into the confederacy and to enable them by menaces and promises to rouse the neighbouring native princes against the British. Genl. Wellesley, after bearing patiently with their evasive and dilatory conduct for some time, at length resolved to bring matters to an issue and decide at once, in Scindiah's own words, whether there was to be peace or war. Accordingly on the 18th of July, being then encamped in the neighbourhood of Ahmednugger, he directed Col. Collins to intimate to the confederate Princes that if they were sincere in their amicable professions they must show it by retiring from their menacing position on the Nizam's frontier and withdrawing their armies, Scindiah into his own territories across the Nerbudda and the Rajah of Berar to his capital of Nagpore,—in which case the British army would also retire to their usual stations. If this was not agreed to Col. Collins was to leave Scindiah's camp, and hostilities would commence. This was a proposal which could not be misunderstood and which would soon bring the intention of the confederates to the test,—and they were perplexed how to meet such plain dealing. They attempted to continue their former game of evasion; and Col. Collins, unable to obtain a decided reply, at length left Scindiah's camp after more than five months of fruitless effort to avert war. Even after this the confederates addressed Genl. Wellesley, proposing that he should move his troops to Madras, Bombay and Seringapatam, while they on their part should withdraw their united armies to Burhanpore, fifty miles from the Nizam's frontier. They could scarcely expect that such an absurd proposal as this, which would give them the opportunity of pursuing their hostile schemes unopposed and at the most favorable season for military operations, would be listened to. Genl. Wellesley's reply was firm and decisive: "This proposal is unreasonable and inadmissible, and you must stand the consequences of the measures which I find myself obliged to adopt in order to repel your aggressions. I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honorable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for all consequences". This was on the 6th August; and next day he published a proclamation announcing that he had commenced hostilities against Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, but that he had no intention of making war upon the inhabitants of the country, and requiring all civil officers to remain quietly at their stations and obey his orders,—assuring them that if they did no injury to the British army none would be done to them, but that such of the inhabitants as abandoned their dwellings or endeavored to injure the British army or its followers would be treated as enemies. Genl. Wellesley had at

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this time under his immediate command a force of above fifteen thousand men, including two large bodies of Mysore and Mahratta Horse. Under his orders were also the Hydrabad subsidiary force commanded by Col. Stevenson, amounting to eight thousand men, besides a corps of Mogul cavalry, posted on the Nizam's frontier, and a field and garrison force of seven thousand men in Guzerat, commanded by Col. Murray, the same officer who, as Sir John Murray, was unlucky enough during the Peninsular war to lose his artillery at Tarragona. The united forces of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, which were lying in the neighbourhood of the Adjuntea ghaut near the Nizam's frontier, consisted of thirty-eight thousand cavalry, twelve thousand infantry, a thousand camels carrying rockets and light pieces of ordnance, and above two hundred guns. Several of these corps were however only half disciplined, and it may be added that neither of the confederate chiefs possessed any military ability or experience. Including Genl. Lake's army, and various detachments at different points, above fifty thousand British troops were in arms to carry out the comprehensive plan which the Governor General had formed for the extension of British dominion and influence. Genl. Stuart had been authorized by the Governor General to assume the command of General Wellesley's army wherever he thought proper. With rare self denial however, mingled, it may be, with somewhat of a feeling of deference to what he must have known were the Governor General's private wishes, he declined this honor, and his words on the occasion are too ereditable to Genl. Wellesley to be omitted here. It will be seen what was the opinion formed of that officer at this early period of his career by his immediate military superior. Writing to the Governor General on the 8th August, Genl. Stuart says :—

"The experience gained by Major Genl. Wellesley during his former operations in the Mahratta territories, the extensive knowledge and influence which he has acquired in the present campaign, and his eminent military talents, enable him better than any other officer to prosecute with success the service which he has hitherto conducted with so much ability ; and I have chosen to relinquish the gratification which I should derive from the command of an army, probably destined to undertake very distinguished services, in order to continue that important charge in the hands of the officer best qualified in my judgment to exercise it with advantage to the public."

On the same day on which this was written orders were issued by the Nizam, placing all his military commanders and his frontier talookdars under Genl. Wellesley, even to the extent of displacing them if he thought proper. The assistance rendered to him by the Civil officers of his ally the Peshwa was merely nominal. "The Peshwa is too bad" he writes to his friend Close :

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"it is really discreditable to the British Government to have any thing to say to him." He describes in very dark colors the state of the Peshwa's territories at this time. The whole country was unsettled and in ruins. Entire districts had been depopulated by the extortion and marauding of Holkar's army and his Pindaree retainers. Very little revenue was received by the jagheerdars, who were consequently obliged to wink at their troops plundering the villages for the means of subsistence. No man who could find anything to seize or steal would employ himself in cultivation. Many of the jagheers and forts even in the neighbourhood of Poona, were in the hands of men who refused obedience to the Peshwa's Govt.; and that Government was in such a state of weakness and confusion as to be quite helpless against disobedience. This state of matters tended greatly to encourage the confederate Princes, who were further under the delusion that a union of the chiefs of the Mahratta Empire would be as powerful now against the British as it had been in former times. Genl. Wellesley had very little doubt in his own mind that he would soon convince them to the contrary. The confederates also boasted that they would tire out the English as they had tired out the Mahommedans by the favorite Mahratta system of predatory warfare; but, to use Genl. Wellesley's words, "unless they find British officers and soldiers to be in the same corrupted, enervated state in which their predecessors found the Mussulman in the last century, they cannot expect much success from it."

In accordance with the plan of operations which he had formed, Genl. Wellesley, on the 6th August, the day of declaring war, sent orders to Guzerat for an attack upon Scindiah's fort of Broach, and he himself two days afterwards attacked Ahmednuggur. This fortress, ever since the days of the famous Chand Bibi, had been regarded in the Deccan as impregnable, and to the British General it appeared the strongest native fort he had seen excepting Vellore. The Pettah, or fortified suburb, was simultaneously escaladed in three places, and after an obstinate defence by a party of Arabs was carried,—on which the fortress surrendered. The pusillanimous killadar seemed more anxious to save his property than to strike a blow for his master. During the attack on the pettah Col. Wellesley was struck with the gallantry of a young officer who had not before come under his notice, and he immediately made him his Brigade Major. This officer afterwards become Sir Colin Campbell and was the Duke of Wellington's companion on many a hard fought field. The acquisition of Ahmednuggur was of immense importance to the success of the war. Besides securing the communication with the South and afford-

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ing a secure depot for stores, it placed at the British General's command all Scindiah's territories south of the Godavery and cut off the connection of the confederates with the Deccan. Leaving a garrison in Ahmednuggur Genl. Wellesley began his march Northward on the 18th of August, through a country exhibiting melancholy signs of Mahratta warfare in depopulated villages and uncultivated fields. By the 24th the army had crossed the Godavery. This river was very wide; and the mode of transit was in wicker boats, made by the troops themselves from the neighbouring jungle, and covered with bullock skins. Here Major Malcolm was obliged to quit the camp and proceed to Bombay on account of his health; and Col. Wellesley missed much his extensive information regarding the country and his valuable assistance in political matters. A gentleman however was present with the force, admirably qualified to supply the vacancy—Mountstuart Elphinstone, then Persian Interpreter on Genl. Wellesley's staff and since so honorably distinguished in Indian diplomacy and administration and in Indian historical research. The confederates had by this time entered the Nizam's territories with a large body of horse. They spread their Pindarrees over the country and began to plunder, but with so little success that great distress existed in their camp and flour and grain were selling at two and a half seers for the Rupee. The villages were in general walled, and as the enemy were without guns and their horse could not get over the walls, the inhabitants were tolerably secure. Indeed in several instances the cowardly Pindarrees were beaten off in fair fight by the village peons. The enemy however managed to seize some of the principal inhabitants, whom they kept as hostages for the payment of contributions which they had demanded from the districts. On learning this, Genl. Wellesley thought it necessary to retaliate, as the only means of checking such an unjustifiable mode of warfare, and at once requested the Governor of Bombay and the Resident at Poona to seize any of the relatives of Scindiah or Raghoojee Bhonsla residing in these places. The enemy, pressed upon by Genl. Wellesley, abandoned the predatory warfare on which they had entered with their cavalry, and forming a junction with sixteen battalions of Scindiah's regular infantry and a large and well equipped train of Artillery under two French officers, encamped on the 21st September, in the neighbourhood of the village of Bokerdun on the bank of the Kaitna river. On the same day the respective corps of Wellesley and Stevenson were so close to each other that the commanders were able to hold a conference, at which a plan was concerted of attacking the enemy with both divisions on the morning of

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the 24th. On the 22nd, in accordance with this plan, Wellesley marched towards them by the Eastern route and Stevenson by the western route. This separation was necessary, not only because both corps could not pass through the same defiles in one day, but because both the roads through the hills required to be occupied in order that the enemy might not move off by one of them and thus avoid altogether the action so much desired by the British commanders. The object in view was that both corps should arrive within twelve or fourteen miles of the enemy on the 23rd and move to attack them next morning. Erroneous information however disconcerted this plan. On arriving at the village of Naulniah on the 23rd, Genl. Wellesley found that the enemy, instead of being twelve or fourteen miles were only six miles distant. He was informed at the same time that their cavalry had moved off and that their infantry were about to follow. Eager to prevent their escape he resolved to attack them at once, and sending notice of his intention to Col. Stevenson who was then only eight miles distant and whom he directed to move forward, and leaving a strong guard with his baggage and stores at Naulniah, he marched towards the enemy. He himself went on at the head of the pickets to reconnoitre, and found that he had been misinformed as to the enemy's cavalry having moved off. On ascending a rising ground he beheld the whole army of the confederates in his front encamped on the opposite bank of the Kaitna river near its junction with the Juahnullah. Their right, consisting entirely of cavalry, rested on the village of Bokerdun, and the line extended six miles to their left, consisting of infantry and artillery, in the direction of Assye. Their position was most formidable, and they greatly outnumbered the British force in all arms. They had above thirty thousand cavalry, above ten thousand regular infantry and about a hundred guns,—while to oppose this vast host Genl. Wellesley had only four thousand five hundred British troops (of which one regiment of cavalry and two of infantry were Europeans) and five thousand Mysore and Mahratta horse, with a few field pieces. Intelligence was also at this time brought to him that the Mahratta horse intended to go over to the enemy as soon as the engagement commenced.* The most daring commander that ever lived might well have hesitated under these circumstances. General Wellesley deliberated whether to attack the enemy at once, or withdraw to Naulniah and in conjunction with Col. Stevenson attack them on the following morning. Reflecting that if he withdrew he should be harassed by their hordes of cavalry all the way to Naulniah, that his baggage would also be in danger,

* Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

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and above all that the enemy, on hearing of the junction of the two British corps, would probably decamp during the night, he determined upon an immediate attack. The determination was a bold one, but he knew the Mahrattas, and he had such confidence in his own troops that his predominant feeling was that the enemy could not now escape him. He had first come in front of their right but he resolved to make the attack on their left, as the defeat of their infantry and artillery would most effectually break their strength. The river Kaitna, which flowed between the hostile armies, is bordered by steep banks: it was impassable every where for guns except at the village of Peepulgaon. This ford, which was beyond the left flank of the enemy who had most negligently omitted to guard it, was occupied by Genl. Wellesley. He left the Mysore and Mahratta Horse on the southern side of the river in order to keep in check a large body of the enemy's Cavalry which had followed his route from the right of their position. He then crossed the Kaitna with his twelve hundred cavalry, thirteen hundred European infantry and artillery and two thousand native infantry to encounter the confederate host of forty thousand men. Immediately on crossing he drew up his troops in order of battle, in three lines, on the tongue of land between the Kaitna and the rugged nulla of the Juah which ran parallel to it. The first line consisted of the advanced pickets, the 78th Highlanders and two battalions of Sepoys; the second of the 74th Highlanders and the remainder of the sepoys; and the third of the cavalry. Meanwhile the enemy, having, discovered General Wellesley's design of attacking their left, had altered the position of their infantry, which was no longer, as at first, along the Kaitna, but extended in one long line right across from that river to the Juahnullah, with a second shorter line running at a right angle to the first, the left of both resting on the village of Assye, where their formidable park of artillery was posted. This new disposition of the enemy determined the General to alter his plan of attacking their left and to fall upon their right so as to push it upon the Juah. The order was given, and the British troops advanced under a heavy fire from the enemy. The officer commanding the pickets, which were opposite Assye, had been directed to keep out of the severe cannonade from that village, but by some misapprehension of orders he marched directly upon it. The 74th, which had been ordered to support the pickets, followed them towards Assye, and both bodies were thus exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns there, which did such terrible execution that the pickets came to a halt. Orders were sent to the officer commanding them to move forward, but he sent word that the guns with him were disabled and the bullocks killed. General

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Wellesley coolly replied "Well, tell him to get on without them," and most of the British guns were thus left behind. The 74th were so thinned by the cannonade from Assye that the enemy's cavalry were encouraged to charge it. To repel this onset it was necessary at once to move forward the British Cavalry who were to have remained in reserve for the pursuit. The 19th Light Dragoons, who drew only three hundred and sixty sabres, gave a loud huzza and, followed by the native cavalry, passed through the broken ranks of the 74th, who cheered them as they advanced, and cutting in among the enemy's horse, quickly put them to the route. The 78th, and the Native Infantry on the British left, led by General Wellesley in person, had continued to advance steadily against the enemy's right which fell back upon their second line towards the Juah. The British infantry pressed forward, and the cavalry dashed upon Assye. The enemy's infantry and artillery made a firm and vigorous resistance, but at length their whole line gave way in all directions, and were driven into the Juahmullah, with great slaughter, at the point of the bayonet. On gaining the opposite bank the fugitives endeavored to rally, but the British cavalry followed hotly across the nullah, cut in among the broken infantry, and charged them along the bank with great effect. Some of their corps however succeeded in drawing off in good order. Several infantry battalions of the Begum Sumroo, which had been left in charge of their baggage, also got off in safety. After the victory had been apparently won, a heavy fire was opened upon the British ranks from an unexpected quarter. In pressing forward they had passed many of the enemy lying on the ground near their guns as if dead. These men now jumped up and turned their guns upon the British rear with such effect that Genl. Wellesley was obliged to move against them with the 78th and some native cavalry, with which he soon silenced their fire. Large masses of the enemy's cavalry still continued to hover around, and one strong body of infantry had reformed. Col. Maxwell with the cavalry charged this corps; he fell; but the charge was so effective that the whole of the enemy's infantry and cavalry that had not already drawn off retreated from the field. The victory was complete, and seven stand of colors and ninety-eight guns remained in the hands of the conqueror. The wreck of the enemy's army did not pause until they had got twelve miles off; the British army passed the night upon the field of battle.

The Battle of Assye was one of the fiercest and most arduous contests that had ever been fought in India. Not even at Plassey had there been a greater disparity of force, for Soorujoodowlah's vast army was a rabble compared to Scindiah's well disciplined infantry and expert artillery. The loss on both sides was great.

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Of the British army twenty-three European officers, 175 European soldiers and 230 native soldiers were killed, and thirty European officers, 412 European soldiers and 696 native soldiers were wounded, comprizing above a third of the troops engaged.* The Mysore and the Peshwa's horse being on the opposite side of the Kaitna had no share in the action, and suffered little or no less. Of the enemy 1200 were left dead on the field of battle, and their wounded were scattered in numbers over the face of the country. Their loss was principally among the artillery and infantry. The artillerymen served their guns admirably and, as is generally seen in native armies, stood by them to the last; and De Boigne's old battalions fought with ardour and firmness. The bulk of the Berar cavalry, although repeatedly making demonstrations of a charge, kept aloof in the most dastardly manner: and, their chief Raghoojee Bhonsla, emulated their cowardice. He fled from the field at the commencement of the action, and was soon followed by Scindiah. On the British side all appeared to have behaved well. The infantry advanced with steadiness and in perfect order, and the 19th Dragoons fought as if every man felt that victory depended on his single arm. General Wellesley himself had two horses shot under him in the two charges in which he led his men; and as to the other qualities, besides personal intrepidity, which he displayed, the operations which we have narrated sufficiently show with what prompt and cool determination, judgment and spirit he engaged in and conducted to a successful issue this his first great battle. A very fair criticism on the General's conduct is contained in a private letter written by Major Munro to his brother soon afterwards: "If there was anything wrong at Assye, it was in giving battle; but in the conduct of the action every thing was right. Genl. Wellesley gave every part of the army its full share; left no part of it unemployed; but supported, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with infantry, every point that was pressed, at the very moment it was most necessary."† But we think our readers will be inclined to go a step farther and be of opinion with us, for the reasons we have already given, that, in giving battle equally as in the conduct of the action, General Wellesley was in the right. With the result of the battle he was greatly elated, and he thus exultingly writes to his brother Henry. "The action, I believe, was the most severe that ever was fought in this country;

* The return of casualties as abridged by Col. Gurwood is very inaccurate. He sets down the number of officers killed at fourteen only. In "Notes relative to the late Transactions of the Mahratta Empire: Fort-William, Decr. 15th, 1803" the full official return is given, as abstracted above.

† Life of Sir Thomas Munro.

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and I believe that such a quantity of cannon, and such advantages, have seldom been gained by any single victory in any part of the world."

Col. Stevenson reached Assye on the day after the battle. He was despatched in pursuit of the enemy, while Genl. Wellesley remained on the field for the sake of his wounded. So deficient was the medical establishment with the army that, although Col. Stevenson was detained for two days in order to obtain the benefit of his surgeons, many of the wounded soldiers were not dressed for a week. At the same time the commandant of the Nizam's fortress of Dowlutabad positively refused to admit the sick and wounded into the fort; and several other killadars behaved in an equally unfriendly manner, one of them actually firing upon a British convoy. "It makes me sick to have any thing to do with them" writes Wellesley to his friend Munro. He at length threatened to treat the country as an enemy's unless the Nizam behaved more like an ally. The refusal of the Nizam's officers to receive his wounded or supply him with grain obliged him to delay his military operations which he was extremely anxious to recommence. "Thus" he writes to Col. Close, "are all our best plans thwarted, and yet these are the best of our allies ! ! !" In the matter of supplies however he was soon (to use a favorite phrase of his own) "in great style." With his usual care for the commissariat of his army he had always treated the Brinjarrie grain carriers with great kindness, advancing them money, making them presents, and buying their grain even when he was not in want of it. A horde of them were at this time on their way to the enemy's camp with several thousand bullocks loaded with grain, which Genl. Wellesley's kotwal induced them after some negotiation, to transfer to the British camp. The General treated them with his usual liberality, and to the kotwal he presented a pair of heavy gold bangles which, to enhance the value of the gift, he fastened on the zealous official's wrists with his own hands. The wounded soldiers were at length placed in safety in the Adjuntee fort; but the necessity of defending the territories of the helpless Nizam rendered it impracticable to proceed against the enemy with the whole British force. "These things called allied governments," he writes with some bitterness to Major Shawe, the Marquis Wellesley's Private Secretary "are in such a state of deplorable weakness, they depend so entirely on us for the defence of their territories, and their power is so feeble over their own servants, who have so much connection with and even dependence on the enemy, that I have not means to move forward upon Aseerghur with my whole force; although I know that if I could take that step with safety, it would put

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an end to the war. But not one of the Soobah's forts is sufficiently garrisoned. He has not a soldier in the country : and his killadars and amildars would readily pay the money they may have, just to be allowed to sit quietly in their forts and towns. As for the Peshwa, he has possession of his palace at Poona and nothing more ; and he spends the little money he receives upon the Bramins or upon women rather than give any to his troops or even to his menial servants." General Wellesley was now in an excellent school for learning that patience and forbearance with inefficient allies, which he had afterwards occasion so largely to practise in the Peninsular War.

Directing Col. Stevenson to proceed against the rich city of Boorhanpoor and the strong hill fort of Aseergurh, Genl. Wellesley himself moved southward with the view of frustrating an intention which the enemy showed of marching upon Poona. Stevenson occupied Boorhanpoor without opposition and after an hour's battering received the surrender of Aseergurh, the last of Scindiah's possessions in the Deckan and which used to be styled the key of the Deckan. Wellesley had directed Stevenson to levy a contribution on Boorhanpoor ; and ten lakhs of Rupees were demanded, but only three lakhs and a quarter were actually levied. The Governor General does not appear to have been quite satisfied with this imitation of the Mahratta system of warfare. Genl. Wellesley made an animated defence of his conduct in this respect. He told his brother (after the war was over) that " it would have been much more disgraceful and disastrous to have lost the campaign from the want of money than to have ensured in this manner the means of gaining it," concluding by saying, " I believe I am as anxious as any other man that my character should not suffer—I do not mean in the mouths of common reporters and scandal bearers, but in the eyes of a fair judging people I declare that I think that I have done what is right ; but if the Governor General thinks it was wrong, it is easy to return the money to the people of Boorhanpoor. However if he does this, he returns the money into Scindiah's pocket, for he will take it immediately." This, like almost all his private letters intended for the Governor General's eye, was addressed to the Private Secretary. He seemed rather chary of private correspondence with his mighty brother and when the latter asked him the reason, he excused himself by replying that he was always sure of getting an answer from the Private Secretary and thus being informed of matters which it was desirable that he should know.

Since the battle of Assye Genl. Wellesley had been, to use his own words, " like a man who fights with one hand and defends himself with the other"—acting on the offensive with

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Stevenson's corps, and defending the territories of the Nizam and the Peshwa with his own. The capture of Aseergurh now left him at liberty to pursue the Rajah of Berar who had separated from Scindiah and gone with his cavalry southward on a predatory expedition,—Stevenson at the same time keeping a watch on Scindiah. The Rajah of Berar became so apprehensive of a night attack, as Genl. Wellesley approached him, that he moved his camp five times in less than forty-eight hours. A detachment of five thousand of the Rajah's horse endeavored to cut off a British convoy, but were repulsed by the escort consisting of three companies of Sepoys with two three-pounders and a small party of the Mysore Horse. A Jemadar and twenty men, posted at Rakisbon in charge of boats on the Godavery, were sufficient to prevent the Rajah from attacking the town, and not only so, but when he marched away they sallied forth and captured some of his horses and an elephant. In truth the Berar cavalry seem to have been more contemptible than we can well understand men to be who were mounted on horses that were accustomed to stand fire and who were well armed. They appear to have been formidable only to unarmed peasants ; and the slightest show of force cowed them at once. When the Rajah learned that the British were within seven miles of him, he precipitately decamped and moved off in the direction of his own dominions. All apprehension of his invading the territories of the Nizam or the Peshwa being thus removed, Genl. Wellesley marched northwards towards Berar for the purpose of supporting and covering Col. Stevenson whom he had directed to attack the Rajah's strong hill fortress of Gawelgurh.

Here it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding General Wellesley's mode of conducting the details of warfare. He was conversant with the minutest details affecting his troops, and, like all men of extremely active minds, personally attended to small as well as great matters. The common story of his having told a negligent Commissary in the Peninsula that he knew the number of nails in his soldier's shoes we can readily believe after reading, in his Indian Despatches, and in the brief Journal which he kept of his preparations for the Mahratta campaign, the instructions which he issued about the arrack kegs having iron hoops and the leathern covering of his basket boats being sewed with thong—and so on. When in the field, he left off the usual practice of previously announcing the march or halt of the army, in order to prevent the enemy from gaining any intelligence of his intentions ; and the beating of the generale at half past four in the morning was the first intimation conveyed to his troops that they were to march that day. At

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half past five the assembly was sounded, and the army moved on immediately afterwards. During the march the cavalry were not allowed to exceed three quarters of a mile in front of the infantry, and whenever a break of a hundred yards was occasioned by any corps it halted until the interval was closed up. On reaching the ground the headmen of the neighbouring villages were sent for ; and the Captain of the Guards, after comparing their accounts, took down all necessary information regarding roads, rivers, supplies of water and so forth. After the camp had been pitched and the men refreshed, the officers of Pioneers examined the adjoining roads and took care that a passage to the front and one to each flank were prepared for at least the distance of a mile. For the purpose of obtaining early intelligence of the enemy's movements three distinct departments were formed, to each of which a set of well paid hurkarras was attacked, and the head of which communicated direct with the General who had thus the means of comparing their reports and arriving at a tolerably accurate knowledge of facts. He also encouraged the native vukeels to come to him daily and converse freely. Plundering he punished severely, and he took the greatest precaution to protect the people of the country from molestation. He had always from twenty to forty orderly men marching in front and on the flanks, and two or three of these were ordered into every village that was passed, where they kept guard at the gates until the whole army had gone by, allowing no man to enter. In the villages near camp the same precaution was adopted. The consequence was that on his line of march no village was injured—and the villages were indeed rarely entered—even by those determined prowlers, the camp followers ; and every man felt as secure in his hut as if an army on active service, with its host of marauding followers, were not sweeping by. Indeed so confident did the peasantry become under this treatment that they did not hesitate to refuse an entrance into their villages to officers taking an evening ramble. Of the health and comfort of his own soldiers the General was particularly considerate. It had been the practice of the Indian army for the field officer of the day, even after the longest march and in the most oppressive weather, to put the troops through some manœuvre before dismissing them. After the first march in this campaign the field officer asked Genl. Wellesley what manœuvre he would wish the troops to be put through. "I think" said the General, "that the best manœuvre you can put them through is to march them to their tents."* Although from ignorance of the native languages he could not speak to the Sepoys, they long held his

* Letters of Civis (Sir Henry Russell.)

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memory in honor as a commander who treated them kindly and always led them to victory. We have ourselves met with old Sepoys who remembered "Ginrile Wessiley" with feelings of reverence. As to the officers, his maxim was one which, he says in a private letter to Col. Close who had sought his patronage for a friend, "ought always to guide those who have the disposal of military patronage, viz. that those who do the duty of the army ought to be promoted and ought also to enjoy its benefits and advantages. Both you and I, my dear Colonel," he remarks "must attend to claims of a superior nature to those brought forward either in consequence of our private feelings of friendship or of recommendation" In the same spirit he recommended officers to settle their quarrels privately instead of making them the subject of public investigation. Writing to Col. Murray whocommanded the troops in Guzerat he says, "I have long observed that the subjects which have come under the consideration of general Courts Martial in this country are in general referable to private quarrels and differences, with which the public have no concern whatever. The character of the officers of the army is undoubtedly a public concern; but in many instances it would be much more proper, and more creditable for both parties, to settle these differences by mutual concession, than to take up the time of the public by making them the subject of investigation before a general Court Martial. It occurs to me that there is much party in the army in your quarter: this must be put an end to. And there is only one mode of effecting this, and that is for the commanding officer to be of no side excepting that of the public, to employ indiscriminately those who can best serve the public, be they who they may, or in whatever service. The consequence will be that the service will go on; all parties will join in forwarding it and in respecting him; there will be an end to their petty disputes about trifles; and the commanding officer will be at the head of an army instead of a party." This admirable passage deserves to be engraven on the hearts of all officers in command, and we are not sure that the advice contained in it is not as necessary in this country as in any part of the world.

Throughout the campaign Genl. Wellesley had much to do in the way of negotiation with native vukeels and chiefs. Gokla, who commanded the Mahratta Auxiliary Horse, was constantly dunning the General for money to pay his men, for he could get none from his worthy master, the Peshwa. The Peshwa's adopted brother, too, Amrut Rao, followed the camp with a body of horse, with the view of obtaining a provision for himself and his retainers. As Amrut Rao was an able man who might become a dangerous enemy, the General agreed, after an infinity

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of interviews, to grant him the handsome, not to say extravagant, pension of seven lakhs of Rupees, on which comfortable provision he quietly vegetated for fifty years dying in the enjoyment of it in 1853. Scindiah's overtures for negociation, which commenced soon after the Battle of Assye, would furnish an amusing illustration of the duplicity and trickery of Mahratta diplomatic intercourse, if we had space to relate them. He approached the British commander by means of all sorts of agents, accredited and unaccredited. In reply to a letter from one of these gentry Genl. Wellesley says, "In regard to the designs entertained in the Maharajah's camp, and the threats which you communicate in your letter, I have to observe that it does not become you to write them, and I shall certainly not throw away my time by noticing them" and to the Governor General he writes, "In proportion as I gain experience of the Mahrattas, I have more reason to be astonished at the low and unaccountable tricks which even the highest classes of them practise, with a view, however remote, to forward their own interest." The result, however, of Scindiah's diplomatic exertions was that on the 23rd November an armistice was concluded, by the terms of which Scindiah was to keep his army in Berar at a distance of forty miles from the British forces. The Rajah of Berar, not having sent any envoys to the British camp, was not included in the armistice. "The rule" remarks Genl. Wellesley "not to cease from hostilities till peace is concluded is a good one in general." His principal reasons for breaking the good rule in this instance were to effect a division between the confederate chiefs and to prevent Scindiah from interfering with the operations against the Rajah of Berar's fort of Gawelgurh. But whether the armistice was judicious or not, Scindiah did not comply with its conditions; and it was never acted upon.

General Wellesley, while moving to support Col. Stevenson in the siege of Gawelgurh, learned that the Berar army under the Rajah's brother, Munroo Bappoo, was encamped at Parterly, six miles from Argaum, and that Scindiah's army lay within four miles of it. Scindiah's vukeels earnestly pressed the General not to attack the Berar troops; but he told them that there was no suspension of arms with the Rajah of Berar, and none with their master either until he complied with the terms of the armistice, and that he should certainly attack the enemies of the Company wherever he found them. On the 29th November, after several long marches of from seventeen to twenty miles daily, he effected a junction with Col. Stevenson, and the united forces marched to Parterly. The confederate chiefs had just decamped from that place; but as the British troops had

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marched a great distance on a very hot day the General did not think fit to pursue the enemy. In the course of the day, however, parties of the enemy's horse made their appearance and began to skirmish with the Mysore cavalry. As the enemy's Horse gradually increased in number Genl. Wellesley deemed it necessary to push forward the picquets to support the Mysore cavalry, and on advancing for that purpose he descried the combined armies of the confederates regularly drawn up in a long line of infantry, cavalry, and artillery on the extensive plain that lay in front of the village of Argaum. Notwithstanding the lateness of the day and the fatiguing march of the morning, he determined not to lose this opportunity of attacking the enemy. The line of the enemy extended for five miles, having in their rear the village and the extensive gardens and enclosures of Argaum, and in their front a plain much cut by watercourses. Scindiah's army, consisting wholly of cavalry, formed their right and was commanded by Scindiah in person. The Berar army, consisting of cavalry, a strong corps of regular infantry and a powerful artillery, formed the left, and was under the command of Munroo Bappoo Genl. Wellesley moved towards them in column until within cannon shot. He then formed his troops in two lines, the infantry in the first and the cavalry in the second. While this was being done the enemy had commenced a cannonade, the effect of which was that three native battalions, who had behaved admirably at Assye, were seized with one of those panics to which even the bravest men and the bravest regiments are liable, and fairly broke and ran. Fortunately the General was near, and, after some delay which could ill be afforded at that hour of the evening, succeeded in rallying the runaways,—but he has recorded his conviction that had he not been at hand the day was lost. The line being at length formed, with the right somewhat thrown forward in order to press upon the enemy's infantry and guns, advanced to the attack with steadiness and in perfect order. The enemy at first showed signs of making a good fight of it. A body of Persian infantry, five hundred in number, rushed furiously upon the 74th and 78th who destroyed them to a man; and Scindiah's Horse charged the native cavalry but were driven back with loss: upon which their whole line, abandoning their guns and making no further effort at resistance, gave way in disorder. It was evident that Assye was still fresh in their minds. The British, Mysore and Mogul cavalry quickly cut in among the fugitives, destroying great numbers, and capturing many elephants and camels and much baggage. Only twenty minutes' sun remained when Genl. Wellesley led on his cavalry to the charge, but the

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pursuit was continued by moonlight. "If we had had daylight an hour more" he writes "not a man would have escaped." As it was, thirty-eight pieces of cannon remained in the hands of the victors,—and what between the destruction dealt out on the field of battle and the subsequent desertions, the army of the confederates was reduced to a mere wreck. The British loss was exceedingly small. Fifteen Europeans and thirty-one Sepoys were killed, and the wounded did not number two hundred. No officer was among the slain. Thus easily was the battle of Argaum won, and won too by jaded men against an army comparatively fresh. It was perhaps to bodily fatigue acting with depressing effect upon the mind that the Sepoy panic in the early part of the day may be attributed. A march of twenty-six miles on a hot day is not, even with the bravest troops, the best preparative for a battle. As for the General himself he was in the saddle from six in the morning until midnight.

The Battle of Argaum was speedily followed by the appearance of an envoy from the enemy, but as he was without the necessary powers nothing was done towards peace. A Mahratta chief, however, in command of four thousand horse, tendered his submission, and was directed to remove his troops from the Nizam's territories into those of the Rajah of Berar, where, of course, he would plunder for subsistence. "Thus" writes Wellesley to his friend Close, "I have succeeded in bringing upon that rascal the full measure of God's vengeance; and if I live a month longer, he shall either be at peace with the Company, or I shall be at Nagpoor with all the armies either with me or about me." The Rajah's fort of Gawelgurh was the next object of attack. Gawelgurh stands on a lofty hill on the border of a very rugged country. It consisted of an inner and an outer fort, with a third exterior wall, the whole being strongly built and fortified by ramparts and towers. In order to reach the northern face, which was the best point of attack, the guns, were dragged by hand for thirty miles over mountains and through ravines. An amusing anecdote is recorded of Col. Wallace a man after Wellesley's own heart, thoroughly devoted to duty. An artillery officer, who had been directed to convey a heavy gun by night over the rugged mountain tract adjoining the fort to an important point gave up the task in despair after many efforts, and reported to Col. Wallace that the thing was impossible. "Impossible!" exclaimed Wallace, "Let us see," and calling for a light read the General's instructions, and then coolly remarked "Oh, no, not impossible: the order is positive." After much difficulty the impossibility was overcome and the positive order carried out. Gawelgurh was stormed on the morning of the 15th December. The garrison, although numerous and well armed,

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did not offer a vigorous resistance; but their leaders, the killadar, and a Berar officer named Beny Singh who had escaped from the battle of Argaum, fought with desperation until they fell. These two men, Rajpoots of good family, had made up their minds to die sword in hand, and after the manner of their race in such cases had ordered the destruction of their wives and daughters. But the horrid mandate was found to have been imperfectly executed. Of twelve or fourteen women but three were dead, and three or four more lay bleeding. Genl. Wellesley visited the survivors and directed them to be treated with the utmost care and respect. The capture of Gawelgurh cost the victors only fourteen killed; including one officer; of the enemy a vast number had fallen, particularly at the gateways. The fall of the Rajah of Berar's strongest fortress, following so close upon the victory of Argaum and the annihilation of the remains of Scindiah's disciplined infantry by Genl. Lake at Laswarree, made the confederate chiefs sue in earnest for peace. Two days after the fall of Gawelgurh a treaty of peace was concluded by Genl. Wellesley with the Rajah of Berar and thirteen days later with Dowlut Rao Scindiah. The proceedings of the conferences with the vukeels of the confederates are in General Wellesley's own handwriting and occupy eighty-six pages. It is related that Rajah Moheput Ram, the Nizam's Vukeel, was so anxious, for some purpose of his own, to ascertain what countries were likely to fall to the lot of his master in consequence of the Treaties of Peace, that he offered Genl. Wellesley five lakhs of Rupees for the information. "Can you keep a secret" said the General. "Yes" eagerly replied Moheput Ram, thinking that this question was preliminary to the acceptance of the bribe. "And so can I" was General Wellesley's rejoinder. Moheput Ram, however, is believed to have attained his object by the more summary method of murdering Genl. Wellesley's courier and seizing the Despatches which he carried.

By the Treaty with the Rajah of Berar, concluded at Deogaum on the 17th December (1803), the Rajah ceded to the British Government and its allies the provinces of Cuttack and Berar, renounced all claims of Chout and other exactions on the Nizam, and agreed to refer all disputes that might arise between himself, the Nizam and the Peshwa to British mediation. Some difficulty afterward arose about the limits of Cuttack, which the British Commissioners there wished to extend beyond what General Wellesley considered was allowed by the Treaty. On this occasion he wrote to the Governor General: "They have a natural desire to extend it (the article of the Treaty referring to Cuttack) as much as possible, because they feel that

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in proportion as they can extend its benefits, they increase the chance of the peace, the happiness, and the prosperity of the people, whose country is committed to their management. But these, although important objects, are not to be compared to the importance of preserving the national faith." It was also agreed that accredited ministers from each of the contracting powers should reside at the Court of the other. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was at that time General Wellesley's Persian Interpreter and who had been present at every action and siege throughout the campaign, was nominated Resident at the Berar Court by the General, who thus wrote of him to the Governor General: "I have received the greatest assistance from him since he has been with me. He is well versed in the languages, and has experience and a knowledge of the interests of the Mahratta powers and their relations with each other and with the British Government and its allies." By the Treaty with Scindiah, concluded at Surgee Anjengaum on the 30th December, that prince ceded to the British Government and its allies the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, all his territories (with certain unimportant exceptions) to the North of the Rajpoot States, all his territories between the Adjuntee Hills and the Godavery, and the forts and districts of Broach and Ahmednuggur, and agreed to renounce all his claims upon the British Government and its allies—the Nizam, the Peshwa and the Guicowar—as well as upon the Emperor of Delhi. Accredited ministers were to reside with each of the contracting powers. Major Malcolm, who had returned to the British camp some time previously, was nominated by Genl. Wellesley Resident at Scindiah's Durbar. By these Treaties, by Genl. Lake's Treaties with the Rajpoot and Jat Chiefs, and by subsequent Supplemental Treaties with the Peshwa, Scindiah and the Nizam the objects for which the Governor General had engaged in the war were completely attained. The quasi-French state on the Jumna was destroyed, the Mahrattas were excluded from Northern India, the British territory was greatly enlarged and consolidated, and its influence extended over all the Native States. In short the Company stood forth for the first time, avowedly and undeniably, as the Paramount Power in India. Genl. Wellesley thus describes the result of the War in a letter to Major Kirkpatrick: "The British Government has been left by the late war in a most glorious situation. They are the sovereigns of a great part of India, the protectors of the principal powers, and the mediators, by treaty, of the disputes of all. The sovereignty they possess is greater, and their power is settled upon more permanent foundations, than any before known in India. All it wants is the popularity which, from the

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nature of the institutions and the justice of the proceedings of the Government, it is likely to obtain, and which it must obtain after a short period of tranquillity shall have given the people time and opportunity to feel the happiness and security which they enjoy." We suspect that this popularity was considerably greater shortly after the war than it is now, when a generation has arisen who have not the means of comparing the British rule with that which oppressed their forefathers. He adds, "I have no apprehension of any future wars: indeed no foreign powers now remain." This, it must be conceded, was not a very prophetic glance into the future. As to the part which Genl. Wellesley performed throughout the war, we think none will be disposed to assent from the opinion of the Governor General in Council who, in a general order, complimented him on the uninterrupted and splendid success of his military services, upon his invariable manifestation of all the qualities of a most skilful and gallant officer, upon his practice of those principles of justice, honor and moderation which are calculated to add to the lustre of the triumphs of the British arms, and upon the distinguished judgment, ability, firmness and temper which he displayed in his political negotiations.

Although the war was at an end the Deccan was far from being in a state of order and tranquillity. Genl. Wellesley thus strikingly describes its condition at the time: "Conceive a country, in every village of which there are from twenty to thirty horsemen who have been dismissed from the service of the state, and who have no means of living except by plunder. In this country there is no law, no Civil Government, and no army to keep these plunderers in order; and no revenue can be collected—indeed no inhabitant can or will remain to cultivate unless he is protected by an armed force stationed in his village. This is the outline of the state of the countries of the Peshwa and the Nizam." The Governments both of the Peshwa and the Nizam were too weak and inefficient to put down the bands of freebooters who infested their dominions, and as, in particular, the Peshwa was at feud with half the chiefs in his kingdom and would not or could not come to any arrangement with them, Genl. Wellesley was obliged to undertake these tasks. His allies, as we have seen, had been a drag upon him throughout the campaign. It was impossible, he exclaimed, to raise their views above those of a Pindarree. He had the greatest difficulty in persuading either his Mahratta or Mogul auxiliaries to leave any district where anything remained to be plundered, and he did all but fire upon them before they could be induced to withdraw from the rich town of Boorhanpore. Secret information of his movements was now conveyed to the freebooters by

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the rascals who appeared to act in concert with him. His letters at this time abound with bitter denunciations of the Peshwa.—"The war will be eternal if nobody is ever to be forgiven; and I certainly think that the British Govt. cannot intend to make the British troops the instruments of the Peshwa's revenge. When the empire of the Company is so great, little dirty passions must not be suffered to guide its measures."—"Till the Peshwa organize his revenue departments and the other departments of his state, which he cannot do without relinquishing the whole system of revenge which is the only principle of his Government at present (excepting indeed jealousy of my influence), the British ought to give him no assistance whatever in settling his country. I certainly have a bad opinion of the Peshwa; he has no public spirit, and his private disposition is terrible. I have no positive proof that he has been treacherous, but I have a strong suspicion of it; and I know that since he signed the Treaty of Bassein he has done no one thing that has been desired, either with a view to forward his own interest or the views of the alliance or the common safety during the war. It may be asked, will you leave a fellow of that kind in possession of that government? I answer I have no remedy. I cannot take it for the British Govt. without a breach of faith or another war. If I was to give the government over to Amrut Rao, I should establish there a most able fellow who, if he should prove treacherous, would be a worse thorn in the side of the British Govt. than the creature who is Peshwa at present can ever be."—"The Peshwa is callous to every thing but money and revenge. He will call upon the British Govt. to gratify the latter passion; but he will make no sacrifices unless to procure money."—"The Peshwa's only system of government is that of a robber."

Towards the close of January (1804) Genl. Wellesley crossed the Godavery in pursuit of the freebooters who were plundering the Nizam's frontier. They would not comply with the terms of protection which he offered them on condition of the chiefs dismissing their men and coming into the British camp. He therefore followed them by forced marches and came up with their main body on the 5th of February after marching sixty miles since the previous morning, not only with cavalry but with the 74th Foot and the ordnance and provision carriages,—the greatest march, as he long afterwards remarked, that he had ever made. He fell upon them with the 19th Dragoons, three Regiments of Native Cavalry and the Auxiliary Horse, and, with the loss of only two or three wounded, cut up many of their horse and infantry and captured the whole of their guns, ammunition, bazaars, and baggage. The Peshwa's good faith

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may be judged of by the fact that a part of the enemy's horse in this action belonged to Sirjee Rao Ghautgay, then in high favour at the Court of Poona,—a man distinguished even in Mahratta annals for treachery, rapacity and the most atrocious cruelty, and whom Genl. Wellesley regarded with such aversion that he more than once expressed his wish to see the villain blown from a gun. A few more rapid marches after the remains of the freebooters in the direction of Beejapore completed their discomfiture, and they dispersed and went off to their villages. Since the Battle of Assye, in September, the British army had not halted more than one day in any place except during the siege of Gawelgurh. Leaving his troops to rest for some time at Perinda, the General himself proceeded to Poonah. While there he had the pleasure of receiving a proposal from the officers of his army to present him with a golden vase (afterwards changed to a service of plate) of the value of two thousand guineas "as a pledge of their respect and esteem and of their high idea of his gallantry and enterprize." This gratifying honour he accepted with pleasure. After many political conferences with the Peshwa and his ministers he proceeded to Bombay, accompanied by his friend Webbe. At Bombay he was presented with an Address from a hundred and twenty-four British inhabitants of the "settlement" (doubtless all it contained), congratulating him on "the glorious and happy termination of one of the most decisive, brilliant, and rapid campaigns ever known in the annals of British India,—a campaign in which he had personally borne so conspicuous a share and proved himself at its close equally great in the cabinet as in the field." He was also entertained by the officers of artillery and by the Fencible Regiment. Honors poured thick upon him. At Bombay he received through the Governor General a resolution passed by the British inhabitants of Calcutta to present him with a sword of the value of a thousand guineas. Apparently neither in Bombay nor Calcutta had the native inhabitants yet begun to coalesce with their European fellow citizens in doing honor to distinguished public men.

During his residence in Bombay Genl. Wellesley negotiated the surrender of the strong fort of Logurh which commanded the communication between Bombay and Poona, and from which, for many years, the widow of the celebrated Nana Furnuwees had bidden defiance to the vengeance with which the Peshwa had pursued the relatives and adherents of that able minister. He was chiefly occupied at this time with arrangements for the settlement of the Peshwa's country, the disposal and support of his own troops in the Deccan, and the direction of preparations

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for the approaching hostilities with Jeswunt Rao Holkar who had written him a menacing letter to the effect that he would overrun, plunder and burn countries of many coss, and that his army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea would inflict calamities on lakhs of human beings in continued war, and would not give the British forces leisure to breathe for a moment. At this time a famine raged in the Deccan. At Ahmednuggur grain had risen to two and a half seers for the Rupee, and the deaths, chiefly occasioned by want of food, amounted to fifty daily. Genl. Wellesley forbade the local authorities giving donations of food or money in charity, but ordered that the aged and children and sick women should be taken into hospitals and supplied with food and medical attendance, and that the distressed poor, able to work, should be employed in repairing the fortifications. The army, although encamped in the fertile country which lies between Poona and the Bhore Ghaut, suffered so severely from the want of grain and forage that he expressed a fear of not being able to keep it together. The men were also much in want of clothing; but this, in defiance of all the usual forms, he remedied by sending up cloth which was divided among the sepoys in the quantities necessary for their garments, and they managed to clothe themselves. In a few weeks upwards of five thousand men were clothed in this manner, who, if the Regulations had been observed, would have passed the Monsoon in rags. Genl. Wellesley's contempt of red tapeism often appears in his letters. Writing at this time to his friend Malcolm he exclaims, "Confound these red boxes and the gentlemen in Bengal! The delays they occasion will send us to the Devil." The Peshwa was all this time quite helpless, having neither money nor troops and refusing to be reconciled to his Sirdars. He had the impudence to apply to the British commander to employ his troops for the ordinary purposes of Police, but met of course with a refusal. Goklah, who had hitherto been staunch to his master and had served under Genl. Wellesley throughout the war with a fidelity, as the General remarked, "very extraordinary in a Mahratta," at last abandoned the Peshwa in disgust and withdrew with his troops to his own district. General Wellesley was at this time so much impressed with the Peshwa's incapacity for government and with the aversion of the principal Mahratta chiefs to him that he formed the idea of not affording any further support to his authority. On the 18th of May the General quitted Bombay. At Panwell, the same day, he had an interview with the widow of Nana Furnuwees to ascertain her wishes regarding her future residence. The conversation was carried on in the "Moorish" language,

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a "Moorish" woman being the interpreter. Notwithstanding his seven years' of residence in India Genl. Wellesley does not appear to have been sufficiently acquainted even with that lingua franca, Hindustanee, to converse in it. Of the lady he gallantly writes to his friend Close, "She is very fair and very handsome, and well deserving to be the object of a treaty." On the 22nd May he rejoined his army. As it appeared to the Governor General that the war with Holkar could not be prosecuted with advantage at that season, the British troops in the field, in every part of India, were directed to withdraw into cantonments. The Army of the Deccan was broken up in the end of June; Genl. Wellesley resigned the military and political powers with which he had been invested; and having established a subsidiary force at Poona, the command of which he conferred upon his friend, Col. Wallace, he took his departure for Calcutta by way of Seringapatam and Madras, in accordance with the instructions of the Governor General who was desirous of communicating with him personally on Mahratta affairs. During his progress through the Southern Mahratta Country he was waited upon successively by all the leading Sirdars, between whom and their vindictive and grasping master, the Peshwa, he acted as mediator. These men had a thorough confidence in Genl. Wellesley's integrity and judgment; and they have handed down to their descendants traditions of his scrupulous good faith and extraordinary wisdom. He, on his part, treated the Mahratta chiefs with great courtesy and kindness. He accepted an invitation to an entertainment in the Fort of Dharwar, much, to the surprize of the killadar, who, in talking of the circumstance afterwards, took no small credit to himself for not taking advantage of the General's defenceless situation. Hyder Ali used to say that no man of common sense would trust a Mahratta, and that indeed they themselves did not expect to be trusted. Their astonishment at the confidence with which Genl. Wellesley trusted himself in their hands shows the truth of the latter part of this dictum. Gokla's vukeel, conversing one day with Col. Wilks, instanced as an example of Genl. Wellesley's contempt of danger that the General had on one occasion driven Gokla in an open carriage from the British to the Mahratta camp without a single attendant. Col. Wilks, affecting not to comprehend him, asked what the General had to fear on that occasion. "You know what he had to fear" coolly replied the vukeel, "for after all we are but Mahrattas." On General Wellesley's arrival at Seringapatam he was presented with a warm address of congratulation by the native inhabitants who stated that they had reposed for five auspicious years under the sha-

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dow of his protection. He reached Calcutta about the middle of August. Here he was received with great distinction, the Governor General himself proceeding down the river to meet him and conduct him to Govt. House where the principal civil and military officers and the leading European inhabitants were assembled to congratulate him. While in Calcutta, he drew up Memorandums or Reports regarding the Treaty of Bassein, the state of Scindiah's Government, the Freebooter System in India, the system of regulating the Supplies for an Army, the operations against Holkar, and other subjects. The first of these reports is a long and very able document in reply to certain objections urged against the Treaty of Bassein by Lord Castlereagh, then President of the Board of Control; and of itself would suffice to show the intimate acquaintance of the writer with the civil and military systems and the general politics of India. Indeed a whole code of political and military maxims might be drawn up from the Duke of Wellington's Despatches, the Indian portion, at least, of which deserve to be studied by every military man in this country and by every student of Indian politics. We have already, in the course of this article, quoted some of his opinions, and we could quote many more of equal interest did our space admit of it. Two subjects, however, which are now and will long continue to be of primary interest and importance, cannot be passed over: these are the Extension of British Territory and the Foundation of British Power in India. Regarding the first he thus wrote to Sir Thomas (then Major) Munro during the campaign against Dhoondiah Waugh in August, 1800. "In my opinion the extension of our territory and influence has been greater than our means. Besides, we have added to the number and the description of our enemies, by depriving of employment those who heretofore found it in the service of Tippoo and the Nizam. Wherever we spread ourselves, particularly if we aggrandize ourselves at the expense of the Mahrattas, we increase this evil. We throw out of employment, and of means of subsistence, all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies, or have plundered the country. These people become additional enemies; at the same time that, by the extension of our territory, our means of supporting our government, and of defending ourselves, are proportionably decreased. Upon all questions of increase of territory, these considerations have much weight with me, and I am in general inclined to decide that we have enough; as much, at least, if not more than we can defend." We have seen this passage quoted the other day in the House of Commons by the oppo-

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nents of the annexation of Oude. But however applicable the principal argument in it against the extension of territory—namely, that the dominion of the British in India was as large as they could properly manage and defend—might be to the year 1800, when there existed five powerful independent native sovereignties, it is evident that it has no force as applied to the present day when there is no native state or possible combination of native states that can pretend to cope with us for a moment. On the other subject we have named he thus wrote—"Bengal, 'the paradise of nations,' enjoys the advantage of a civil government, and requires its military force only for its protection against foreign enemies. All the other barbarous establishments called governments, without excepting even that of Fort St. George, have no power beyond that of the sword. Take from them the exercise of that power, and they have no other; and can collect no revenue, can give no protection, and can exercise no Government." Again—"In this part of the world there is no power, excepting that of the sword; the sword is the main support of the Government." Yet again—"The Company's power in India is supposed to depend much upon its reputation, but I do not admit that it depends upon its reputation, as distinguished from its real force." We hope that, since these passages were written, the governors and the governed have been gradually becoming connected, by more pleasing ties than mere domination on the part of one and mere submission on the part of the other. But that our authority in India still rests mainly upon our military power cannot, we should imagine, be doubted by any one who is aware how, at the time, previous to the Affghan War, when the idea of a Russian invasion of India had spread through the land, there was (to use Lord Auckland's expression) a sharpening of swords from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas in joyful expectation of the coming deliverer; or who has mixed familiarly with the people of the North west or Central India during such excited periods as the two Sikh wars. We can personally testify to one fact that speaks volumes—that, during the campaigns of the Sutlej and the Punjab, of the myriad rumours which we heard in those provinces, every one, without a single exception, was unfavorable to the British arms. We believe India to be retained under British sway by the sword in the same manner in which the throne of Napoleon III. is kept secure by the sword,—as distinguished from the manner in which the people of England and of the United States are loyal to their rulers. But to return from this digression.

Monson's unfortunate retreat before Holkar made Genl. Wel-

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lesley desirous of returning to the Deccan. "I tremble" he writes "at the political consequences of that event." In a letter to his friend, Col. Wallace, he deduces "some important lessons" from the campaign against Holkar: first, that a corps should never be employed on a service for which it is not fully equal; secondly, that in all military operations we should take care to be sure of plenty of provisions; thirdly that British troops should never depend on native allies for supplies, which should be purchased by British officers, or, if purchased by natives, ought to be *seen* before the troops are exposed in a situation in which they may want the supplies; fourthly, that any fort which can support the operations of an army ought to be filled with provisions and stores in case of need; fifthly, that any river which is likely to be full in the rains ought to have a post and boats upon it; and lastly, that a retreat is safe and easy in proportion to the number of attacks made by the retreating corps. "But" he adds "attention to the foregoing observations will I hope, prevent a British corps from retreating." It will be seen with what keen discernment he studied the science of war.

In November Genl. Wellesley sailed for Madras with the view of proceeding to the Deccan, after having been vested with the same military and political powers which he had previously held. The object of his journey was to prevent Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar from joining Holkar in his contest with the British Government. He remained at Seringapatam watching the course of events; but Holkar's defeat in Hindustan rendered General Wellesley's presence in the Deccan unnecessary. He had by this time become very desirous of returning to Europe. Writing to Major Shawe from Seringapatam on the 4th January (1805) he says. "I acknowledge that I have determined not to go into the Deccan not without a considerable degree of doubt and hesitation. I know that all classes of the people look up to me, and it will be difficult for another officer to take my place. I also know that my presence there would be useful in the settlement of many points which remain unsettled, and which probably will require time and peace to bring to a conclusion. But these circumstances are not momentary; whenever I should depart the same inconveniences would be felt even in an increased degree, and very possibly the same state of affairs which now renders my presence in the Deccan desirable will exist for the next seven years. I certainly do not propose to spend my life in the Deccan; and I should not think it necessary, in any event, to stay there one moment longer than the Governor General, should stay in India. In regard to staying longer, the question

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is exactly whether the Court of Directors or the King's ministers have any claim upon me strong enough to induce me to do any thing so disagreeable to my feelings (leaving health out of the question) as to remain for a great length of time in this country. I have served the Company in important situations for many years, and have never received anything but injury from the Court of Directors, although I am a singular instance of an officer who has served under all the Governments, and in communication with all the Political Residents, and many civil authorities; and there is not an instance on record, or in any private correspondence, of disapprobation of any one of my acts, or a single complaint, or even a symptom of ill temper, from any one of the political or civil authorities in communication with whom I have acted. The King's ministers have as little claim upon me as the Court of Directors. I am not very ambitious; and I acknowledge that I have never been very sanguine in my expectations that military services in India would be considered, in the scale in which are considered similar services in other parts of the world. But I might have expected to be placed on the staff in India, and yet, if it had not been for the lamented death of Genl. Frazer, Genl. Smith's arrival would have made me supernumerary. If my services were absolutely necessary for the security of the British Empire, or to ensure its peace, I should not hesitate a moment about staying even for years; but these men or the public have no right to ask me to stay in India merely because my presence, in a particular quarter, may be attended by convenience." Besides these reasons for going home he considered, also, that he had served as long in India as any man ought who could serve anywhere else—that there was a prospect of service in Europe where he would be more likely to get forward—and finally that his arrival in England was desirable in order that he might explode some erroneous notions entertained there regarding the increase of military establishment in India and afford a verbal explanation regarding a variety of Indian subjects. It is an old saying that a man can always find abundance of reasons for any step on which he is bent. Wellesley's anxiety to proceed to Europe seems to have principally arisen from an earnest wish to take part in the approaching great struggle in Europe. It is evident from the passage which we have just quoted that he was quite conscious of his own abilities. He felt that he was competent to take a leading part in operations of still greater importance than those in which he had been recently engaged. Perhaps even the thought that he was worthy—or even destined—to encounter the dread Napoleon

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himself may have flashed through his mind. The Governor General at once assented to his brothers resigning his authority in the Deccan whenever he thought proper. This communication, he writes to Major Shawe, " has removed from my mind a load of anxiety. I now feel an anxiety only about my departure for England, the extent of which I cannot describe. I have no confidence in my own judgment in any case in which my own wishes are involved. This is the cause of the great anxiety which I have felt, and still feel, upon these subjects." Upon the whole he resolved to engage his passage for England at once in the hope of its meeting the Governor General's approbation. Genl. Wellesley appears throughout his whole Indian career to have had rather an awe of his sultanized brother, who did not allow his warm fraternal regard to interfere in the slightest degree with the due exercise of his authority. Genl. Wellesley arrived in Madras about the middle of February and prepared for his departure. His letters at this time show great warmth of friendship for those with whom he had been intimately connected. Col. Malcolm, then Resident at Mysore and Col. Close, Resident at Poona, appear to have enjoyed his especial regard. To his brother, the Governor General, he recommends Major Wilks, who had acted during Malcolm's absence as Resident at Mysore, as a most valuable public officer for whom the inhabitants of Mysore had the highest respect and regard. He recommended that his friend and Brigade Major, Lieut. Colin Campbell, should be taken into the Governor General's own family. He also expressed officially his high sense of the services of Major Kirkpatrick, the Resident at Hydrabad, and of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Resident at Nagpore. Many officers who had served with him throughout the late campaign he specially recommended to the Commander-in-Chief at Madras; and numerous Mahratta and Mysore officers who had conducted themselves to his satisfaction, were recommended by him to Govt. for pecuniary rewards or grants of land. To Poorneah, the able Mysore minister, he thus wrote: " For six years I have been concerned in the affairs of the Mysore Govt., and I have comtemplated with the greatest satisfaction its increasing prosperity under your administration. Every principle of gratitude for many acts of personal kindness to myself, and a strong sense of the public benefits which have been derived from your administration, render me anxious for its continuance and for its increasing prosperity; and in every situation in which I may be placed, you may depend upon it that I shall not fail to bear testimony of my sense of your merits upon every occasion that may offer, and that I shall suffer no opportunity

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to pass by which I may think favourable for rendering you service. As a testimony of my sense of the benefits which the public have derived from your administration, of my sincere regard, and of my gratitude for many acts of personal kindness and attention, I request your acceptance of my picture." Nothing is more noticeable throughout the Duke of Wellington's Indian despatches and private letters than a desire to forward the interests of all who were qualified to be good servants of the public,—and an equal determination to permit no private friendship to bias him in the slightest degree in filling up offices of public concernment. This is a merit which may not appear very high ; but it is in reality not only a high merit but an extremely rare one. To this principle he adhered throughout his life, and it had no small share in his extraordinary success. The evils which may arise from an opposite course, well illustrated by our Affghan disasters, are at this moment fresh in our memory from the disasters of the Crimean campaign. "The right man in the right place" was always a leading principle of the Duke of Wellington.

While at Madras Genl. Wellesley received the pleasing intelligence that he had been created a Knight of the Bath and had received the thanks of Parliament for his "eminent and brilliant services." He also received congratulatory farewell addresses from the officers of his own regiment, the 33rd, from the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, and from the European inhabitants of Madras who requested him to sit for his picture in order that it might be placed in the Exchange Room of the "settlement" "as a just tribute of their applause and admiration of his splendid career." Here, too, he was entertained at a Ball and Supper by the Civil Servants of the Presidency, and a few days later at a grand dinner by the military. Both entertainments took place at "the Pantheon ;" and the newspapers of the day are loud in praise of their magnificence. The Ball was attended by upwards of five hundred, and the dinner by three hundred, the Governor, Lord William Bentinck, being present on both occasions. The Ball was opened by Sir Arthur Wellesley leading down Lady William Bentinck. At the Dinner, where, it is stated, the Company did not leave the table till a late hour, the "triumphant and honorable visitor" appears to have been twice toasted ; and an original song was sung by a gentleman "in his usual happy manner", in which it was predicted that "From Sir Arthur Wellesley's great example, fresh heroes still shall arise"—not a bad prophecy as prophecies go.—Towards the close of March (1805) Sir Arthur Wellesley embarked at Madras in H. M's. Ship *Trident* and arrived in England in the ensuing September.

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Sir Arthur Wellesley's career in India requires no formal examination or studied eulogium. His best eulogium is a truthful narration of the deeds he performed, the difficulties he overcame, and the ruling principles of his public conduct by which he extorted the respect of his enmies and acquired the confidence of his soldiery, and the esteem and approbation of many men fully competent to judge of his qualifications both as a soldier and a politician. His distinguished and successful Indian career formed a fitting prelude to those brilliant services by, which, first as the conqueror of Napoleon's ablest Marshals and finally of the Great Emperor himself, he fixed the admiration of the civilized world and acquired an undying title to his country's gratitude and pride.

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ART. VI.—1. *Burmah and the Burmese.* By KENNETH MCKENZIE. London, 1855.
2. *The Friend of India.*
3. *American Missions in Burmah*, 1856. By the AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARIES.

FOUR years have nearly passed away, since Pegu became a dependency of Britain. The storming of the Wagon Pagoda, the capture of Rangoon, and Martaban, the surrender of Prome, and the taking of Tonghoo have become matters of history. The cannons have long ceased to boom, and now that the pruning hook and ploughshare have been long at work, the tillers of the ground are asked to produce their crops; the enquiring stranger asks of the Briton how his mother-land has fulfilled her high mission of civilization and peace. With a flush upon his cheek, with a manly pride upon his brow, he bids the stranger view that splendid city, once a pestilential swamp, he shows him yon happy people once groaning under an iron yoke, he points him to that blooming garden once a howling wilderness. "These" says the Briton, "are our triumphs—this is Britain's work." It rests with the public journalist to test the truth of these sayings. Are they the idle boastings of the vain-glorious Anglo-Saxon, or are they statements wholly true, are the questions which we must answer?

That much remains to be done in Pegu, and that much has been ill-done, we are prepared to admit, but that the province has thriven under British Government, that she is developing her resources, that her progress has kept pace with the onward spirit of the age, none but D'Israeli and the *Press* would deny. The once wild and desolate Thayetmyo, now boasts of her neat cottages and her well-laid cantonments, once monastic-looking Prome is rich in her market and proud of her petroleum trade, My-a-o-ung has her picturesque scenery and a local corps, while Rangoon stands pre-eminent over all, as the flourishing metropolis of British Burmah. Her harbour studded with "portly argosies" from Falmouth and from Hamburg, from Rio-Janeiro and from Aden. Her strand lined with an array of buildings of which Chowringhee would not be ashamed, her roads, her sewers, and her wharves, all speak of her promised greatness and her future wealth. She is in telegraphic communication with the Meeaday frontier and another year will find her on an equally intimate footing with Tonghoo. The rail is alone wanting to fill up the sum of modern improvements. These things speak well for the Anglo-Saxon. They go far to remove the current impression, that the Englishman in India is lethargic and stagnant, that removed from the genial

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influence of home and kindred associations, he degenerates into idle oriental life. The days when the old *Qui-hye* loved his *chibouque* and was fed on hot curries, and had his *purda* lady, have long gone away. The manners have changed with the times. The Briton in India is the same bustling, active, keen and intelligent man of his own native land. He preserves the same scientific turn of mind in India, in spite of the enervating influence of its climate, in spite of the many disadvantages and drawbacks to which in Europe he would be a stranger. He is conscious he is not far from his sea-girt home, and if he would rise to distinction and repute in his native land, he must prosecute his enquiries in the snowy climes where he whiles away a temporary exile.

It is our intention to write on the present state and prospects of Pegu, and we cannot refrain from expressing a wish, that a greater interest were felt in the concerns of our province, that it were better known, that it were more cared for. There is perhaps no portion of our Empire of which less is known, there are a few who consider it worth their study. There are many who are ignorant of its most striking features. Rangoon may be to them as a household word, they may have been told of Prome, but of other towns in the province, extending over an area equal to that of Delhi or Penang and yielding revenue of many lakhs of Rupees they have never heard. Their situations they do not know, their names they cannot pronounce. There are others again whose knowledge of the country is lamentably incorrect. To them Pegu is ever, the same hot-bed of miasma, that the indolence and the ignorance of a Mongolian Government had made it. The Pegu of 1856 is the Pegu of 1852. It is for such that these remarks are written. They are penned by one whose lot has been cast in the province and is soon to leave its shores, with the view of awakening in others an interest in its concerns.

Mr. Kenneth McKenzie's Work has no attractions for the general reader. Copious extracts from Symes, Malcolm and Crawfurd, uninteresting details of Burman Law Courts, dry dissertations on their knowledge of Astronomy and their division of time, lists of Buddhist manuscripts, old as the papyrus on which they were written, are not recommendations for the reader of this reading age. However valuable such information might have been in a professed history of the province, they are altogether unsuited to a work intended for the million, and the very title of which would raise expectation. There are some in England and many in India whose interests have been and are still bound up with Burmah. They have lost relatives in the war, or they may have friends in the province, and a work on "Burmah and the Burmese" would

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be looked for with avidity. Such readers will take no pleasure in Mr. McKenzie's work. It is indeed too crude and undigested for a history and far too dull and dry for a popular work.

As an introduction we quote from Mr. McKenzie's book, Malcolm's sketch of the character of the Burmese, a sketch which will be of help to a right understanding of our own remarks.

"The character of the Burmese, differs in many points from that of the Hindus and other East Indians. The former are more lively, active, and industrious, and though fond of repose, are seldom idle when there is an inducement for exertion. When such inducement offers they exhibit not only great strength, but courage and perseverance, and often accomplish what we should scarcely think possible. But these valuable traits are rendered nearly useless by the want of a higher grade of civilization. The poorest classes furnished by a happy climate with all necessaries, at the price of only occasional labour, and the few who are above that necessity, find no proper pursuits to fill up their leisure. Books are too scarce to enable them to improve by reading and games grow wearisome. Folly and sensuality find gratification almost without effort and without expenditure. Sloth then must be the repose of the poor and the business of the rich. Thus life is wasted in the profitless alternation of sensual ease, rude drudgery, and native sports. No elements exist for the improvement of posterity and successive generations pass like the crops upon their fields. Instead of the many objects of an American's ambition and the unceasing anxiety to amass property, the Burman sets a limit to his desires, and when that is reached, gives himself up to repose and enjoyment. Servility, the inevitable consequence of despotism prevails amongst them to a frightful extent, overcoming in many instances, the sense of right implanted in their bosoms as men. Slavishness naturally leads to the remainder of the catalogue of mean vices. One of their principal precepts forbids lying: but there is no ordinance so universally disregarded. They practice dissimulation and deceit to perfection."

We have said before that much remained to be done in Pegu, and we will take upon ourselves the invidious task of entering on this unpleasant part of our subject.

The crying evil of Pegu is the want of *population*. Whether it be that the country has never recovered from the shock of 1545 when at the siege of Prome by the King of Bramaa, 200,000 died either in battle or of pestilence, or whether smallpox and cholera, sweep the natives off by thousands, the fact is plain, that Pegu has been denuded of her inhabitants. Her rich and fertile fields extend over an area of 22,000 square miles, and while it would be no tax upon her resources to maintain 100 to the square mile, not half that number partake of the pasturage. Her rice fields yield a profit of a hundred per cent.; without culture and without manure; they feed a population of a million and a quarter of souls and yet a dozen vessels on an average leave Rangoon,

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laden solely with this commodity. Why the fields of Pegu should not be further cultivated when the power to do so is in the power of the Government, is a question that no one can answer? The columns of the *Friend of India* have ever since the annexation, urged the matter for the consideration of Government, but with strange infatuation for the penny-wise and pound-foolish system, they have set the subject aside for a more convenient season, until procrastination has engendered indifference, and indifference brought on neglect. To no other cause than to the want of population is the proverbial dearness of Pegu to be attributed; and this grave feature is a sad drawback to the prosperity of the province. The Burman coolie earns his shilling daily, and the Burman carpenter his eighteen pence, the Coringa carter refuses to yoke his oxen, until his itching palm has clutched the rupee, and the Madras horse-keeper calls no man master who will not give him thrice as many pagodas as his native land would yield him. We could afford to mourn in silence over these things, did we think they were irremediable, did we think that the Government had done all in its power to remove the evil and had failed, but when we read of the swarms of wretched Coringees with but a rag to cover their nakedness, when we are told of the Sonthals rising in rebellion from sheer poverty and oppressive taxation, it is time we read the state a lesson it will not learn. Apart from the question, whether or not the encouragement of emigration be a moral duty incumbent on our rulers, apart from the philanthropy of the movement, we would recommend the subject to the attention of the Government as a matter of expediency, as subservient to the interests of the exchequer. The Government are at this day paying for the lowest class of labourers in Sittang and Tonghoo, at rates that would make old Bengal sigh for his youthful days, and that would be thought fabulous in Saugor. Roads are literally paved with silver, and coolies and carters return in a year to their homes, with their purses heavy, and their hearts light, exulting at their good fortune and laughing at the wilful extravagance of the English Government. We know of one road in Rangoon on which £5,000 have been expended, we know of wooden buildings of common design and of small size which have cost as many rupees, and yet the Government might have saved the half of this sum with a little exercise of foresight and judgment. An influx of a hundred thousand Coringas and Sonthals would have reduced the price of labour to one-fourth of the present rate, and while subservient to the interests of the state, would have secured happiness to so large a number of its subjects. The Company have seen how profitable emigration has been in the Mauritius—how successfully it has ended in the Demeraras though in both instances, a long and dreary voyage is

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endured and with these facts before them they let the rich fields of Pegu lie fallow, when they are but a week's distance from either presidency. It is idle to say that Pegu does not and will not pay, that she is a drain on the resources of India, and will remain so for many years—the one great want is patent to the Government, the remedy is in its hands, and if the country be worth the annexation, the application of the remedy becomes a paramount duty. The appointment of two emigration agents and the engagement of three steamers of a thousand tons each would effect the object in six months. The Coringas do not require as the *Friend of India* would appear to suppose any stipulation on the part of the Government to reland them on their own shores. The mere offer of a free passage to the port would induce thousands to emigrate and once landed on the Rangoon strand, the considerations of shelter, and food become subjects of secondary moment. Nor are these mere conjectures of ours. We have heard them from the lips of many Choolias, who only spoke the sentiments of their starving brethren. With the Sonthals we presume a different course would be necessary. Accustomed to emigrate on certain conditions, they would look forward to the time when the Government which sent them from their homes would safely land them thither after their term of service had expired. A fine, sturdy, and bold race, they would prove formidable competitors to the natives of the country, for the Burman though strong in frame and supple in limb, is lazy even to a sin. A few years would give them a small fortune and with it they might return to their Rajmahal hills, secure against the oppression of usurious Mahajuns. With so valuable an introduction into the province as a hundred thousand emigrants, the day would not be distant when the revenue of Pegu would be second only to that of the Punjab. With her fields better cultivated, her roads laid and her canals dug more efficiently, expeditiously and cheaply, her telegraphs laid by a more active, if not a more intelligent race of men, her long neglected lands more industriously tilled, the resources of the country must be fully developed, and the province regain her strength and buoyancy.

But the duty of the Government does not end here. A fostering hand must still be held out. The emigrant must be induced to settle, he must be made to feel his interests bound up with the prosperity of the land. He must not groan under taxation, nor must he be pinched so as to feel that his life was one life of toil, without a happy vista in prospect. With this view we would propose the abolition of the capitation tax, for taxation in a new colony is always objectionable. The only argument in its favor, *i. e.*, the paucity of the land revenue—would be removed by the emigration and on no equitable grounds could the imposition be con-

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tinued. We would also reduce the tax upon land. In the suburbs of Rangoon, land is assessed at 50 Rupees per acre, and in the upper provinces at little less. A few acres thus add to the revenue, while hundreds lie uncultivated, and a few thousands are received into the treasury, while tens of thousands are wantonly lost. There may be bright oases here and there which smile with verdure and are rich with plenty, but there are vast fields of fertile land which rot and run to waste.

The *Police* of Pegu loudly calls for reform. Like that of Bengal, it is weak and inefficient. The Burman may be physically fitted for the duties of police but he is timid. He has the fiendish hardihood to revenge by murder, an intrigue or an insult, but he has not the courage to stand against a thief, or to enter a gaming house. He is oftener an accomplice than a detective. He is indolent, lying given to perjury, and accessible to bribes. These are great objections to forming our Police Corps from the natives of the country. An indigenous police is very desirable where efficiency can be secured, but without it, it is utterly useless. It may give food for empty declamation, but it does not keep one's treasure chest secure. We have not a finer race of men than those of the Upper Provinces, those from whom our Regiments are filled, and we do not see why a Corps of Police should not be formed from them. Brave, warlike, trustworthy, and with a splendid *physique*, they are not likely to prove careless guardians of the peace, and a year's residence in the country in the exercise of their calling would give them that smatteirng of the language requisite for the discharge of their duties. Nor would the Rajpoot be reluctant to enlist. Twelve Rupees a month is to him no small inducement, and cheerfully would he quit his hills and his lands, to eat for a few years in a foreign country the Company's rich salt. Our River Police consists of an Inspector and a dozen peons who scour the river in their boats. Its operations being in all cases superintended by an Inspector, it is less open to the objections already adduced against the Land Police, though it is susceptible of much reformation.

The frequency of *Dacoities*, is a necessary consequence of the inefficiency of the police. The dacoit shudders at the idea of contact with English bayonets, but he sneers at the old and useless muskets of his Peguan brothers. He wants the means of living. To work he is too idle, to beg he is ashamed; and to dacoity as to a profession he betakes himself. The province is over-run with bands of such men, to most of whom plunder is an object. They make periodical inroads into Rangoon and in the district of Tharawaddie they are notoriously troublesome. It is not long since the safety of Rangoon was threatened with a dacoity on a large scale, and it is not seldom we hear of attacks made on the villages in the su-

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burbs. Up to the time we write, no effective steps have been taken with a view to quell these disturbances, nor are there signs of their early removal. The instances of capture are exceptional, the villains have received every encouragement to repeat their inroads, and thus dacoity has become the " normal crime of Pegu." The peace of towns is disturbed, property is insecure, confidence in our rulers is diminished, and disaffection is the inevitable result. To ward off these evils from their subjects is incumbent on the Government. It is not fair to urge, that as a crime peculiar to the province, it can only be removed as our sway extends to the confines of Ummeerapoora. What Sleeman has done for the Upper, and Wauchope for the Lower Provinces of Bengal, Major Phayre can and must do for the land where he sways the sceptre. It is an ascertained fact that the dacoits are mostly men, who live in the heart of our town, who have all the appearance of honest men, ostensibly plying some trade, that they retire at sunset to their place of *rendezvous*, and at night enter on their depredations. Some have belonged to Moung Goung Gee's once formidable band, and others are supposed to be myrmidons of the Court of Ava. We do not expect that the Egyptian law of Amatis could be applied to Pegu, we cannot institute a scrutiny into each individual's mode of living, but it is not too much to say that it rests with the Police to ferret out such information as would lead to the detection of the band. Such a consummation however much desired, is not likely to be effected under the present constitution of the Police, and until this be remedied, we in Pegu will be troubled with occasional affrays. An efficient police and a summary disposal of one ringleader would extirpate for ever dacoity in Pegu.

It is time however that we turned to the more pleasant part of our subject. Within the last month the first step towards populating Pegu has been effected. The rules for the granting of waste lands have been passed by the Governor General and have been published in this province. Bush and forest jungle land from two hundred to ten thousand acres may be occupied free of rent for twenty-four and thirty-two years respectively, while short grass and reed have the indulgence only for four and eight years. The assessment varying from eight annas to a rupee and a half, will be made on the expiration of the free tenure. The grantee will be required to bring his land into cultivation within a stipulated time, and any person neglecting to fulfil these condition becomes ineligible to further grants, unless he can satisfy the local authorities that the causes of his failure were beyond his control. The Government undertake to protect the tenants of grantees from excess of taxation, and from exaction of any imposts declared by the Regulations or the Acts of the Supreme Court to be illegal,

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and all engagements with cultivators are to be made in writing for record in the Court. As the object of the Government in giving grants is to cause an influx of population into Pegu and an extension of cultivation by new settlers, all applicants for waste lands shall be required to enter into engagements not to entice into their estates or allow to settle there any of the present cultivators of the province, under penalty of forfeiture of their grants. However creditable these grants may be to the liberality of the Government emigration can alone supply the growing wants of Pegu.

While we have felt it our duty to censure the deficiency in the Police organization, and have commented not mildly on the dacoity peculiar to the province, we feel that all things considered, there is much to be satisfied with in the administration of Pegu. The officers now in the commission are not exceeded either in intelligence or ability, by those in any other of our Indian provinces. With but two or three exceptions, we have the right man in the right place. We have judicial officers well versed in Blackstone's Commentaries, but strangers to the quibbles of law. We have revenue officers whose efficiency is tested in their accurate revenue returns until the recent defalcation, Rangoon was fast paying the expenses of the war, and Bassein enjoys remarkable quiet under Major Fytche's excellent regime. Fortunately for the interests of Pegu, it is a non-regulation province. Happily for the country, the chief power is wielded by a Commissioner who has struck the golden mean between a too stern severity and a culpable leniency. His ear is open to the poor man's appeal, and with a just hand he metes out to him his right. Trammelled by no farrago of precedents and acts, fettered by no antiquated code, he administers justice from a common sense view, and his rule is loved.

The recent appointments of Extra Assistant Commissioners for the province of Pegu is a move in the right direction. A field has been thrown open for the employment of the Uncovenanted Service, and an useful element has been thus introduced into the commission. We have attentively watched their movements, for we feel that on their success, or failure, hinge many important principles. They have not long held office and some have already been serviceable in detecting the peculations of *thoogyees* and similar subordinate officials. They have proved of invaluable assistance to their covenanted superiors. The position excepted, we fear the inducements to an Extra-Assistant Commissionership are not very attractive. A salary of 400 Rupees is a poor compensation for the complete isolation from the comforts and elegancies of the Capital, and unless the prospect of advancement in the commission, be made less precarious, we cannot see how really efficient men can long remain in the service.

The combined defalcations of the collecting native official at

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Rangoon and of the *Myok* of Dalla, have laid the subject of Native Agency open to question. To set aside altogether the employment of natives would be both imprudent and expensive, but why a larger element of European superintendence should not be introduced, it is impossible to see. There are several men in all part of Pegu who for a fair remuneration would undertake the duties of a Superintendent or Inspector, and exercise a wholesome check on the Subordinate Collectors. The expense of their support might for a while be heavy but as the expiration of a few years, the Balance Sheet of Pegu would show a favorable sum.

We quote from the *Friend of India* the "Balance Sheet of Pegu" for the official year 1854-55. That for the succeeding year is in course of preparation, and but for the large defalcation from the Rangoon revenue would have appeared before this. The subjoined sketch will serve to give the reader an estimate of the resources of Pegu.

"The expenses of the above official year were

General charges, ...	Rs.	1,36,706
Judicial ditto, ...		4,29,550
Revenue ditto, ...		2,67,060
Abkaree ditto, ...		295
Customs, ...		49,717
Marine, ...		6,57,159
Military (local,)		2,00,000
Extraordinary, ...		1,65,693
Total, ...		19,06,180

"Or a regular expenditure of seventeen lakhs of Rupees a year. The general charges include of course the cost of the Post Office, of the Survey and of some other departments. The heaviest item, the expenditure for the Marine, includes the cost of coal for all the steamers, while the extraordinary charges would have been almost nominal but for the purchase of a transport.

"The receipts during the same period were

General, ...	Rs.	12,535
Judicial, ...		52,055
Revenue Land and Sayer, ...		12,75,523
Abkaree, ...		1,46,008
Customs, ...		3,95,724
Marine, ...		20,369
Extraordinary, ...		3,96,509
Total, ...		22,98,723

"Shewing a surplus of nearly four lakhs of rupees or if we deduct the extraordinary expenditure and receipts, a surplus of about £100,000 a year. Nor is this all. We are assured that the revenue of the present year has risen to twenty-eight lakhs, while the expenditure has increased in a much smaller proportion. Our figures include the cost

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of the whole battalion. There has been no increase of the army, as Madras is able to supply the moderate garrison which will ultimately be required. Pegu therefore so far from being a drag upon the finances of the empire already contributes £100,000 a year towards the general expenditure."

The revenue as will be evident is mainly from the land, but it is within our knowledge that the receipts during the past year from the opium trade and fisheries have not been insignificant.

The port of Rangoon has already attained a world-wide fame, and we cannot do better than furnish a statement of its exports and imports during the year 1855-56. To convince the reader of the immense value of the port.

Imports.

	Value Co.'s Rs.
Cotton Piece Goods, ...	20,62,211
Cotton Twist, ...	5,64,518
Silk Piece Goods, ...	7,75,239
Woollen ditto, ...	1,79,731
Timber ditto, ...	76,678
Wines, Beer, &c., ...	5,87,605
Treasure, (for private parties,)	18,71,804
Sundries,*	25,38,434
Total, ... Rs.	86,56,220

Exports.

Timber, ...	1,40,609
Rice and Paddy, ...	18,26,628
Cutch, ...	2,09,954
Stick Lac, ...	6,724
Hides and Horns, ...	8,443
Lead, ...	1,03,085
Arsenic, ...	48,618
Copper, ...	14,219
Silver and Gold Bullion, ...	3,28,639
Treasure-Coin, ...	3,54,247
Sundries,†	6,63,316
Total, ... Rs.	37,04,482

Total Tonnage of Vessels Entered and Cleared.

	No. of Vessels.	*Tonnage.*
Entered, ...	469 ...	1,38,881
Cleared, ...	456 ...	1,31,546

A glance at the Capital of Pegu will suffice to show that the Department of Public Works has not been idle since the annexation. Rangoon has progressed with a rapidity that has not been

* Hardware, canvas, plated-ware, pitch and tar, tea, American window-glass.

† Arsenic, bees' wax, cotton, elephants' tusks, fishmaws, jaggery, jute, silver, stick-lac, tea, tallow.

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equalled in the New-World. It is o'er-run with wide and firm roads, over which three hundred carriages ply for hire. It has wharves, and aqueducts, sewers and canals. It boasts of a Town-Hall, a Masonic Lodge, and a Gothic Church. It owns more than fifty pucka buildings and has barrack accommodation for eight thousand soldiers. A well laid cantonment with neat plank-houses adds to its elegance, and the shops and buildings in the town impart a business air to its appearance. Kemmendine, not long ago, a dense jungle is now the country seat of the *elite* of the community and boasts of a pucka Chapel and a Karen School. Nor are these improvements confined to the Capital,—Prome and Tonghoo, Bassein and Sittang, Thyetmyo and Henzadah, have their Executive Engineers, their public buildings, their barracks, their roads and their bazaars. Dalhousie is being cleared, and promises some day to be the emporium of the rice trade. The Frontier Bridle Road is in course of construction, and by the Grand Trunk Road from Prome to Arracan the 8th Irregular Cavalry marched to Bengal. That these extensive undertakings have taxed the strength of the Company's Exchequer, it is easy to see. Lord Dalhousie's memorable *carte blanche* was carried out to the letter. We know how lavish the Government have been of their coin, we could show how imprudently it has been wasted, but when a substantial work stands before us as the produce of the money, we are compelled to be silent. The lavish expenditure on the Pegu Department of Public Works is likely to form the subject of much discussion in the lower house at home, but it is to be hoped that Pegu will be a province of which Britain need not be ashamed.

It is not difficult to understand how with such improvements, Pegu has become a desirable residence. The climate has considerably improved and the day may not be distant, when its principal sea-port town will be a sanatarium. It has been customary to look upon Pegu as the grave-yard of the European soldier, as the seat of cholera, fever and dysentery. The Cadet proceeding to join his regiment was provided with a "Guide to Health," and supplied with warm clothing that a Laplander would have thought superfluous. Whether Pegu did or did not deserve at one time the stigma cast on its climate, is a question that we have before answered, but it is unfair to charge upon the climate the sickness of the Regiments. The decimation of one of the European corps was the work of green pine-apples and *sham-shoo*. And the sickness of the 47th Native Infantry at Namyan was owing to the unhealthiness of the particular site on which the barracks were built. A proper system of drainage, and better barracks have been serviceable to health, and the muster rolls of our Regiments return few non-effectives.

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The deaths in Her Majesty's 84th Foot in Rangoon and in the 29th Foot at Thayetmyo, are 2⅛ per cent., and in the Native Corps a fraction less. This statement elicited from the records of the regiment, speaks volumes in favour of the climate, and places Pegu in a position enviable by many an Indian station. The mortality in this province has never been more than that at Dacca and Berhampore, and the War Office is not likely to regret the residence in Pegu of two of Her Majesty's regiments. The rains are unquestionably far more severe than in any part of India. They last over several months of the year, and seriously affect the popularity of the province. The erection of pucka buildings will diminish this evil, meanwhile it is a consoling thought that to it is attributable the proverbial fertility of the country.

The *Postal* Department is in efficient working order. The bulky packets of the state are no longer consigned to the mercy of Burman *Colporteurs* who may rest under the shade of some tree to feed on the carcase of an elephant. We have steam communication from Rangoon to the Meeaday frontier, and to Tonghoo and Sittang regular mail boats under strict supervision.

The Forest Department prospers under Dr. Brandis. Apart from supplying the immense wants of the Government in this station and in India, the sale of timber continues to yield the Government a handsome revenue.

It is a gratifying feature in the country that while she is making rapid strides in the march of civilization, the work of Missions is slowly and steadily progressing, and that of Education has been begun. That useful and holy band of men the American Baptist Missionaries keep firm to their posts. They have sown the seed, and the earnest of a future harvest now gladdens their sight. The Karen gladly receives the welcome truth that he has been long taught to expect. Tradition has told him to look to the white man as his deliverer and his friend, and to the truths that he preaches, the doctrines he inculcates, the Karen gives a hearty assent. The Burman is not so tractable. His dogged obstinacy and his constitutional stolidity are great obstacles to Missionary success. But with help from above they have been overcome, and the prospect of success is at hand. Mr. Kincaid speaks of himself and his fellow-laborers.

"Our aim has been not so much to expose the utter worthlessness of Bhoodism, as to explain the pure principles of the sublime doctrines of the Christian religion. Bhoodism ignores creative power and places man on a level with the brute creation, but the law of God is written on his conscience and cannot be annihilated. Hence in spite of Bhoodism, there is a deep consciousness of accountability and as the Gospel appeals to this principle, it is not wonderful that it either awakens injury, or arouses hostility. This hostility however is

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rarely manifested towards those who preach the Gospel but towards those who openly renounce Bhoodism and profess faith in Christ. In many instances this hostility amounts to a fierce persecution on the part of relatives, but if the convert is firm and unyielding, opposition dies away after a few weeks and not unfrequently the most bitter opposers become attentive hearers."

Speaking of the success of the Missions, the Report says

"Since the last war, Missions have been established in Prome, Henzadah, Shwaygheen and Toungoo. During the first twenty-five years after protestant missionaries arrived in Burmah, only about 25 natives professed faith in Christ, but during the next twenty-five years about ten thousand openly embraced the Christian faith, and during the past *three years* over *four thousand* more have become Christians."

We feel there is much to be grateful for, in the success of Missionary operations. We ought not meanwhile to desist from the work, satisfied with our blessings. A great Empire has been committed to us by Providence, a great nation is subject to our sway, and if in the height of our prosperity and grandeur, we neglect to teach them the wisdom that comes from heaven, their sins lie at our door, their blood rests on our head.

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ART. VII.—1.—*Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, performed in the Years* 1852-53 *and* 1854. New-York. D. APPLETON AND COMPANY, 1856.
2.—*Japan as it was and is*, by RICHARD HILDRETT. Boston, PHILLIPS SAMPSON AND COMPANY. New-York, 1855.

THERE was a time when a man expressed aversion by desiring his neighbour "to go to Bath." The Great Western has been fatal to that sentence of banishment, and at the hands of the London and North Western Coventry has shared the same fate. "To go to Hong-Kong" still sounds indeed like getting rid of the goer, but the P. and O. Steamers run monthly, and the Bore who was shipped off to that distant port in January, may be found again haunting the Pavé of Pall Mall in April. But Japan is still far off. The imagination of the Anglo-Saxon, vigorous as his bodily frame though it be, subsides baffled before the homes of that distant Island. What are the associations of most of us with Japan? Are they not a long yellow streak in the map, pointed out to us in our Geography lessons when children, but little dwelt on; black lacquered snuffers and candlesticks; and in later days some ludicrous tragic anecdotes about "Happy Despatch?" We dimly see dark-faced thick-featured men in broad garments of gay colors, much resembling the knave of trumps: we see the fleet of open-sterned boats surrounding foreign ships and gradually ejecting them from the inhospitable coast: we picture to ourselves the mock Emperor sitting in a Palace, surrounded by spies, without power and choked by pomp beyond the limits even of Asiatic sufferance, so that the victim often prefers resignation and obscurity to the bondage of an iron etiquette:—but for all this the land of the sun is unknown to us; it is still a far cry to Japan.

The law of nations is supposed to be a profound science; but Vattel and his disciples have left untouched some questions which one would suppose to be fundamental. Volumes have been written about "neutral bottoms," but the question has not yet been argued out, how far neutrality is itself justifiable in the world's affairs. In the case of individuals most civilized nations are agreed to deny the right of neutrality; the man who silently looks on at treason is himself a traitor; the man who refuses to help to catch a thief when called on in the Queen's name to do so, is a breaker of the law. And there are ardent thinkers and speakers who would transfer this law at once to nations; who would argue in a brief intelligible manner, oppression is wrong—the Government of Italy by Austria is oppressive; it is the business of good men to put down wrong;—we English

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are or think ourselves to be good;—and strong in this brace of syllogisms would unhesitatingly rush on an European war. Without going to this length, it is clear that there is a limit to the degree of neutrality which a nation may be allowed by other nations to profess. If a maritime kingdom were to allow pirates to infest all its borders, neighbouring nations would be justified not only in hanging the pirates—but in calling to account the imbecile Government, which forced the trouble upon them. If a maritime kingdom allowed all vessels cast on its coasts to be plundered by rascally wreckers, the plea of non-interference, neutrality or indifference would not and ought not to save it from the just indignation of the power whose subjects had been maltreated. From positive to negative injury is a step—but not a fatal hiatus to the argument. What if a kingdom is rich, is fertile, is blessed by God with a fruitful soil and a laborious strong population; may it deny to the human race all participation in these free gifts of heaven; may it say these benefits are ours, and must the definition of *ours* as identical with the narrow geographical limits of a certain Island be accepted as law by the rest of the world? This question is after all the one which just now divides the world, and it is but a re-statement of Whiggism and Toryism,—or for that matter of the cries of all parties which the world has ever seen. Party, we are assured, is dead in England. Perhaps so, but in the East we bid fair to rally round the respective standards of annexation and non-annexation. And these two cries, as they represent the question which has now been raised—viz., the right of a nation to keep itself to itself, so do they also correspond to all the former cries of the two parties which from the beginning have divided and to the end will divide the world, the parties of progress and permanence, of reason and sentiment; both good, both necessary to human development; and consequently we see that while progress and reason have always won each successive battle, Providence has never allowed permanence and sentiment to be beaten out of the field.

The Japanese have for centuries maintained a strong protection theory. They have argued that they have nothing to do with the rest of the world, that their business is to take care of themselves, so long as they do this without injuring others, the world has no right to complain.

This is the true language of Toryism. So long as I do no harm to my neighbour I am doing my duty. But the tongue of the liberal is taught a better language, the highest expression of which is in the New Testament. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is the profound maxim which lies at the bottom of all arguments in favor of the rights of the many. Take care of yourself and the world will take care of it-

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self—is the language of the devils and high Toryism : take care of your brethren and you will find that you have thereby taken care of yourself—is the language of the Political Economists after their manner, and the angels after theirs. We believe therefore that Japan in declaring for centuries that she would live only for herself committed a great crime. We believe that any nation stronger than Japan was perfectly justified in declaring to her that she must live for the world, or cease to live at all ; and therefore we need scarcely add that we accord our full sympathy and hearty admiration to the Americans who taught this lesson in the name of the civilized world, the account of whose proceedings is recorded in the first volume at the head of this article.

We recommend this book heartily to all our readers. It has literary faults in abundance, and other worse faults of national vanity, irritability and injustice ; but it is a solid lump of modern history ; the fresh intelligent record of a recent world-wide fact. As the book however is bulky and probably expensive, we think we shall be discharging faithfully one of the functions of a Reviewer if we endeavour to give our readers a concise account of its contents.

It consists of two parts, one historical the other biographical ; the history of past events in Japan, the biography of Commodore Matthew Perry and his companions. In a literary point of view there can be no comparison as to the merits of the two parts. The history is terse and lively, written in a sympathising liberal spirit. The biography is a compound of friendly eulogy and official despatch writing. Every man who went to Japan appears to have had a hand in it, and the parts are not sufficiently reduced to harmony by an able Editor. The unsparing praise of Commodore Perry is, we believe, richly deserved, and would be graceful as the spontaneous tribute of a friend, but is a little excessive in a volume which bears the imprimatur of the Commodore himself, to the effect that this is to be regarded as his official record of the Japan expedition.

But it is beside our present purpose to criticize. Our American Cousins must talk even if they do nothing ; and when they have really done something they may be allowed to talk even louder than usual. The European reader must be prepared to find that every nation that has ever visited Japan except America has been foolish or wicked ; that the conduct of the American squadron was all that human virtue and human wisdom could suggest, that every American who insults his neighbour is nobly asserting the rights of his country ; that every one who presumes to criticize any man or thing belonging to America is "impudent," "presuming" or "impertinent." All this is taken as a matter of course in an American Book of Travels, and when all abatement

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is made for this we have a story of the greatest interest, tolerably well told.

We will not detain our readers with comments on the many speculations afloat as to the origin of the Japanese. There are few stocks to which they have not been traced by sanguine ethnologists. The popular theory is that they came from China; and therefore we need hardly add that all the men of science agree in declaring that whatever they are, they are *not* Chinese.

At any rate they are eminently Asiatic: and the man who has walked through a bazaar in Bengal with his eyes open, will understand instinctively much in the Japanese character which the Americans had laboriously to learn, and which as it seems to us they never quite succeeded in learning. In their conservatism, the Japanese are Asiatics of the Asiatics. Compared with them, the Hindu Pandits are Radicals. And they have succeeded beyond any other people in carrying out their conservatism. They have excluded *change* as some nations try to exclude disease, but with more success. It is by this exclusive law that they are known to the world. No foreigner may approach, no native may leave Japan. The Japanese shall concentrate their strength: they shall plough for themselves, reap for themselves: as was the father so shall the son be: the penalty of innovation is death; the surrounding sea shall be not a highway, but a barrier to all nations; Japan shall be the very heaven of protection. Such was the Japanese law three years ago—such it had been for more than two centuries; but such it was not always.

Christianity has won so many triumphs in the world that she may afford to hear the truth that many of the losses of the world have been incurred in her name. The Japanese were willing at first to admit all the world to their shores—presently they were ready to exclude all the world, if only by so doing they might keep out the Christians.

There seems to be no doubt that Japan was first made known to Europe by Marco Polo, that wonderful man known but as a name to most of us, to whom may be traced as to its final source so large a portion of the geography of the civilized world. In a true succession Columbus followed Marco Polo; studied his chart, read his journals, and went to the West earnestly looking for the East of India, and the extreme East of Japan. Not the least curious of this great man's splendid mistakes was his belief that he had found Japan when he stumbled on Cuba. But Christopher Columbus did not re-discover Japan: the honor of confirming Marco Polo's evidence was reserved not for the great Genoese but for the country first adopted by him, that little kingdom of Portugal which so insignificant itself has yet laid its mark on so large a portion of the globe. Portugal is the most intimate ally of England. No

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Secretary of State would venture so rudely to ignore the traditions of the foreign office as to be unfriendly to Portugal. The tradition is much to be respected. The peninsular war may well justify a sentimental friendship between the two countries, and that we should never desert the kingdom we have once so signally saved is a piece of legitimate poetry in politics which we are glad to believe that Downing Street in these iron days has still heart for. But in all this there is something of the patron and client. England is *kind* to Portugal. But Portugal was once a power,—not only in the West but even more in the East. The petty Court of Goa, (about which we should be glad to hear something from competent persons) represents the last struggle for power on the part of people which first in modern history introduced the West to the East, and in the short day of its supremacy created marks on the population and languages of India which have never yet been effaced, and which no subsequent power has successfully rivalled. The Portuguese have all the credit of having first brought Europe to Japan. We will not pursue Pinto's history. Those who care to do so will find it well told in the opening of Mr. Hildrett's book. We believe him to have been a clever plausible rascal and nothing more. These are the qualities which a Pandarus should possess, to bring two races together. At any rate the first authentic commerce between Japanese and Europeans was under Pinto's auspices in 1543 There appears then to have been much surprize but no unwillingness on the part of the islanders to communicate with the foreigners thrown on their coasts. They formed a commercial treaty with them, better than that which Commodore Perry has succeeded in extorting. These foreigners were Portuguese. So the Portuguese became as it were settled in Japan. Nothing was heard of exclusion. They came and went,—had they made careful records—or had their records been preserved, Japan would not have been a terra incognita in 1852. So great was the success of the Portuguese in Japan that good Christians thought to graft on it a success still greater. One of those men whose names preserve the Romish Church from the decay which inherent falsehood would otherwise precipitate, Francis Xavier, thought that in a country where European merchants could turn over profits at the rate of 100 per cent., the good seed might be sown with prospect of equal increase. It should be a lesson to those who are interested in Christian Missions to know that Xavier signally failed in his purpose. He exercised indeed in his own day a great influence, as a Francis Xavier always must and will, but when he was gone, nothing remained but a proselytizing system in the hands of indifferent agents. The only real missionaries who could have regenerated Japan were the Portuguese soldiers and merchants,—and these neglected their mission. Francis Xavier died, and left behind an

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unspiritual herd of Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits to disgust their unchristian neighbours by their Christian quarrels, and still worse to disgust barbarous men by their civilized vices.

The Catholic Clergy were the haughtiest men and the worst livers in the Island. To hypocrisy and immorality was joined insolence. The Portuguese priest thought that a few flippant phrases about his duty to God, justified him in insulting the local authorities. The Japanese were thoroughly aroused, and in 1637 an imperial decree was passed " that the Portuguese with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them shall be banished for ever." The Portuguese were hunted out, and Christianity became a pass word for those crimes which would have been more justly reprobated under the title of fanaticism, Priesthood, or Popery.

The Dutch were already in Japan prepared to profit by the fall of the Portuguese. It was their destiny to prove that Christianity is equally removed from the fanaticism of the Romanist and the indifference of the coward. The Portuguese were extirpated from Japan, but many bore witness by their noble self-sacrifice to the force which Christianity possesses even in its most debased form. The Protestant Dutch thought to rise by their fall, and out-Japanned the Japanese in their persecutions. We quote from the American writer whom we are reviewing, the following very just and eloquent passage as to the act of treachery and godlessness by which the Dutch earned for themselves that ignominious footing in Japan which they have enjoyed or tolerated for two centuries :—

" At length, before the close of 1639, the Portuguese were totally expelled the country ; and then occurred an act on the part of the Dutch in Japan, too clearly proved to admit of denial, and too wicked and infamous to allow of palliation. It was no better than cold-blooded murder, prompted by no higher motive than the base love of commercial gain. The facts were these ; though no Portuguese Christian remained in Japan, yet the Native Christians were not all extirpated. These poor creatures, deprived of their European teachers, persevered in their faith, though threatened with imprisonment, torture and death. Oppression presently drove them into open rebellion, and they took refuge and made a stand against the Imperial forces in Simabara. The Japanese authorities called on the Dutch to assist them in making war against these Christians, and *the Dutch did it*. Kockebecker was then director of the Dutch trade and nation in Japan. The Native Christians had endeavored to fortify themselves in an old town, which the troops of the Emperor could not take. A Dutch ship was lying at Firando, and on board of this Kockebecker repaired to Simabara, and battered the old town with the ship's guns as well as from a Battery he had erected on shore. After a fortnight of this work the Japanese were satisfied to discharge the Dutch director ; for though the Chris-

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tians had not surrendered, yet they had lost so many of their number, and the place was so weakened that it was obvious it could not hold out much longer. Requiring, therefore, of the Dutch director that he should land six more guns for the use of the Emperor, they dismissed him. The place was finally taken, after a very large number of the besieged had perished by famine, and a total massacre of men, women and children followed ; not one was spared.

We have spoken of this act as perpetrated by the Dutch *in Japan*, for we cannot deem it fair to involve every Hollander in an indiscriminate censure. There were other Dutch ships at Firando beside that which was employed in the bombardment ; but the Commanders of these, either suspecting, or having intimation that the Japanese would demand aid at their hands, quietly left their anchorage, and went to sea before the demand was made, and thus escaped participation in this atrocious wickedness. To us it seems that the infamy must rest chiefly on the Dutch director, and that M. Kockebecker deliberately preferred this most foul murder of the innocent to the loss or interruption of the Dutch trade. Be this as it may, the *fact* is distinctly admitted by all the Dutch writers on Japan, from the middle of the seventeenth century up to Fischer's work, published in 1833. It is true, one says, that the Dutch were *compelled* to do it ; another states, that the Dutch only supplied cannon, powder and ball, taught the Japanese Artillery practise, and sent ammunition, arms, and troops in their ships to the scene of action ; but old Kæmpfer, who, though in the Dutch service as a physician, was by birth a German, affirms positively that the Dutch were active as belligerents. Fraissinet (a recent French writer) endeavours to give a different coloring to the fact, but, as we think, in vain. He represents the case as one of *political* rebellion, in which the native Christians took sides with the rebels ; and is pleased to consider the Dutch as *allies* merely of the Emperor, carrying on a lawful war as allies ; and he says that the archives of the Dutch Factory at Dezima, as well as the relations of natives of respectability, acquit the Hollanders of all blame. What the archives of the Dezima factory may *now* state, we have not the means of knowing, and we are not furnished by the French apologist with their language ; but it is certainly very remarkable, if they do not contain exculpatory evidence, that the Dutch writers, all of whom were officials at Dezima, and many of whom lived much nearer to the time of the transaction than an author of this day, should have overlooked this evidence ; particularly when some of them seek to palliate the act itself. Surely the Dezima records were open to Fischer, the last Dutch writer on the subject, (1833 ;) why, then, instead of producing them, does he admit the fact, and urge in extenuation *compulsion* of the Dutch by the Japanese ? As to the relations of respectable natives, we can only say we have never seen, in any work on Japan, such relations as M. Frassinet has named. But there is one fact which, as it seems to us, conclusively negatives the supposition that it was a mere *political* insurrection which the Dutch assisted in suppressing. Over the vast common grave in which these unhappy Christians were buried at Simabara was set up, by imperial

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order, the following impious inscription: "so long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Japan himself, or the Christian's God, or the Great God of all, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head."

Then commenced the exclusive policy of the Japanese. They had seen so-called Christianity—poor Christianity—in two extreme phases, that of bigoted fanaticism in which it proclaims its own falsehood by becoming opposed to Society, like the Roman Catholics of all times and the Calvinists of the present time; and that of infidel indifference in which it proclaims its worthlessness by being divorced from virtue; and the Japanese under these circumstances conceived a very natural and proper suspicion and hatred of Christianity as they had known it. All Christians—and to make matters surer, all foreigners, were to be excluded from the Island; the Dutch were allowed to remain, to eat the dirty wages of their dirty act. They remained however as slaves, confined to one port, to one city, and under constant espionage; and if they filled their bellies every day, they must have been prepared to take that as an equivalent for the extinction of all dignity as men, as Europeans, as Christians.

The career of the English in Japan as related by the American summarist, was less prosperous than that of the Dutch, if prosperity mean wealth purchased by or combined with servility; but dignified and on the whole satisfactory. Under the regal auspices of gentle king Jamie the English formed a most favorable treaty with the Emperor of Japan. This treaty was made before the expulsion of the Portuguese and the cowardly participation of the Dutch in that wicked action had stamped the mark of exclusiveness on Japan policy. It was before that epoch also that the English voluntarily abandoned the advantages secured to them by treaty. They found that Japanese trade did not pay. Naturally enough the American historian imputes to them want of "cuteness": perhaps it would be undue partiality were we to attribute it to a too scrupulous and English regard for truth and justice. At any rate they withdrew from Japan, and have never since been serious candidates for the trade of or a position in that Island.

The Reverend or the gallant Compiler of the memoir (for we never know whose book we are really reading,) speaks with affected honor of a descent made on the Japanese coast in 1808 by Capt. Pellew of H. M.'s S. *Phaeton*, in which the British Commander broke Japanese laws less in three days, than every member of the American Squadron of 1852-3 did in as many hours: which according to the writer, resulted in several Japanese officials having recourse to happy despatch.

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If this last story be true, which we doubt, the public opinion of Japan must have altered greatly in 50 years; otherwise all the officials in the Island must infallibly have ripped themselves up under the pressure of the American Squadron.

The Russians have made attempts on Japan—but never with success. These Eastern Islanders dread the great continent, and mistrust their encroaching policy with a wise caution which Western and more civilized nations might well imitate.

The Americans were first introduced to Japan, by what the serious language of the old English law still wisely as well as piously calls the visitation of God. It is as easy to trace the hand of Providence in the wreck of 16 obscure unnamed American seamen on the coast of Japan, as it is to scoff at any old fashioned theory which recognizes Providence as having anything to do with the world's affairs. To the United States Government, indifference to its subjects' welfare abroad, cannot be imputed as a sin. It is rather its fault to seek small opportunities for parading its strength; like the parvenu anxious to maintain his position, and seizing occasions for self-assertion which the well-bred man would hold sacred to silence. But a strong Government exerts its strength nobly in demanding protection and something more for its shipwrecked citizens. Commander Glynn of the United States ship *Preble* and his historian may both be pardoned for a little swaggering, when the result of the ship's voyage to Japan in 1849 was that the 16 shipwrecked men, who had doubtless been ill-treated, were given up within forty-eight hours of the first peremptory demand made for them. This was the first taste the Japanese had of American Diplomacy, and it ought to have inspired them with respect for its straightforward honesty of purpose.

Thus matters rested in 1852. The Portuguese had been expelled with the ferocity of unsophisticated men roused by the sophistries and still more the arrogance of the Romish Church: the Dutch lingered in gross subservience at the Port of Nagasaki; transacting such commerce as the Japanese chose to permit, and enduring in return such treatment as the Japanese chose to inflict: the English had withdrawn from a trade which for that wealthy people did not yield profit equivalent to the inconvenience and risk; the Russians had been repelled, and despite their boasted diplomatic skill, appear to have made but blundering efforts to get admitted: in 1852 (and the Americans are fully entitled to whatever credit the fact conveys) Japan was still cut off from the civilized world.

Such is the fact established by the historical introduction to the American expedition to Japan, and we leave this introduction with regret, because the liberal tone of it contrasts favorably with

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the eternal self-laudation of the rest of the book. In our commendation of the introduction we must however except the ludicrous crusade against an anonymous correspondent of the *Times*, who is thought worthy in this official record of several lines of abuse, because in a letter printed in small type in the leading journal, and probably read by none but sensitive Americans, he ventured to pen the following sentence: "It is highly probable that what has been done by Sir James Stirling at Nagasaki may exceed in durability and value the work done at Yedo by the Americans, although that cost a special mission and was heralded to the world with a very loud flourish of trumpets indeed." The introduction is further marred by some pages of abuse of Dr. Von Siebold, a man whose claims as an authority on Japan will not be lessened to the world because it is refused the imprimatur of Commodore Perry, and his joint biographers.—The Mission to Japan commenced American-like (and we mean the phrase to be genuinely respectful) in great ideas. California has suggested a new future to the United States; the Pacific may be the route to Asia, instead of the Atlantic. May it be so, and may the junction of the elder and younger branches of the Anglo-Saxon family in the cradle of both, dispel for ever the bugbear of Russian influence. Commodore Perry has the credit of having suggested the expedition;) and the Government acceding to the proposal acted wisely in giving the charge of it to the proposer. Once in authority, Commodore Perry commenced his operations with a vigor which argued well for his future conduct. He absolutely rejected the company of amateurs. He picked his companions and then would not take any more. In declining, at the risk of a reputation for discourtesy and presumption, to give a passage to the one European in the world best-informed on Japanese affairs, Dr. Von Siebold, he exercised, we believe, a very sound discretion. Dr. Von Siebold would have been certainly a bore and probably an impediment. His next measure of preparation was in our opinion equally wise, but the energy of its despotism astonishes us slavish subjects of a monarchical Government who have moreover been accustomed to special correspondents from the seat of war.

"On the 22nd of December, the Commodore issued a general order promulgating the directions of the Secretary of the Navy forbidding communications to the public prints at home touching the movements of the Squadron, and prohibiting also such information through the medium of private letters to friends. The Secretary also required that private notes and journals kept by any members of the expedition should be considered as belonging to the Government until their publication should be expressly permitted by the Navy Department."

What would the *Times* say to this? For our own part, though

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willing to allow that Mr. Russell wrote very clever letters and that the *Press* did great service to the British Army in 1854-55, we do not yet accept it as a proved fact that publicity is essential or conducive to success in war. Till the proportion of wise men and fools in the world is materially altered, we shall retain some faith in the virtue of secresy on important affairs. At any rate it is worth the consideration of those who repudiate secresy on the part of a General as an offence against a free community, that a nation, certainly not freer but at the same time not less free than ourselves—can in the pursuit of a national object, impose so galling a restraint on individual freedom of action, and be held blameless. Indeed throughout the history we are struck by the absolute despotism of Commodore Perry and the cheerful obedience with which this despotism was borne: utterly inconsistent, as it was, with the theories of the Republicans as popularly set forth, but eminently characteristic of the practical liberty, founded on self-control and obedience, which so honorably distinguishes our Transatlantic brethren.

After some delay caused by official blundering, the failure of steamers specially destined for the expedition and so forth (it is a consolation to find that official blundering is a disease not peculiar to Downing Street: we ever cherish the heretical conviction that were a *Times* substituted for a *Moniteur*, the public offices of Paris itself might be found to be so many Balaklavas) Commodore Perry sailed for Japan on the 29th November, 1852.

The letter which Commodore Perry wrote to his Government from Madeira p. 105 gives at once a clear statement of his designs, and an insight into the character of the man. He seems to have been indeed well fitted for his task; silent, resolute, versatile, and possessed of that ardent ambition which is seldom observed among the Englishmen of this decorous age, at least in England. We in India are more accustomed to witness the rise and progress of individual character, and we have among us several men of the Perry stamp. Indeed in reading this memoir one is often disposed to think of the American Naval Commander as an Indian district officer on a cruize; the more so because the cruize is one which it is impossible not to feel ought to have originated with us. That the Americans themselves felt this is clear from occasional expressions which reveal their fear of being anticipated by rivals.

"We must succeed," writes Commodore Perry; "the honor of the nation calls for it and the interest of commerce demands it. When we look at the possessions in the East of our great maritime rival, England, and of the constant and rapid increase of their fortified ports, we should be admonished of the necessity of prompt measures on our part.

"By reference to the map of the world, it will be seen that Great

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Britain is already in possession, of the most important points in the East India and China Seas, and especially with reference to the China Seas.

"With Singapore commanding the South Western, while Hong-Kong covers the North Eastern entrance, and with the Island of Labuan on the Eastern Coast of Borneo, an intermediate point, she will have the power of shutting up at will and controlling the enormous trade of those Seas, amounting it is said, in value to 300,000 tons of shipping, carrying cargoes certainly not under £15,000,000 sterling.

"Fortunately the Japanese and many other Islands of the Pacific are still left untouched by this "annexing" Government; and as some of them lay in the route of a commerce which is destined to become of great importance to the United States, no time should be lost in adopting active measures to secure a sufficient number of ports of refuge. And hence I shall look with much anxiety for the arrival of the *Powhatan* and the other vessels to be sent to me."

We admire the assurance of the expression "annexing Government" used as it obviously is in an unfavourable sense, by the leader of an expedition which was sent to succeed in reducing Japan to amity, by peaceable means if possible, but by any means to succeed. There was quite as much of threat as of conciliation in the arguments used by the American Envoy. The additional ships to be sent next year, should the present mission fail, was a significant menace never left out of sight in the negotiations. It is to the credit of Commodore Perry that by his address and tact he did negotiate a treaty, but will he deny that he went to Japan prepared in case of extremity to extort one? We believe indeed that the intention was a perfectly righteous one; but it is absurd for the intender or indeed for any citizen of that great nation which has given to the world's language the word "Filli-buster," to affect a rhetoric better left to Manchester Politicians or the "Central Star."

Feeling a disappointment which we do not hesitate to acknowledge, that the British Navy should have been occupied in carrying troops to fight in Burmese jungles at the time when the United States were doing a great work of civilization which seemed to belong to us, we shall not on this account grudge the credit due to the actual workers; nay, if the honor of opening Japan was to be denied to us, we are heartily glad that it was appropriated by the Americans. We should have had no heart to tell the story of a Japanese treaty negotiated by France or Russia; to the tale of American energy and success we turn with pleasure, not perhaps unmingled with regret, but absolutely untinged by jealousy.

The account of the voyage is not uninteresting, but has little to do with our present subject. From the day that the ships lost sight of the Capes of the Chesapeake, the Commodore never allow-

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ed his attention to be diverted from his main purpose, and we must henceforth endeavour to imitate this laudable pertinacity.

The commencement of the Japanese part of the expedition may be dated from the 26th May 1853, on the evening of which day the *Mississippi* and the *Susquehanna*, followed by the *Supply* and the *Caprice*, dropped anchor in the port of Napha in the Island of Great Lewchew. This is the most considerable of a group of 36 Islands lying to the South West of Japan. It is a disputed question whether it belongs properly to China or Japan; but the influence of the latter country on the language, manners and laws of the Island is said to be far more conspicuous than that of the latter. On entering the harbour the Americans were surprized to see the British Ensign hoisted to welcome them. But the Union Jack (the St. George's Cross in which, associated by the Japanese with Christianity as professed by the Portuguese, is said to have made the English objects of dislike and suspicion to the former people) waved over no fort, and indicated no previous possession to alarm the susceptibility of the American adventurers. It was hoisted by an English Missionary, a Jewish convert, called Dr. Bettelheim, who had resided some years in Lewchew, and who though said to have failed in conciliating the Islanders, and mentioned with no great kindness by the writer of the narrative under review, seems to have been exceedingly useful to the Americans.

Here Commodore Perry had an opportunity of rehearsing as it were the part which he would have to act in Japan. And as he appears to have carried into all his actions carefully studied principles, so those principles evince in our opinion great knowledge of human nature, and an instinctive aptitude for dealing with Asiatics. In the first place he kept himself secluded; his presence was to be always felt but seldom witnessed. His subordinates spoke and acted solely at his dictation, but he sat in a cabin ready to descend—or rather ascend as the *Deus ex Machinâ* in case of an emergency. Moreover he would transact business personally with none, but the highest officials, accredited representatives of the Sovereign; adhering to the table of precedence with a jealousy which none but a republican would feel; yet a wisdom which none who have lived in Asia will deny. He carried firmness to obstinacy; a justifiable and necessary extreme in dealing with orientals. He weighed his words and then let it be known that on however trifling a subject they would be turned into deeds to the very letter, though it required the whole power of the United States to enforce the process. It is impossible to refuse admiration to the constitution of the States, when we perceive how this American on his distant mission was able to feel confidently that he had only to act honestly and fearlessly, and might rely

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on having all his countrymen to back him. He studied etiquette and ceremony with a carefulness which we should expect from a Chamberlain at the Court of London, rather than from a Republican Naval officer in the Eastern Seas; but it was because he was in the Eastern Seas that he did so. With all this, this excellent diplomatist never forgot or let it be forgotten, that he was an American, and recognized for his own guidance the laws of that nation and of no other. He never aped orientalism, as some officials in India are apt to do. He felt by a sure instinct where concession to foreign customs was a point of good manners—and there he conceded; or where again it was a tacit admission of a principle derogatory to or inconsistent with his dignity as the representative of a great nation, and there he resisted. He sacrificed himself willingly to the extent of eating twelve courses of different soups; nay in a more serious matter he sacrificed his strong desires, by refusing to carry with him to America two Japanese of rank, who came off to his ship and entreated to accompany him, feeling that he had no business to help them to violate laws by which they at least were bound, however unreasonable those laws might be; but he would not listen to the plea of national custom, to prevent the ship of a friendly country from taking soundings on a dangerous coast; nor would he tolerate a system of espionage on American ships and citizens, whatever amount of precedent or Lex Loci might be urged in its justification. The same discrimination was observed for the most part by his followers. The American officers walked meekly and stood bare-headed in the presence of the high Japanese, painful as such submission must have been to the stiffnecked children of the puritans; but Lieutenant Silas Bent felt himself clearly at liberty to kick "Sam Patch" (a Japanese sailor wrecked and picked up by Americans, and now one of the crew of the *Susquehanna*) when in his terror at the sight of his former masters, the recollection of the ripping up process rushed strongly on him, and he dishonored by the servility of his Eastern self-prostration the dignity of an American quarter deck.

It was on the 8th July 1853 that the Americans actually reached Japan, just after their great Anniversary, observed on board the Squadron with affectionate patriotism. Land had been dimly sighted on the night of the 7th, and the steamers lay off the land through those mysterious hours of contiguity with a strange land, seen long since by the eye of faith, and to be seen with the actual eye when morning breaks. We can realize the activity during that night at the wheel and in the engine room, to keep the ship in her proper position; we can conceive the feverish sleep of the passengers and those who had their watch below, awaiting the great excitement of the morrow. We

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can sympathize with the deep interest felt as the gray morning lightens first the familiar spars and deck and faces, then those neutral tinted waters which have become monotonous, and presently those green hills, those tufts of wood, that irregular yet careful cultivation which indicates the utterly new country of Japan.

All through the 8th of July the *Susquehanna* (to which Ship Commodore Perry had transferred his flag) held her course; through the afternoon the lead was kept in perpetual motion; and still the return—"by the deep twenty-five," enabled the steamers to retain their way up the bay of Yedo. And now it is evening, and the outline of the shore and the houses are visible; —the ships are signalled to lay to—and all Captains of vessels are ordered on board the flagship for a final Council of Peace. Again the ships steam on, the Japanese Government boats sent out to meet them make signals of entreaty and menace to stop; but entreaties and menaces are disregarded, the Japanese boats look helplessly on as the power of steam and the great American nation passes silently and indifferently by them: the final point attained by any foreign vessel is reached and passed, and the Americans feel with every revolution of the engines the excitement and the pride of discoverers; that rare emotion in the 19th century, of being the first to do what has not yet been done. Presently a flash and a smoke are seen, the report of a gun resounds along the shore, a ball of smoke high in the air indicates the discharge of a rocket: the Commodore recognizes universal maritime signals, considers his farther progress challenged, and with becoming courtesy immediately signals the squadron to let go anchor.

Then ensues immediately the first exhibition of Japanese institutions and American intentions.

The squadron was silently surrounded by a fleet of guard boats, carrying the three striped black flag which is the broad arrow of Japan, filled with numerous crews where ample equipments of provisions and other necessaries betokened an intention of staying as long as the foreign ships did. Commodore Perry had read about this Japanese institution and made up his mind to make his first diplomatic declaration in this quarter. The guard-boats according to the custom of Japan made fast to the American vessels. Contrary to custom they were unceremoniously cut adrift. According to custom a notice was presented written in French, warning the foreign ships to keep off at their peril. The notice was refused admission on board by the Captain to whom it was presented. According to custom the Japanese officials were clamorous to board the Americans; contrary to custom they were deterred by refusal, by threat, by the exhibition of cutlass and

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bayonet. Presently a Dutch Interpreter hailed the squadron. He was courteously listened to and informed that the representative of the United States would communicate with none—and receive none on board any of his ships—save an accredited agent of the highest rank. Furthermore that the guardships must vanish, for that American ships were not to be beleagured on the high seas. So important was this last point felt to be, that it was distinctly intimated that the boats *must* go, whereupon they did go, and for the first time in modern history the ships of a civilized nation rode unattended by this dishonorable escort in Japanese waters; the first great point in the American diplomatic game was won.

When the Japanese saw that they must negotiate, they readily began to do so. The Governor of Uraga, the neighbouring city to the anchorage, expressed his inability, owing to stringent laws, to visit the ships, but sent his Vice Governor. Commodore Perry responded by admitting the Vice Governor as an Envoy, but would not himself receive him, but appointed his Flag Lieutenant as his Representative. The first Speech of the Vice Governor was just what had been anticipated. Nagasaki was the one port appointed for foreign ships and there the Americans must go before they could be recognized. The reply had been also anticipated. It was an essential principle of the American mission to deny the right of any nation to issue any such inhospitable veto; and Commodore Perry distinctly refused to go to Nagasaki. With this answer the Vice Governor had to return to shore, and thus the 2d great diplomatic stand-point of the Americans had been mooted. This was not a bad day's work to begin with. The guard-boats withdrawn, and the divine right of Nagasaki emphatically denied.

Night fell, and as darkness stole over the summer landscape in that far Eastern and unknown country, a strange sight succeeded. From hill to hill, and Cape to Cape, was seen the glare of the awakening beacon. That picturesque institution is lost to us in an age of telegraph. But it remains in poetry and history; it remains also in Japan. The fires that flashed from distant Ilium to the watch tower of the Palace of Agamemnon, the fiery herald which sped from shire to shire to proclaim that the topsails of the Pinta,—the vanguard of Spanish tyranny and Popish pride, had risen above the Western Horizon did not proclaim a greater fact than was signalled three short years ago over unknown Headlands to strange cities; intending to declare that danger was at hand in the Bay; unconsciously proclaiming in fiery characters that the knell of another oriental Government had sounded, that Western civilization had in all seriousness come to Japan.

While the fires blazed, and far in the interior of the kingdom, anxious officials misdoubted their import and looked with nervous

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agitation on the brace of swords stuck in their girdle, fearful for what act of happy despatch they might presently be required; while the Japanese people looked on with the stolid indifference which orientals feel as to the acts of their rulers, and the seamen on watch on board the American ships gazed with curiosity and delight at the picturesque effect of successive bonfires; we may suppose that one man looked at the flaming messengers of his approach with mingled feelings of hope, anxiety and ambition. His coming was proclaimed to the world—what had he come for? His first object was clear and simple. Shipwrecked mariners of his country had been repulsed and even ill-treated by the Japanese. With regard to such acts he was prepared not to solicit but to demand,—not expressions of regret for the past, but guarantees of a different conduct for the future. A port of refuge must be appointed for shipwrecked American citizens. But besides this he hoped to establish a commercial treaty with the owners of this fertile and important country. The Dutch had had such a treaty for years, but nothing of that kind would do. We heartily sympathize in the contempt with which the compiler of the narrative before us speaks of the restraints and degradations to which for the sake of filthy lucre the Dutch were willing to submit. Trade as men, or no trade at all, was the feeling of the Americans; showing that they at least do not prefer trade to humanity and honor as some of their eulogists and caricaturists in Manchester and elsewhere would slanderously represent them as doing.

To facilitate his negotiations, Commodore Perry brought a large armed force to the Bay of Yedo, and left a small detachment on the neighbouring island of Great Lewchew, with the avowed intention of taking possession of this island if the first of his demands at any rate were not complied with. With regard to this, Commodore Perry endorses the following paragraph :—

"These were merely measures of precaution, which seemed justified by the wily policy of the Japanese, which forbade any confident reliance upon its justice, and by the probability of the Russians, French, or English, in their eagerness to anticipate the Americans, stepping in before them and seizing a dependency like Lewchew, which might so greatly further their purposes in regard to Japan. It was not proposed by the Commodore to take Lewchew, or claim it as a territory conquered by, and belonging to the United States, nor to molest or interfere in any way with the authorities or people of the island, or to use any force, except in self-defence. In fact, there was not likely to be any occasion for violence, as the Americans already possessed all necessary influence in Lewchew, which had been acquired by kindness and non-interference with the laws and customs of the island."

We do not profess either to answer or to understand the assertion contained in the above—viz., that the Commodore intended to

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occupy Lewchew and yet not to claim it for the United States. This is either hypocrisy or piracy. The truth is that Commodore Perry required no such pitiful apology for an act of necessary vigor. Had his energies not been quickened by his jealous fears of Russian, French or English anticipation, we believe he would still have done the same, and still done rightly. He knew that in fact Americans could not and did not come to negotiate with Japanese as equals, but to dictate in a manner more or less modified the terms they desired. He knew that whatever forms were gone through, an Anglo-Saxon could not meet an Asiatic on terms of parity, nor was he prepared to reduce the truth of nature to the mould of the crotchets of philanthropists, in Boston or New York, in London or Cawnpore. He had indeed started on a fool's errand if he left America intending to come back with such a treaty as the Japanese might voluntarily concede to his eloquence. To modify the traditions, the history, the customs, and even the religion of an Eastern nation, requires arguments based on bayonets and thirty-two Pounders; and this Commodore Perry felt when he exercised his crews at quarters every day; when he carried a heavy armament; when he left an armed party on Great Lewchew; when he dwelt, in every conference with the Japanese, on the certainty of his return in the spring, in the event of present failure, with more ships of greater force.

We are proud to welcome so brilliant an ally to the ranks of that party which is stigmatized as annexationist,—and which does indeed prefer the truth of God and the rights of man, to the heraldic claims of barbaric dynasties; but we cannot allow him or his eulogists to use the cant of our and their opponents; to talk sneeringly of England as an "annexing Government," or to discredit wise actions by superfluous and hypocritical excuses.

Meanwhile what did the Japanese think about it all? They were courteous from the first. They always had however been courteous to ships of war of whatever nation. Their severities had been reserved for shipwrecked sailors. We may be excused for not accepting the self-complacent explanation of our present travellers, not perhaps expressed but freely implied, that the Japanese were a discriminating people, and perceived at once the superiority of their present visitors to all who had preceded them. We can indeed conceive few things more calculated to disgust Asiatics than the zeal for discovery of the Americans as described by themselves. They were always doing things which we feel were precisely what tact and politeness should have taught them not to do. There is something ludicrous in the naiveté of their descriptions, how they saw the door of a private house open, saw the inmates, especially the women, hurrying away from observation; how they lay in wait and rushed into the house un-

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awares, but were still baffled, the inhospitable curtain being lowered over its recesses before their curiosity was gratified. Englishmen would never dream of acquiring knowledge at such a sacrifice of politeness, and to us in this country, accustomed to understand and respect the feelings of the natives, such conduct seems, as it probably did to the Japanese, absolutely outrageous. Still they got on, just for the same reason as we have got on in India. They were strong and just, and therefore heaven and earth favoured them. To suppose that the proud Government and old Aristocracy of Japan liked the Republicans of the States, is absurd; but they were uncommonly afraid of them, and felt from the first that they were in the presence of their masters.

Diplomacy immediately commenced. Commodore Perry's first act in that department was to send the guard-boats to the right about; his second was to insist on the right of the American boats to survey the bay and take soundings, whatever Japanese law might say to the contrary. The old argument about Nagasâki was disposed of with equal success. After all success with Asiaticks means sticking to the right, and not giving in. The Japanese could not receive the Americans at any other place than Nagasâki: but Commodore Perry absolutely would not go to Nagasâki; greatly preferred staying where he was. And within the short space of four days this determination broke down the law and custom of centuries. For the first time since the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Government of Japan held communication with foreigners, and that *not* at the ignominious port.

The American Envoy had wisely determined to deal with none but accredited Agents of the highest rank. The letter of the President (hear it shade of George III.!) was not to be delivered into common hands. This point like the rest was carried. What we should call a Prince of the Blood was appointed to hold an interview with the Commodore, and the interview was to be held near Uraga in the Bay of Yedo.

We will not give the details of the interview. How the Republicans stipulated that the title given to the President of the States should be equivalent to that of the Emperor of Japan; how every body put on his best clothes; how the great mind of the United States devoted itself to details which we are accustomed to associate with such tame antiquarian institutions as the Herald's College, the intelligent reader need not be told. He will find it all recorded; and will probably agree with us that the wisdom of Commodore Perry's preparations for a special occasion is more apparent than the soundness of the extreme Republican theories to which such wisdom cannot be reconciled; and will smile at the energy with which the writer of the

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narrative gives himself up to a pleasant sin; thoroughly enjoying the unwonted office of being author of a Court Circular, yet half afraid of being found out.

We need not therefore enter into all the upholstery details of the first interview between the Americans and the Japanese. The points to notice are—1st, that it took place at a temporary building opposite the American anchorage in the Bay of Yedo, and *not* at Nagasâki; 2nd, that the Japanese Emperor was represented at the interview by a specially delegated officer of the highest rank. The object of the interview was for the Commodore to present the President's letter. Again we pass over a multitude of details concerning costly boxes, and knee bowings and ceremonies which the writer seems to us to dwell as on forbidden fruit; and only express our regret that the length of President Fillimore's letter to his "great and good friend" the Emperor of Japan, prevents our extracting it. It is highly creditable to Mr. Everett the Secretary, being terse and to the point; a straightforward State paper, and if it were not for the abuse of the unhappy monosyllable "quite," a fine piece of English writing. The letter states that America wishes to live in friendship with all her neighbours, but that no friendship can exist with an inhospitable nation. Japan is to be regarded as a neighbour since the development of California and Steam Locomotion.

The United States therefore desire her friendship: they also desire coal for their passing steamers, they are "very desirous of this." They furthermore wish to have safety and assistance assured to their shipwrecked sailors. They "are very much in earnest about this." [p. 298.]

This letter is backed by one from Commodore Perry, in which he does not fail to play the trump card, judiciously finessed by the President, and to intimate that "many of the large ships of war destined to visit Japan have not yet arrived in these seas, though they are hourly expected; and the undersigned" (Matthew C. Perry to wit) "as an evidence of his friendly intentions has brought but four of the smaller ones, designing, should it become necessary, to return to Yedo in ensuing spring with a much larger force. But it is expected that the Government of your Imperial Majesty will render such return unnecessary, by acceding at once to the very reasonable and pacific overtures contained in the President's letter, &c."—p. 300.

Now that is plain intelligible language—and means, "if you do not do what we want willingly, you will have to do it next spring unwillingly." This language is called firmness or bullying: diplomacy or annexation, according to our different views of these questions: but at any rate it is the language used by Commodore Perry in presenting his credentials and his Govern-

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ment's letter, and we are specially told in a foot note that the letter of the Commodore was framed in accordance " with instructions from the authorities of the United States." The threat therefore was deliberate and national. We have no objection to offer ; but Commodore Perry should spare his reflections on " annexing Governments" lest some Reviewer more scrupulous than ourselves in these matters should be tempted to retaliate.

It was not supposed that an answer would be returned at once. The letter had to go to Head Quarters to the Siangoo—or civil Emperor and his Council, living entities in Japan, on whom however the present narrative throws but little light. All the answer now received was an acknowledgment. " I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of such a date" is a sufficiently hacknied phrase with us ; but the same words become invested with historical dignity when uttered to Europeans by Japanese in the Bay of Yedo. We give a copy of the receipt :—

" The letter of the President of the United States of North America, and copy, are hereby received and delivered to the Emperor. Many times it has been communicated that business relating to foreign countries cannot be transacted here in Uraga, but in Nagasâki. Now it has been observed that the Admiral, in his quality of Ambassador of the President, would be insulted by it ; the justice of this has been acknowledged ; consequently the abovementioned letter is hereby received, in opposition to the Japanese law.

" Because the place is not designed to treat of anything from foreigners, so neither can conference nor entertainment take place. The letter being received you will leave here."

[Here follow facsimiles of signatures, in Japanese.]

" The ninth of the sixth month."

This was on the 14th July. The first stage of the business was concluded : a few festivities on board the ships followed. The Commodore seems to have kept a very good cellar—and the Japanese to have been very glad to exchange Saki for the wines of Champagne, Burgundy, and the Rhine. On the 17th July 1853 the Squadron left the Island, the Commodore having expressed his intention to return for the answer to his letter in the spring of 1854. The Squadron left the Bay of Yedo, and the Commodore, justly satisfied with the success of his mission up to this point, with pleasing visions of guard-boats repelled, Nagasâki and Dutch servilities repudiated, nautical facts ascertained, and above all a proud and hostile nation impressed with a sense that they had been summoned to a Conference by a nation not less proud and far more powerful than themselves ; held on his way boldly and cheerfully through the violent storms which now opposed him, and leaving Japan for a season, retraced his course to the island of Great Lewchew.

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We do not like Commodore Perry's proceedings here so well as those at Japan. He seems to have been a little unnecessarily harsh in his determination to get exactly what he wanted by force or otherwise. Nor were all his demands from the Lewchewans altogether reasonable. It was very well to insist on having a shed erected for a coal depôt; that the natives should be allowed to trade with the Americans, and that the latter should be free from the degradation of espionage; but it was a strong measure to insert a clause in a formal communication to the Government stipulating "that the inhabitants, particularly the women and children, shall not run away, when they meet Americans in the streets, as if," adds the Commodore, "we were their greatest enemies." And this was one of the propositions which the American Envoy was prepared to maintain, to the extent of taking forcible possession of part of the Island, if *all* his demands were not agreed to!

It might be unpleasant for the Americans to find themselves regarded as enemies, but it is not easy to see what reason the Lewchewans had to regard them as friends.

The fact is probably that Commodore Perry was indifferent to, if not desirous of a breach with the Lewchewans; as a physical hold on their Island would have ensured the success of his negotiations with Japan. But the Lewchewans, as might have been expected, gave way after some feeble resistance on every point. An active market was opened for trade between the ships and the shore, the coal shed was agreed to and even erected in the presence of the Squadron; and it was promised that the odious espionage should cease. Whether the women consented to stand to be stared at, or the children were ordered by the high officers of Government not to run to their mothers when they saw the strangers, are facts not recorded.

The Squadron now left the Japanese waters, leaving one armed ship however to "watch American interests in the neighbourhood of Lewchew; and with the intention of returning to the Bay of Yedo in the spring of the ensuing year, steamed to Hong-Kong where it arrived on the 7th August 1853.

It will be remembered by our readers that at this time the Chinese rebellion was at its height, an event which singularly proved the falsity of our common boast of the annihilation of time and space, seeing that for days and weeks and months the hopes and fears of millions were bound up and their lives jeoparded and lost on the issue of events, for which the majority of the civilized world cared absolutely nothing, and the meaning of which, even yet, it scarcely comprehends. The American residents in China however were too near the tumult to be indifferent, and Commodore Perry arrived just in time to pacify their fears and ensure

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them protection. This supplementary duty he appears to have discharged with vigor, courtesy and prudence. But no supplementary duties caused him to forget his main business. He was naturally sensitive to the proceedings of other nations in the direction of Japan. He knew how many men had had cause to sigh "Hos ego versiculos, &c." and was in constant apprehension lest some other power should step in to reap the harvest which he had sown. These jealous anxieties became uncontrollable when it was known in January 1854 that a Russian frigate had gone to Shanghai, and that a French frigate lying at Macao had suddenly, on the arrival of the Overland Mail, put to sea with sealed orders, and gone off, no body knew where, but as Commodore Perry surmised, on the principle of *omne ignotum pro terribili*, probably for Japan.

This state of suspense could not be endured, and though the North-East monsoon was at its height, and the Japanese had been told not to expect the return of the Squadron till the spring (it being now mid-winter,) the Commodore determined to brave "all storms, fogs and other dangers to be met with on the inhospitable Japanese coasts during the inclement season, rather than allow either the Russians or the French to gain an advantage over him."

But on the very day, nay at the very hour appointed for his departure, the Overland Mail arrived, and Commodore Perry did what we should all have done under the circumstances, but what he probably soon regretted,—he waited for his letters.

He got his letters and among them a despatch from the Navy department ordering him to place one of his ships at the disposal of the recently appointed Chinese Commissioner. The case was urgent. The Americans make mistakes as well as ourselves, and three ships built and designed for this service, had turned out according to the candid declaration of the Secretary to the Navy "miserable failures." But if the Chinese Commissioner's case was urgent, how much more so, in Commodore Perry's judgment, was his own! With Japan waiting to be civilized till he should come, and the Russians and French both, as he believed, "trying to gain an advantage over him!" Under these circumstances, we are not surprized that he did what in a graver crisis Nelson did at Copenhagen. He could not go to Japan without all his ships: go to Japan he must. So there was nothing left for it but to disobey orders.

Again the Squadron anchored at Lewchew, and in the 10 days spent there, the Americans seem to have made much more progress than on former occasions towards intercourse with the natives. Here the Commodore received a communication from the "Dutch Governor General of India" dated Buetenzorg, in-

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forming him in the name of the Japanese Authorities that the Emperor of Japan was dead, and begging that he would defer his visit, as the appearance of foreign ships at such a time might create confusion.

The Emperor was really dead, though Commodore Perry not unnaturally had his doubts at the time whether the statement was not a mere diplomatic ruse to keep him away. True or false, however, it would have required much more than there being an Emperor more or less in the world, to deter the sturdy Republican from his object, especially with the fear of French and Russian advantage ever in his thoughts. He therefore sent a civil message to the effect that he was very sorry, but intimating his intention to come notwithstanding. Accordingly he left Napha for the 3d time on the 7th February 1854, and on the 13th, after a fair voyage notwithstanding the season, reached the American anchorage, 12 miles beyond the town of Uraga and only 20 miles from the Capital of Yedo.

Then the game of diplomacy recommenced. The first grand point to be decided was where the Conference should be held, at which the answer to the President's letter was to be received. This proved the vital point of the whole negotiation; it was about this apparent trifle that the battle was fought; and when defeated in this, the Japanese never again made any determined stand against the unbending will of the Commodore. The anchorage, as we have observed, was 12 miles beyond Uraga and 20 miles short of Yedo. The Conference at which the President's letter had been delivered was close to Uraga. On that occasion the American triumph had consisted in not going to Nagasâki; *now* the Japanese accepted the first step as accomplished, but were unwilling to concede more. They stated that the reply to the letter would be given at Uraga. The Commodore however was as unwilling now to go back to that place as 7 months previously he had been eager to push forward to it. He pleaded that the anchorage there was unsafe for his ships in winter. This was denied. Very likely it was not the case: at any rate nothing would induce the Commodore to turn his ship's head round.—The Japanese urged their point with extraordinary pertinacity. Commodore Perry thought to excite them to a compliance by an advance movement, and approached accordingly within 8 miles of Yedo, and now declared plainly that he would be received at the Capital. This provoked an ecstacy of anxiety and alarm. "You cannot be received at Yedo," almost shrieked the unhappy Japanese officials. They begged, they supplicated, they insisted, that he should go to Uraga. All in vain; the Commodore, still preserving the mysterious system, stayed in his cabin, and replied through his Captains by a steady No to these demands. At

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last after 10 days' discussion, throughout which the Japanese had declared that happen what would, it was absolutely impossible for the Conference to take place anywhere but at Uraga, they suddenly dropped their objection, and suggested a new place "Yoku-hâma" just abreast where the ships were lying, as convenient and admissible. Like a prudent diplomatist, Commodore Perry knew when to be content; and thinking a stride of 24 miles sufficient for the present, dropped his claim to go to Yedo and consented to receive his answer at Yoku-hâma. The letter in which the Commodore justifies his obstinacy about the place of rendezvous is able and interesting, but in our opinion scarcely required. This justification is to be found in the very importance attached to the matter by the Japanese. We repeat our belief that this was the turning point of the expedition. For the first and last time the Japanese brought their utmost strength to bear on one point of diplomatic contest; it was essential that they should be taught the inferiority of their utmost strength to that of their opponents. Had the Squadron gone to Nagasâki on its first visit or Uraga on its second, we doubt whether the Americans would ever have obtained a treaty.

After a series of preliminary interviews and entertainments, the Conference took place at Yoku-hâma on the 8th of March. On the very morning of the day appointed, just before he left his ship to go ashore, Commodore Perry with his usual quickness detected an attempt on the part of the Japanese to defeat half the object of the meeting by depriving it of publicity.

"In the preparation of the place it had been surrounded by the usual enclosure of cloth, which completely excluded it from the view of those without, and in fact seemed to enclose it within a sort of prison yard. The Commodore, who saw this arrangement from his ship before he landed immediately sent an officer on shore to demand what it meant, and in answer to some frivolous pretext about presenting intrusion and doing honor to the occasion, informed the Japanese that he would forego the honor, and that, until it was completely removed, he could not think of landing. It was immediately taken down by the Japanese.

Bands of flag-bearers, musicians, and pikemen manœuvred in order here and there, glistening with their lacquered caps, bright colored costumes, crimson streamers, showy emblazonry and burnished spears. There was no great military display as on the first visit at Goranama and the few who had the look of soldiers were merely a small body-guard, composed of the retainers of the various high dignitaries who were to officiate on the occasion. Crowds of people had gathered from the neighbouring towns and villages, and were thronging with curious eagerness on either side of a large open space on the shore, which was kept free from intrusion by barriers, within which none of the spectators were allowed

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to enter. Two or three officials were seen busily moving about, now directing the workmen, and again checking the disorder among the Japanese multitude.

Soon a large barge came floating down the Bay from the neighbouring town of Kanagawa. This was a gaily painted vessel, which, with its decks and open pavilion rising high above the hull, had very much the appearance of one of our Western river steam-boats, while streamers floated from its three masts, and bright colored flags and variegated drapery adorned the open deck above. This barque bore the Japanese Commissioners, and when it had reached to within a short distance of the shore, these dignitaries and their suites disembarked in several boats and hurried to the land. An immense number of Japanese craft of all kinds, each with a tassel at its prow and a square striped flag at its stern, gathered about the Bay. The day was fresh and clear, and every thing had a cheerful aspect, in spite of the lingering wintry look of the landscape.

The Commodore had made every preparation to distinguish the occasion of his second landing in Japan by all necessary parade, knowing, as he did, the importance and moral influence of such show upon so ceremonious and artificial a people as the Japanese."

The poor Japanese were evidently being rapidly reduced to order.

Again our limits compel us to pass unnoticed the laborious efforts of the Americans to get up a pageant for the occasion. The following extract however contains a graphic description of the Commissioners or "high officers" appointed to represent the Emperor of Japan :—

"The Commodore and his officers and Interpreters had hardly taken their seats on the left, the place of honor, and the various Japanese officials, of whom there was a goodly number, theirs on the right, when the five Commissioners entered from an apartment which opened through an entrance at the upper end of the hall. As soon as they presented themselves the subordinate Japanese officials prostrated themselves on their knees, and remained in that attitude during their presence.

"The Commissioners were certainly august looking personages, and their grave but courteous manners, and their rich flowing robes of silk, set them off to the highest advantage. Their costume consisted of an under garment somewhat similar to the antique doublet, and a pair of very wide and short trowsers of figured silk, while below, the legs were encased in white cotton or woollen socks, laced to some distance above the ankles. The socks were so contrived that the great toe was separated from the other four, for the passage of the band which attached to the sandal, and joined another from the heel at the ankle, where the two were tied together. Over the doublet and trowsers a loose gown of embroidered silk, something in the shape of the clerical robe, with loose sleeves, was worn. This was secured to the waist by a sash, in which are usually thrust the two swords

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which mark the dignitaries of higher rank. The three princes alone, of all the Commissioners, were observed to wear a white inner shirt, or vest which was opened at the breast. This was a mark of the very highest rank, and belongs exclusively to princes and the loftiest dignitaries of the Empire."

The reply to the President's letter was produced with great ceremony. We cannot afford to quote it. It implied a rebuke to the Americans for their want of courtesy in persisting in their visit at such a season, notwithstanding that they had been officially apprized of the death of the Emperor. It admitted the justice of the demand about treating shipwrecked crews with humanity; it promised that coals, stores and provisions should be furnished to all ships in want of them, and that for the reception of such ships a special harbour should be assigned; the preparation of which however would take about 5 years. Finally it stated that all the productions of the Empire could be furnished to ships in want of them at fixed rates. Interviews and notes succeeded. The Commodore took occasion to observe that he was going to send a ship home shortly that his Government might learn the progress of the negotiations and *thus know* whether it would be necessary to send more ships. We are not surprized to read that on this the poor Japanese were troubled and asked with much earnestness " are the Americans friendly !" One pleasant part of the diplomatic transactions was the exchange of presents. Those destined for the Islanders had been carefully selected in New-York, London and Paris, and been sent out in a special ship. The list is amusing. Among its miscellaneous items we find "a box of books," " a box of revolvers," "a box of dressing cases," "two telegraph instruments," "several baskets of champagne" and lastly "one locomotive and tender, passenger car, and rails complete." The Japanese are astonished but never show it. Their delight and curiosity with regard to the telegraph must however have gratified the civilized exhibitors. The following extract about the Toy railway is too good to be omitted :—

"Nor did the railway, under the direction of Engineers Gay and Danby, with its Lilliputian locomotive car, and tender, excite less interest. All the parts of the mechanism were perfect, and the car was a most tasteful specimen of workmanship, but so small that it could hardly carry a child of six years of age. The Japanese, however, were not to be cheated out of a ride, and as they were unable to reduce themselves to the capacity of the inside of the carriage, they betook themselves to the roof. It was a spectacle not a little ludicrous to behold a dignified Mandarin whirling around the circular road at the rate of twenty miles an hour, with his loose robes flying in the wind. As he clung with a desperate hold to the edge of the roof, grinning with intense interest, and his huddled up body shook

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convulsively with a kind of laughing timidity, while the car spun rapidly around the circle, you might have supposed that the movement, somehow or other, was dependent rather upon the enormous exertions of the weary Mandarin than upon the power of the little puffing locomotive which was so easily performing its work."

Meanwhile the Conferences went on. We will not disguise matters by the use of diplomatic language. "I want this and you want that," is the rude formula to which every quarrel may be reduced, and the phrases of diplomatists are but the clothes by which that formula is disguised. What the Americans wanted, was two or three free ports in Japan. What the Japanese wanted, was to keep them to Nagasâki. To do Commodore Perry justice, he made his meaning clear enough. To facilitate business, notes were interchanged after the fashion of civilized nations. The drift of the Japanese note always consisted in this:—"we will give the Americans what they want; but at Nagasâki." The drift of the Commodore's comment always consisted in this, "agreed; but for Nagasâki two or more ports must be substituted." Once indeed the Japanese ventured to state as a proposition that "at Nagasâki the Americans shall have no intercourse with the Dutch and Chinese;" to which Commodore Perry most promptly and properly replied, "The Americans will never submit to the restrictions which have been imposed upon the Dutch and Chinese, and any further allusion to such restraints will be considered offensive." That sentence can be read with pleasure by an Englishman, but it is a withering because just sarcasm on the Dutch whom it thus consigns to Chinese Alliance and ignominious degradation.

Ultimately the real points between the Japanese and Commodore Perry resolved themselves into these. The Americans demanded a port of refuge and a recognized trade in Japan. The Japanese granted both at Nagasâki. The Americans repudiated the very mention of this place as an indignity, and demanded to have the ports of Simoda on the Eastern side of the Island, not far from Yedo; of Hakodadi to the North in the Principality of Matsmai, and of Napha in Great Lewchew Island, named as free ports. After earnest and difficult dispute, the Commodore gained his point; with the exception of Napha, as to which the Japanese really seemed honestly unable to make a concession; their own relations to Great Lewchew being so undefined. But the ports of Simoda and Hakodadi (if the reader would understand us, he must not evade the trouble of looking at a map) were conceded, and the objection about the necessity of five years' preparations was reduced to an admission that both ports should be open in 1855, or as soon as Commodore Perry had surveyed both harbours.

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At last on the 31st March 1854—the Treaty was signed. It contained 12 Articles—of which we subjoin the six most important :—

"*Article II.*—The Port of Simoda, in the principality of Idyu, and the Port of Hakodadi, in the principality of Matsmai, are granted by the Japanese as ports for the reception of American ships, where they can be supplied with wood, water, provisions, and coal, and other articles their necessities may require, as far as the Japanese have them. The time for opening the first named port is immediately on signing this treaty; the last named port is to be opened immediately after the same day in the ensuing Japanese year.

Note.—A tariff of prices shall be given by the Japanese officers of the things which they can furnish, payment for which shall be made in gold and silver coin.

Article IV.—Those shipwrecked persons and other citizens of the United States shall be free as in other countries, and not subject to confinement, but shall be amenable to just laws.

Article V.—Shipwrecked men, and other citizens of the United States, temporarily living at Simoda and Hakodadi, shall not be subject to such restrictions and confinement as the Dutch and Chinese are at Nagasâki; but shall be free at Simoda to go where they please within the limits of seven Japanese miles (or ri) from a small island in the harbour of Simoda, marked on the accompanying chart, hereto appended; and shall in like manner be free to go where they please at Hakodadi, within limits to be defined after the visit of the United States squadron to that place.

Article IX.—It is agreed, that if, at any future day, the Government of Japan shall grant to any other nation or nations privileges and advantages which are not herein granted to the United States and the citizens thereof, that the same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States and to the citizens thereof without any consultation or delay.

Article X.—Ships of the United States shall be permitted to resort to no other ports in Japan but Simoda and Hakodadi, unless in distress or forced by stress of weather.

Article XI.—There shall be appointed by the Government of the United States Consuls or Agents to reside in Simoda at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the signing of this Treaty; provided that either of the two Governments deem such arrangement necessary."

Now we call that a great success. The object of the Americans was to violate Japanese isolation, to proclaim and establish the principle that nations must not live for themselves but for the world, the principle contained in John's Gospel to the truth of which the 19th century is beginning to open its eyes. When we think of the Dutch confined, insulted and degraded at Nagasâki, and then of the Americans with their acknowledged right to established ports and recognized Consuls, and a trade limited indeed but

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free and honourable, it is impossible to deny that a great approach had been made to the attainment of this object, that not only had the wedge been inserted but forced some way into the wood. We may smile at the touch of Yankee caution evinced in the 10th Article, we may and do except to some of the expressions and some of the acts of the American Commodore, but true single-hearted men are not so common in these days that we can afford to deny one when we find him, and such most certainly in our judgment was the Matthew Calbraitt Perry who on the 31st March 1854, signed this treaty with Hayashi Daigaku Nokami and others at Yoku-hâma. Does not the very contrast of the names suggest the importance of the deed? What English tongue will pronounce that last name without pain and difficulty? How infinitely little we have in common with that man of many letters! Yet he lives: he represents moreover a nation that lives; and if two hundred years hence we have learnt to talk of Hayashi &c. with as much fluency as we do of Sobha Sing or Mahomed Khan, the treaty of the 31st March 1854 will be justly called great, for it will have added another nation to the world.

After obtaining his treaty and dismissing a ship therewith to the United States, we think the Commodore was wrong in proceeding to Yedo. It is true that at the earnest entreaty of the officials he did not anchor; but the very demonstration was unseemly, after great concessions had been made. From firmness to bullying is but a step, and we think this visit of impertinent curiosity partook rather of the latter than the former character.

On the 18th April 1854 the Commodore left the Bay of Yedo and proceeded to inspect his newly conceded harbours at Simoda and Hakodadi. These were both, all that could be desired, and the visit of the Squadron had a beneficial effect in publishing the treaty, which the Japanese seemed in no hurry to do. At the former place all the old battle was fought over again. Japanese objections died very hard. The officials objected to American officers staying on shore at night. Had this been allowed, the treaty would have been a farce. The objection was not only overruled, but resented as offensive. If the Japanese however were a little too slow to carry out the article which provided for the Americans a "temporary residence" at the stipulated ports, it cannot be denied that the Americans on their part were a little too quick.

The Governor of Simoda may well have been surprized when in February 1855 an American ship came into harbour and some of the passengers began to land with their wives and familes. They had come to trade first there, and when Hakodadi was opened, at that place. The correspondence in the matter was carried on chiefly with the Hakodadi authorities. The Americans

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said they were coming to reside temporarily, but the Japanese not liking the look of the wives and children asked for a definition of this phrase. The Americans declined to give one. Would they stay—weeks, or months, or a year, or years? They would not say—they would reside temporarily. The Japanese very properly replied that temporarily did not mean indefinitely. In one sense we are all temporary residents on this side the grave, and according to this American view of the term the stipulation of temporary as opposed to permanent residence could only have meant that Simoda and Hakodadi were not to be the abodes of the dead; the only "permanent residents." The point of interpretation was referred to the American Government and their view of it, is said, though not yet officially stated, to agree with that of the Japanese. We are sure it must do so, if Commodore Perry has been consulted. He would never countenance a quibble, amounting to a breach of the faith which he had pledged in the name of his country. One more dispute arose as to the tether fixed for the expatiation of American temporary residents at the port of Simoda. This had been stated at 7 *li*—equivalent to 16 English miles: but the Japanese tried to neutralize the privilege by subjecting those who availed themselves of it to many restrictions and much espionage. Of course the Commodore protested, and of course with success. The limits at Hakodadi were more strict being confined to 5 *li* or about 11½ miles. The extent of these concessions is best estimated by contemplating the treatment to which the Dutch had submitted for centuries; cribbed, cabined and confined in the town of Nagasâki, cut off like pestilent men from the natives, and treated more like Jews of the middle ages were by Christians, than one would suppose that ever since Christians had been by orientals.

The squadron prepared to depart. One last trifling but significant incident occurred. The anxious friends of Sam Patch—the Japanese American sailor formerly referred to, came on board and begged that Sam would return to his affectionate family. The officials also came and ridiculed the idea of his suffering any thing for his foreign wanderings. But nothing would induce Sam to go. He clung to the deck in a ludicrous agony of terror, and implored protection with an earnest pertinacity that seemed to suggest that in his time at any rate. Happy despatch was not altogether a fable. Sam is living in the states—far from the two edged sword of the children of the San. Commodore Perry left Japan on the 28th June 1854 and returned to Lewchew. It will be recollected that he had tried to get this port included with Simoda and Hakodadi in the main treaty; but the Japanese had professed want of jurisdiction. He now therefore made a separate and far more liberal treaty with the Lewchewans; by

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which all ports were to be open to American ships for refuge, wood and water, and the port of Napha for supplies of every sort. American citizens might go where they pleased subject to the law of the land; pilots were to be appointed to look out for foreign vessels, and a tariff of prices was fixed. Having concluded this treaty on the 11th July, the Commodore steamed on to Hong-Kong whence he proceeded to England by the Overland steamer—so familiar to us—the *Hindoostan*, and reached New-York on the 12th January 1855. "On the 23d of April 1855, the *Mississippi* reached the Navy Yard at Brooklyn, and on the next day the Commodore, repairing on board, and formally hauling down his flag, thus consummated the final act in the story of the United States Expedition to Japan." With this modest sentence the narrator closes his account of Commodore Perry. But we believe that we shall all hear of him again. For the present we part with regret from a wise statesman, an accomplished sailor and a gallant gentleman.

The question remains—what of the Japanese ? and again what of the Americans?

For the former we Indians will not be cheated out of our belief that in spite of the eulogies of their new acquaintance they are still Asiatics. And we know that the Almighty has at least for the present order of things, placed a wide Gulf between the Asiatic and the European or American. At the same time the Japanese are Islanders and have inherited much of the virtue of the Sea. When told that they are a very brave people, we shall recollect that five American ships coerced them into a treaty, but be prepared to believe that they are capable of conquering Bengalis. They are great liars, and by this fact the Americans seem to have been more surprized than we should have been. They are singularly wanting in chastity. Prostitution is recognized by the law to an extent unheard of in Paris, and in large towns the best streets are occupied exclusively by courtesans. They are excessively curious—will finger a button and spy out each minute object, but have the oriental faculty of concealing all emotion of surprize. They are essentially Conservative: so are all Asiatics. But whereas with the men of Asia Conservatism is only an instinct, with the men of Japan it is an institution.

The force of instinct, aided by the force of an elaborate institution, aided again by insulation—has enabled Japan to exist as a barbarous Empire in the nineteenth century. An Englishman may thoughtfully compare the effect of insulation on his own race and that of Asia, when he thinks of Japan. Concentration and consequently strength—is the element given in either case; the Anglo-Saxon uses this strength to conquer the world and to love

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his brother, and to work out gradually an identity in the two phrases : the Japanese uses it to repel the world and to live unsocially, unscripturally, against the best light the world has yet seen—for himself. We will not then be tempted into a spurious philanthropic admiration for our brethren of Japan. We are on the contrary sincerely glad that America has taken them in hand. We could not live out these troublesome times—this distress of nations with perplexity—had we not this confidence in the Anglo-Saxon, who has yet many battles to fight—and will, we believe, fight them all. But the actual Japanese—we have a kindness for, as we have for "poor Blackey." May their "high men" long live to look like knaves of trumps—wearing by way of trowsers petticoats with a seam in the middle ; may they long enjoy their 12 courses of soup varied with Saki—and with a true appreciation of the doctrine of hospitality gather up the fragments of the feast—and carry them off, that they may be no losers, and their hosts no gainers by the scraps. Who shall say which is nearest the politeness of the future—the Japanese emptying the dish next him into his sleeve, or the London hostess manœuvring to save a pie from being cut? May they long find wholesome leisure to exercise their mechanical skill, in which they excel; to build their boats with open sterns—so well suited for their coast traffic—yet in accordance with their settled policy, so ill-adapted for going to Sea :—may they long grind their prayer-mills, those quaint machines turned by water power by which alone the great Popery Lie has been successfully parodied; for these dear Japanese learnt long ago to pray by rote—and then they logically argued that they might as well employ a machine to do it for them, and so they twisted a kind of rattle in their hand, and that was accounted prayer in Heaven by the God who owns worshippers in spirit and in truth : and then the Japanese took a logical step yet further in advance by turning water power on to their machine, to keep it going ; and thus the water praying machine is a Japanese institution ; may it last till praying by machinery be the machinery what it will—the Shiboleth of the Mahometan, the Mumbo Jumbo of the Papist, the "thou shalt hate thy neighbour as thyself" of the Calvinist, is for ever extinguished and put down. Lastly, what shall we say of the Americans? nothing that her enemies could wish us to say, for the enemies of America are our own. Nothing that a Fillibuster of the Cuba school could wish us to say—for he has for the present excluded himself from the morality of nations. Nothing that a too sensitive citizen of the States could wish us to say—for we will not flatter.

But we desire to say nothing which we should be unwilling to utter in the presence of such an American as Commodore Perry.

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No Englishman ought to read the account of American success in Japan without deep sympathy. If we have not achieved this honor let us thank Heaven that the Americans have. And they did their work well. There will be some bluster about stars and stripes, and all the rest of it—which irritates us because it proceeds from those who profess to be above these vanities: there may be some jealousy displayed which we smile at, not allowing enough for the difference of feeling generated by an experience of 70 and of 700 years. Still we admire heartily the manner in which the Americans did their business. They had strength on their side—and justice—and science,—and humanity;—experience they had not. We see the want of this in their proceedings and feel that an expedition fitted out at Calcutta would have succeeded even better than the one fitted out at New-York. But on the other hand the inexperience evinced with some exceptions great tact: and we doubt whether the best Collector or Deputy Commissioner in India could have understood the Japanese better than did Commodore Perry.

Think what we will, America has opened Japan to the world. Simoda and Hakodâdi will soon be household words. We English appreciate the opening up of the Atlantic; we hardly realize the revolution that has to be effected by steam in the Pacific: among the consequences of that revolution, not the least remote is the establishment of an American Empire in the Eastern Seas. We contemplate the prospect with pleasure and leave it to Russia only to lament. Barbarism cannot cast out barbarism; civilization should not be divided against itself. Let England and America meet in the East: the politics of half the world are simplified;—the Anglo-Saxon will have run his perfect race, and under Heaven that race will have been for the good of mankind.

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ART. VIII.—*Unpublished Manuscripts.*

To the readers of the "History of Coorg," contained in the September Number of this periodical, an account of the present condition of the province may prove acceptable. Twenty-two years have passed since the establishment of the rule of the East India Company, and the prosperity of the province has, it cannot be denied, greatly increased under the new administration. It could not be otherwise. Wars and insurrections have ceased. There have been no wholesale murders, no confiscations of private property, and the terrorism of the ancient regime is almost forgotten. There is not a man, probably, who really wishes for a change of administration, although the petted Coorgs, when questioned about the Rajah, may choose to affect an attachment to their old rulers, which they never felt while the iron yoke was upon them. Had they been devoted to their late Rajah, they would not have betrayed him on the first approach of the Company's troops, would not have assisted with such alacrity in putting down the insurrection of 1837.

The population has, of course, considerably increased; but no reliable information can be obtained as yet on this subject. Statistics have not hitherto been the forte of the Indian Government, and in Coorg especially they have been almost absolutely neglected. There was considerable grumbling among the people, when a census was ordered to be made in 1839. By that census it appeared, that the population of the province consisted of 17,096 Coorgs, and 64,341 people of other castes. The numbers were probably, much below the mark. No other census was made until the beginning of the present year; but this new census is, no doubt, far from being correct. It gives to Coorg a population of 1,11,890 souls; 1,30,000 would probably be more correct. The ignorant obstinacy and the passive resistance of the officials of Coorg opposes to every innovation, aiming at a knowledge of the real state of the country, a vis inertiæ, which will only be overcome by steady perseverance on the part of Government. We give, in the mean time, the result of the late census, such as it is.

Population of the district of Mercara, ...	12,533
Padinalkanadu, ...	19,530
Yettinalkanadu, ...	13,874
Kiggattnadu, ...	18,211
Nanjarayapattana, ...	23,246
Yelusavirashime, ...	18,668
Mahadevapete, ...	3,276
Virarajendrapete, ...	2,579
	1,11,890

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The increase of the Revenue shews that the productiveness of the country is steadily advancing, the assessment of the land being lower than in any other part of India. Yet the country might yield more, and it would be for the benefit of the people themselves, (provided the surplus Revenue were spent upon improvements,) if it did yield more to Government.

The land Revenue constitutes in Coorg, as in all India, the principal source of state income. Its rise in 22 years, from 88,986 Rs. to 1,34,074 Rs does not fully indicate the increase of cultivation which has taken place since the annexation of the Principality. For a considerable fraction of the Kandaya has been given away in rewards for especial services done to Government, during the insurrection of 1837, by Coorg landholders, whose land rent was entirely or in part remitted. The inhabitants of Coorg do not pay alike for their lands; but they are all highly assessed. The rice lands are classified according to an old Government tradition, into fields bearing thirty-fold, forty-fold, fifty-fold, and so on, up to a hundred-fold. The highest estimates are perhaps never reached, even in the most prosperous seasons. But the fertility of the soil is extraordinary. Rice-fields yielding from 40—50 fold returns are considered of middling quality. A 70 and 80 fold return is not unusual on the better and best soils. A 30 fold return is considered very inferior. According to the traditionary tariff, lands are taxed, and pay 10 Rs. for 100 Patty, (a Coorg measure of 80 seers of rice in the husk.) This is the tax paid by common ryots. Coorg landholders pay only one-half, *i. e.*, five Rs. for hundred Patty land. The Patty is very rarely worth less than one Rupee; generally more; sometimes the market price will rise to 1½ Rs. and upwards. This is a fixed rent, payable without reference to the *actual* produce of the year. But it is remitted, when fields are left uncultivated for want of rain, which is a rare case, or of hands, which more frequently happens, when fevers prevail, because hired labourers are scarcely procurable. The cause of the very light assessment of lands held by Coorgs is their ancient feudal relation to the Rajahs. They had to guard their palaces and persons, to accompany them on their hunts, and to fight for them, when required, that is, when enemies invaded the country, or when the Rajahs undertook marauding expeditions into the territories of their neighbours. When the Company became Masters of Coorg, they, of course, dispensed with these feudal services, but neglected to raise the assessment. The oversight may have arisen from ignorance, and the Coorg Dewans would not be very forward in enlightening their new and liberal Masters, but rather represent the difference of taxation as one of the immemorial privileges of the Coorgs.

The Abkari has, alas, risen from 4,231 in 1834 to 25,330 in 1855. Drunkenness is evidently on the increase, even at a much

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greater ratio than is represented by the figures of the Revenue account. In the Rajah's times drinking was kept down very much by rules enforced in Coorg fashion. Besides, it was dangerous in those days to get drunk; for, if (according to the ancient adage in vino veritas,) there is truth in a bottle of wine, there must be a great deal of it in a bottle of brandy. Words spoken in an unguarded moment, if conveyed to Head Quarters by one of the numerous channels of espionage, might cost the man his tongue, nose or head. There is no such fear now before the eyes of the Coorgs. They are prosperous; their climate favors the evil habit, and drunkenness, in its very nature, is a growing vice. Moreover they have become adepts in the art of distilling a strong liquor from rice. In the Rajah's time a few people only knew the secret; now there are few houses, in which large quantities of rice-brandy are not distilled for feasts, or even for common use. These brandy distilleries are, of course, interdicted and punishable. The practice greatly interferes with the trade of the licensed contractors; but high and low are implicated, and no contractor dares to denounce trespassers; he would create for himself a host of enemies. It is hard to say how the Government ought to deal with this vital question, and what measures they might adopt to stem the torrent of vice and ruin. The old barriers, raised against the moral and physical plague by the laws of Hindu religion and of caste, have been broken through long ago, and soon every vestige of them will have disappeared. The system of Government Monopoly appears at first sight most objectionable; yet the abolition of it would have consequences still more deplorable. There is one panacea, and one only, against this, as against every other moral evil in individuals or nations, a renovation of moral life and strength through the gospel. All else is quackery.

The revenue derived from the Cardamum plantations amounted, it is said, in the Rajah's time, to 80,000 Rupees per annum. The gardens were, then, Government property, and the harvests were collected by forced labor. In Nalkanadu some families were in possession of private Cardamum lands, but they had to sell their produce to Government at half the market value. This revenue under the Company's Government at one time dwindled down to less than 4,000 Rs. as will be seen in the Revenue table. The Rajah's management had, of course to be given up. Forced labor under the Company's rule ceased to be exacted. The plantations were at different times farmed out by auction. The combination of all parties concerned against the interests of Government was much too strong for the solitary Superintendents. It would be pretty fair, if the Company's income from this source amounted to one-half of the Rajah's share; and it is not impossible, that this point may yet be reached. At the last auction the pro-

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ceeds amounted, inclusive of a very moderate rent imposed upon the Nalkanadu proprietors, to upwards of 27,000 Rs. This is the best proof of the imposition formerly practised upon Superintendents. The Coorg Cardamums are highly valued. In the Europe trade they are known as Wynaad Cardamums. The Cardamums which grow in the mountains of the Western Ghats, in Nuggur, Coorg, and the Wynaad, have an aroma much superior to those which are raised in gardens in the Mysore and elsewhere. An account of this singular branch of jungle horticulture is given in the Coorg Memoirs. In the Nuggur district exactly the same plan is followed in the establishment of Cardamum plantations. The steepest declivities of the hills are chosen for the purpose. The slope must face West, or, still better, North; for the East wind and the sun are noxious. On the higher edge of the chosen ground one of the largest trees is chosen for the operation of shaking the ground. The slope below, to a length of 250 or 350 feet, according to the height of the tree (they sometimes measure 150 feet and upwards,) is cleared of brushwood, thorns and weeds. This done, a platform is erected between the mountain side behind the tree and its stem, at a height of about 12 feet. Upon this platform two men take their stand, and cut into the tree with all their might, one on the right side, the other on the left, until they are exhausted, when they change places with a couple of comrades, who, with new axes and fresh vigor, continue the work, until their strength also is spent; thus they alternate until the tree is cut to a sufficient depth. These people are very superstitious. It is considered unlucky if this part of the labor be not accomplished by noontide, when the front part of the tree must be cut. At last some cuts are given to the back part of the tree, which now shakes, bends, and falls from the height of its trunk down the mountain-slope, top fore-most, carrying with it in the great crash, a number of smaller trees, and rushing on a long way towards the valley below. The sound of the tree striking the earth resembles the discharge of cannon or a peal of thunder. The ground trembles; the woodcutters cling to some trees standing higher than the scene of devastation. The work is now done for the present. Within three months Cardamum plants shew their heads as ferns do on newly cut ground, all over the space shaken by the fall of the great tree. They rise during the first showers of the monsoon; and grow to a height of two or three feet in the first rainy season. The ground is then once more carefully cleared of weeds, thorns and small bushes which may have sprung up during the monsoon. The Cardamums must not be disturbed. The garden is left alone again for a year. In the month of October of the second year after the felling of the tree (in the 20th month of the plantation) the stalks have reached man's height. A party sets

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out to clear the whole ground thoroughly the third time. After six months more, in April, the fruit-bearing, small branches shoot forth from the bulk; they are covered with clusters of beautiful lion-mouthed blossoms, and afterwards with oval trivalvular capsules. Other five months pass, when, in October, the first crop is gathered. The first full harvest, however, is collected only a year afterwards. The harvest continues good for six or seven years. When the crops begin to decline, another large tree must be cut down on the plantation. The yearly gathering of the Cardamum crop is attended with great hardships; the grass in the mountains is very high, and its leaves are very sharp in October. The people, who go to the work, have their hands, feet and faces sorely cut; besides, the ground is peopled with innumerable leeches; they are not the tiny, pin-like things, that are met with in other hilly districts during the rainy season and immediately after it; but are full grown, good sized creatures, which give a severe bite, take a good swill of blood, and leave a sore wound. The Cardamum gatherers encamp in some less inhospitable and less dreaded part of the mountains; a hut is easily erected, the thick long grass affording an excellent thatch. At night a fire is kindled, and the men sleep snug and warm in the midst of the cold damp forest. With the dawn of the next morning they rise and proceed to the Cardamum garden; the fruit branches are cut off; they spread like panicum dactylon, (the creeper grass which horses like so well) upon the ground netwise. Snakes, especially the poisonous Mandoli, which is said to be peculiarly fond of the Cardamums abound among the creepers, and deal a bad bite when disturbed. Frogs also jump from between the Cardamums frightened by the intrusion of human hands. Each man gathers a good load, in time to reach the encampment before sunset; for no one would venture out after dusk, when wild beasts prowl about, or, what is worse, ghosts and demons without number. Having refreshed themselves with a hearty meal, the men recommence work. The Cardamum capsules are picked from the branches. It is often midnight or later before the labour is finished. The master of the house works with his sons and slaves. The most active are sometimes rewarded by being permitted to pick Cardamums for themselves after having completed their task. With the first glimmer of day-light they set out again for the plantation; about noon the women of the house come to the picking station, fill the Cardamums into bags and carry them home. They have sometimes to march 10 or 12 miles to the station and to carry home heavy loads before nightfall. The Coorgs are assisted by Patés, Kudiyas, Geravas and Kneubas. Holeyas are not permitted to set their foot on the Cardamum grounds. The whole business, from, as it appears to the Coorg, the seedless

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springing up of the plants, to the gathering of the crop, is strangely mixed up with superstitions. A good garden is a mine to its possessor. Some Nalkanadu families gather 20 and 30 maunds annually, worth from 600—1000 Rs. A few houses are said to make 50 and 60 maunds. At the time of the Cardamum crop Mapli traders set out for the Western districts with a good stock of bright handkerchiefs and other articles attractive to Coorg women and maids, and many a good bargain is made with the produce of Manchester or Birmingham for spicy Cardamums grown in Coorg glens, never penetrated by the sun's ray during the cloudless winter or the gloomy monsoon.

A new source of revenue is likely to flow ere long. Coffee is by degrees becoming one of the principal articles of produce. Hitherto it has made progress in Coorg in the most quiet manner. Several years ago the idea of taxing coffee was entertained, but dropped again. When on a later occasion, the Coorg officials were consulted on the subject, they answered, that it would not at all be proper to lay a tax on coffee, because it was generally grown on jungle lands, belonging to estates which were already taxed for their rice-fields and all (in fact, however, nothing is taxed but the rice-fields; and a portion of jungle land, called Bane in Coorg, to serve as grazing ground for the cattle employed on the fields is added to each farm). However, the period of unmeasured financial liberality on the part of the Government is likely to come to an end soon. The coffee in the Mysore is taxed at four annas per maund; and Coorg coffee may well bear the same amount of taxation. It is impossible to say what quantity of coffee may at present be grown in Coorg. During the last season but one 70,000 Rs. worth were sold at Virarajendrapete alone. Judging from the quantity of plants, sold from different nurseries to farmers who are commencing new gardens or enlarging old ones, the coffee crops are likely to double.

Coffee cultivation in a few years has had a singular history in this country, full of oddities of human life. Some time before the deposition of the Ex-Rajah two Maplis, who had long served the Rajahs procuring for them from the Western coast, especially the Maleyalam country, laborers and artificers, whenever they required them, and had received Inam lands to considerable extent, first introduced the berry. They had received it from a priest, who had brought it directly from Makka. So the story goes. The appearance of a new plant on the grounds belonging to the Maplis, excited no little curiosity among their neighbours at Nalkanadu. The new planters, however, seem to have wished to keep the coffee all to themselves. They sold their cattle, and gave out that they did so, because cattle drinking water, infected by the juices exuding from the roots of coffee trees,

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would be poisoned, and die. It is said, that for some time they discontinued cultivating their rice-fields even pretending that rice would not grow well on land, upon which water descended, running through coffee gardens, in order to confirm their neighbours' belief in the noxiousness of the plant, on the cultivation of which the Maplis spent all their energy. However the profits made by these first coffee monopolists rose so high, and became so well known, that some wealthy Coorg farmers followed their example, without getting their cattle poisoned or their rice-fields spoiled. By degrees other Coorgs, and some men of other castes, engaged in coffee planting. In the course of time the Arabian bean has become almost naturalized in Coorg. The Holeyar plants some dozen of shrubs around his hut, while the substantial farmer covers with it acres of jungle land. And soon the coffee tree will be as habitual a neighbour of human dwellings in Coorg as the plantain. The cultivation at present is carried on in a rude way by the natives, while a few European planters who have commenced operations in the country, of course adopt the general system of European planters in India and Ceylon. The procedure of native coffee planting is as follows: A piece of jungle land is cleared by cutting bushes and small trees; larger trees are left standing, as they are considered valuable on account of the moisture which they attract, and the leaves, which are used both as fodder and manure. Holes are then dug at the distance of five feet or so, 2½ feet wide and as deep. A thousand or 1100 will go to the acre. The coffee plants for such an area will cost 10 or 11 Rupees; the digging of the holes as much; (a laborer, who is paid two As. per diem, will make about a dozen holes) the cost of clearing the ground amounts to about three Rupees more. Thus the first outlay for an acre of coffee garden amounts to 23—24 Rupees. After three years the trees begin to bear, and the acre will yield from 20—30 Rupees worth of coffee. Full crops, however, begin only in the fifth year, when the acre, on the average, produces from 30 to 40 maunds, worth about 150 Rupees. The crop may rise to 50 maunds per acre. Weeding, manuring, &c., during the first five years is estimated at some 65 rupees. According to this calculation, the Coorg coffee planter spends about 100 Rupees upon the acre, before he gathers the first full crop. Henceforward the yearly outlay is very small, and the value of the produce in good seasons, as long as the price of coffee remains above 3½ Rupees per maund very considerable. The native coffee growers generally strip off the berries very carelessly, and often they will gather the crop before it is quite ripe. The berries are dried in the pulp in their yards or on their threshing floors. In this state it is sold to traders at Mercara and Virarajendrapete, who pay at present from six to seven

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Rupees per batty, which is equal to 80 seers, and yields, pulped and cleaned, 1¾ or two maunds. Twenty maunds make a candy, which, at Tellicherry or Cannanore, will fetch 90 or 100 Rupees. The value of last year's coffee crop may be roughly estimated at about 120,000 Rupees. If the coffee were taxed in Coorg, as it is in the Nuggur district of Mysore, the revenue from it would now amount to upwards of 7000 Rupees; and in four or five years it would likely be doubled.

Agriculture is carried on in Coorg, as in other parts of India, much in the same style, as it probably was one or two thousand years ago. There is little hope for any improvement, as long as the people continue to live by tradition, to feed, mentally, upon the past. The staple of the country is rice. With the first showers of the monsoon, towards the end of May, or in the beginning of June, the farmers set to work. The rice-fields are ploughed in all directions, five or six times. When the rains have fully set in, the seed is sown, in very small quantity, compared with other parts of India, as the Coorg farmer expects his grain to multiply fifty, sixty or seventy-fold and more. In July or in the early part of August, when the season is late, the rice is transplanted. In the end of November or beginning of December the great festival of the first fruits is celebrated. It lasts a week and holds the first place after the Kaveri feast, which occupies the month of Tula, (libra) from the middle of October to the middle of November, when all Coorg repairs to Talekaveri, the fountain of the holy Kaveri, to bathe in the sacred tank, on a hill a few miles to the West of Bhagamandala. This latter place has an ancient temple-establishment, near the confluence of the Kaveri, the Kanake, and a third invisible stream, Sujyoti invented, no doubt, for the purpose of producing a counterpart to the union of the Ganga, the Yamuna, and the Saraswati, (which loses itself in reality amidst desert-sands at a great distance from its supposed juncture), in Northern India.*

* The Huttari festival (pudda ari—new rice) is described in the above mentioned Coorg memoirs, from which the following extract is taken. This national festival of the Coorgs and the Holeyas, the ancient glebæ adscripti of the country is a sort of Saturnalia. The holidays are seven in number; but generally two or three days more of feasting and merry-making are added. On this occasion, as well as on the great Kaveri-day, Brahmans are in no way wanted, nor could they well officiate in a Coorg kitchen on the Kaveri day, or preside over the pork and brandy feasts in the merry time of Huttari, and it appears, that the people can do very well without them. Six days before the chief festival of tasting the new rice, all the males from six to sixty years, assemble on one of the Mandus of the Grama (village community) after sunset. Mandu is the name of an open public place, in which business is transacted or festive games carried on. On six successive evenings national games and dances are carried on from sunset till after 10 o'clock. The whole male population of the Grama has religiously to attend; only little boys and old men may stay away without being fined a few annas. When the assembly is full, a space is marked out for the performances of the night. At

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The harvest is cut in the end of December and the beginning of January. From that time to the setting in of the monsoon, in May or June, the land lies idle; "it is warming itself," the

a litle distance a band of musicians, two Holeyas blowing horns, and two Medas (a low caste of basket and matmakers, beating drums sit round the fire. Three Coorg men now step into the centre, calling aloud: Ayappa! (a Coorg forest god) Maha Deva! Parvati! The men stand in a triangle, their faces towards the centre, their backs towards the company. The whole assembly now joins in the ball and peg play, the moon shedding a bright light on the scene. A peg is driven into the ground; a piece of rope, one and a quarter foot long, is fastened to it by a loose loop. One man must hold the rope; six balls, pieces of a thick creeper, are placed in a circle, round the peg, at a distance of the rope's length. A seventh is deposited close by the peg. The whole company now endeavour to pick off the balls, without being touched by their guardian; if any one is touched, he must take the rope, and the play recommences. When six balls are abstracted, the seventh is placed one foot from the peg. When this also is lost, the man must run the gauntlet through the crowd to the place of the Musicians. If he reach it, he has won, and the play is finished. If he be caught on the way, he is brought before the "nettleman," an officer of the play court, who touches his hands and feet well with a great burning nettle, and the play is ended. Now the assembly perform different kinds of plays and dances, representing the wars which in ancient times appear to have been waged between people of different districts. A man is wounded; a physician is called, who prescribes for him. Another wounded man dies, and Holeyars are called to invite his friends to the funeral. A scene of demonial possession is acted. The funeral is performed. Now stories are told of incredibilities. "I saw the other day a little hare attacking a tiger and breaking its neck." Reply: "Did you? I saw a buffaloe flying over the mountains," &c. Three men invoke again Ayappa, Mahadeva and Bhagavati. Dances follow, accompanied by the beating of sticks keeping time with the music of the band outside. Feats of gymnastic strength and agility follow, and another invocation of the three deities concludes the performance. The Huttari takes place on the full moon. Early in the morning before dawn, a quantity of Ashvatha, (ficus religiosa) Kumbali, and Keku (wild trees) leaves, some hundred of each for great houses, together with a piece of a creeper, called Injadi, and some fibrous bark called Achchi, are collected and deposited in a shady place for the use of the evening. During the day, the house is cleansed, brass-vessels are scoured, and every thing wears the appearance of a great holiday. Beggars come and are dismissed with presents. The Meda brings the Huttari basket, the potter the little Huttari pot, the carpenter a new spoon, the Holeya a new mat. Each carries off his Huttari portion of rice and plantains. The astrologer follows to communicate the exact time of the full moon, and claims his share of the Huttari bounty. The cattle are washed and scrubbed, for once; the slaves have an extra allowance of rice; breakfast and dinner are served to the family. At sunset the whole house prepares for a hot bath. The precedence is given to the person whom the astrologer has chosen in the morning for the ceremony of cutting the first sheaves. On his return from bathing, he repairs to the threshing floor, spreads the Huttari mat, and, while the rest are engaged in their ablutions, cuts the Injadi creeper into small pieces, rolls each piece into an Ashvatha, a Kumbali and a Keku leaf, in the fashion of a native cheroot, and ties up the little bundle with a bit of Achchi fibre. All the bundles are placed in the Huttari basket. Now the women take a large dish, strew it with rice, and place a lighted lamp in it. This done, the whole household march towards the fields; the dish with the lamp is carried in front; the sheaf-cutter follows with basket and sickle in one hand, and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. The company shout: Poly, poly! (increase.) Arrived at the chosen spot, the young man binds one of the leafscrolls from his basket to a bush of rice, and pours milk into it. He cuts an armful of rice in the neighbourhood, and distributes two or three stalks to every one present. Some stalks are put into the milk-vessel. No one must touch the sheaf-cutter. All re-

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Coorgs say. A few patches, indeed, here and there during the hot months are converted into temporary vegetable gardens, which thrive exceedingly well; for the heat is excessive in the narrow valleys, and water always close at hand, as the ground a few feet below the surface is a never drying reservoir, into which the moisture of the surrounding hills and mountains continually drops. The ground might yield a good crop, not of rice indeed, but of other grains or pulses, if traditionary indolence were not opposed to such an innovation. The one rice harvest suffices to feed the people, and leaves moreover, in good seasons, a large surplus for export. Why should people over-exert themselves without necessity? Another reason is sometimes alleged by Coorg farmers for a long agricultural vacation. Our cattle, they say, is not equal to a second tax on its strength. This is true enough, for the cattle in Coorg is, if possible, more miserable than in the low country. It is never properly fed, scrubbed or tended at all. There are, indeed, stables, but they seem only to serve as shelters during the night against wild beasts. All the year round, monsoon and dry season, the cattle is turned out of doors to graze in the jungles, in all weathers, all day long. A little fodder of leaves or straw is now and then given at night. The consequence is, that the cattle, especially in the dry season, when the jungle grass is burnt up by the heat, is in a miserable condition, and that every year large quantities are swept away by diseases. Many a farmer of larger property expends from 100—300 Rupees a year on the purchase of cattle, while rational treatment would preserve the farmer's stock, and proper feeding

turn to the threshing floor. A bundle of leaves is adorned with a stalk of rice, and fastened to the post in the centre of the threshing floor. The company proceeds to the door of the house, where the mistress meets them, washes the feet of the sheaf-cutter, and presents to him, and after him to all the rest, a brass-vessel, filled with milk, honey and sugar, from which each takes a draught. They move into the kitchen. The Huttari mat is spread, the brass dish, the rice sheaf, and the basket with leaf-scrolls, each with a stalk of rice, are placed on it. The young man distributes the bundles to the members of the family, who disperse to bind them to every thing in house and garden, doors, stools, roof, trees, &c. In the mean time he sits down to knead the Huttari dough of rice meal, plantains, milk and honey, seven new rice corns, seven small pebbles, seven pieces of dry ginger, seven cardamum seeds, and seven corns of sesamum are added. Every one receives a little of this dough upon an Ashvata-leaf, and eats it. The ceremony is over, and the sheaf-cutter mixes with the company. Supper follows, consisting of sugared rice, into which a handful of new rice is thrown, and of a substantial common repast of rice and curry. The Huttari chants follow now at every house during the night. Other dances are performed and the following days, the women and children being spectators. Theatrical performances are added. Brahmans, Maplis, Voddas (tank diggers from Orissa) Gadikas (snake dancers) Jogis (represented by little boys) play through the village. Dinners are held at different houses of appointment, and at last one great public dinner with plenty of pork and liquor, on some open plain in the forest when the musicians, bards, drummers, Holeyas and Medas also receive a liberal share, form the conclusion of the whole.

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increase the value and strength of cattle, and provide the fields with manure. But things must take their course; the cattle must die, the fields must remain badly manured; the farmers, rich and poor, must make their yearly pilgrimages to the cattle fairs in the low country, and spend their money, because it has been so always, and custom cannot be broken.

The other castes inhabiting Coorg, hold their lands on the usual tenure, only, that their assessment is lighter than in other provinces, amounting to 1-5th of the produce, while elsewhere $\frac{1}{3}$ or even $\frac{1}{2}$ goes to the Sircar. The Coorgs have peculiar privileges, which have arisen from the ancient feudal system of the country. Each Coorg house or family holds a farm of smaller or greater extent, consisting of rice, land, and pasture ground, for which they pay five per cent. of the estimated produce. Besides, they may take any other land, which may happen to be unoccupied or to be transferred to them on the same tenure, called Jamma, by paying ten Rs. for 100 Batty rice-land. Such lands cannot be taken from their owners, as long as they pay the fixed assessment whether they cultivate the whole or part only of their farm. The property may be forfeited by treason, or lost, if the owner cease to cultivate the land, or to pay the assessment. On the other hand, the Coorg cannot sell his land, nor underlet it, without a special permission from Government. Be the man ever so deep in debt, his creditors cannot take his land from him, nor can he transfer it to them in liquidation of his debts. His moveable property may be attached and sold, but his land is inalienable.

Consequently landed property does not change hands in Coorg, and capital does not find its way into the department of agriculture. The poorest farmer holds his land, and cultivates it as cheaply and badly as may be. Every thing remains in statu quo, and innovation and improvement is kept out of the country to the hearty satisfaction of the great men, who live in constant dread of changes.

The people of the country, especially the Coorgs and the Holeyas are a strong and hardy race. Cholera makes its appearance in Coorg but rarely. Fever and ague are the plague of the land. The commencement of the rains, when, as the people say, the old and the new water, mix, is the sickliest season of the year. Whole families are sometimes paralyzed and laid aside from field-work, to the detriment both of the farmers and the revenue. No effectual effort has yet been made to stay and subdue the enemy. A dispensary has been opened at Mercara for the reception and treatment of those, who will trust themselves to European art, but it is not frequented as much as could be desired. The people have no objection to European medicine, and have especially great faith "in the white powder," (Quinine)

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but they are loath to leave their homes. In order to grapple successfully with the prevailing disease, it would be necessary to give the Surgeon at Mercara half a dozen native assistants, each of them charged with a district, not too large to visit the patients applying to him in their own homes. Some thousand Rupees, spent by Government in this manner, would afford very great relief to the people, and would be partly repaid by an increase of revenue. If the fevers of Coorg became less formidable, there would probably be also a greater influx of people from the surrounding provinces, to whom the light assessment of Coorg (no land pays more than one-fifth of the produce to Government,) would be a great attraction.

Brahmanism has succeeded in securing to itself a share in the good things of Coorg. Two considerable Brahman establishments, one at Mercara, connected with the Onkareshwara Devasthana, which draws 4,850 Rs. 5 As. 10 P. per annum, and another at Talakaveri and Bhagamandala, drawing 2,320 Rs. 7 As. 4¾ P. and 3,956 Rs. 10 As. 7¼ P. respectively, are supported by Government. Upon a Lingait establishment, in connection with the tombs of the Rajah at Mercara, 2,000 Rs. are annually spent. A Roman priest at Virarajendrapete draws a stipend of 20 Rs. a month. Thus nearly 7 per cent. of the revenue are annually wasted upon establishments, in which the Government of the country cannot, in the nature of things, have the least interest, in which the population of Coorg itself take no great interest, (for the Brahmans themselves declare, that the free-will offerings at the great annual festival at Talakaveri, where thousands of people from the neighbouring provinces flock together, do not amount to more than 1,000 Rs.) and which are of no other earthly use, than that of feeding a number of idle Brahmans and Jangamas. One-half of this waste would suffice to provide for the country all the appliances necessary for a sound, beneficial and ennobling popular education. It is difficult to see, why the people of India or, in their present political and intellectual pupilage, their natural guardian, the Government should not be at liberty, to convert part of the rich legacy, left to the present generation by the piety and superstition of their ancestors in the shape of temple property and endowments, into a national school-fund, which would effect more for the real and lasting prosperity of India, than all railways and canals, and all political improvements, imported from Europe, put together.

Taking another point of view, we are led to the same conclusion. Whenever a civilized race obtains the sovereignty over barbarous or semi-barbarous people, it has to exercise all the functions of Government, which are necessary to the life and health of the political body. Education is a requisite as necessary for

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the well-being of the national household as agriculture and trade. Wherever the people govern themselves, (be their institutions monarchical or republican) they have both the mind and the power of educating themselves, *i. e.*, the rising generation. But when a superior race exercises every power of the state administrative, legislative, and military, it cannot without incurring a guilt, which may prove its destruction, neglect the department of education. Let, then, the British Government rise to its duty, and honestly provide sound education for the people of India. The expenditure will be large, but what of that? The military expenditure is large, absorbing all but one-half of the whole revenue; yet the money is found, because it must. The money for Popular Education all over India must likewise be found. It will be repaid richly in a thousand ways, to the infinite gain of the nation. Yea, the treasure required is ready at hand, if those to whose hands God has committed the affairs of this great country, be wise enough and bold enough. There is abundance of money wasted upon a now useless race, whose influence is declining year after year, and can never be restored; abundance of money rotting in the temples, which are hopelessly decaying. Let the people understand matters, and ask them, whether they will have their children taught and prosper, or remain in ignorance, and, if they are to be educated, who is to pay the bill, the Sirkar or the Devasthanas? They will certainly answer. Not the Sirkar, for that only means a new tax; let the gods pay by all means; they can take care of themselves.

The actual religion of the Coorgs and other indigenous tribes consists in the worship of the dead and of all sorts of demons, and in the practice of witchcraft offensive and defensive. The Rajahs were as superstitious as their people, if not more so. Maleyalam astrologers and sorcerers, called Kanyas, were established by Doddavirarajendra, or, it may be, by some more ancient Rajah in six different districts, where they received Inam lands and enjoyed other immunities. These government astrologers continue their trade busily and successfully to the present day. Others come from the Malayalam on periodical visits, when they calculate that another crop has ripened for them in the purses of the superstitious and credulous Coorgs. Besides, there are everywhere men, who profess to be possessed by some devil or the spirit of some person lately deceased. Thus the country from one end to the other is full of devilries and sorceries which amidst the pitch-dark ignorance of the people have full play and sway. If cattle die, if people fall sick, if women are barren—the poor fellows make it their first care to find out the foe, who has used charms against them, and to employ counter-charms. If jewels or money are stolen, if a robbery or burglary is committed—and

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the robbers or thieves, are not soon discovered, recourse is had to the Kanya, or some possessed person. Sometimes men in Government employ, when they exert themselves to ascend a step in the ladder of honor and emoluments will enquire of some devils to know if they are to succeed and will vow some valuable offering to the demons in case they be fortunate. Very frequently the superintendent is applied to for his interposition or for justice by persons, who complain of their cattle being destroyed, or their relatives killed, or their own lives endangered by charms and sorceries of their enemies, whom they will often accuse by name, as one would charge a murderer or thief, caught in the act. These are awkward cases for European officials, who do not themselves believe in the reality of witchcraft. Sometimes offending parties have been bound over to keep the peace. At other times sorcerers by trade have been put in prison, or sent out of the country. It is doubtful, if such proceedings on the part of the Superintendents are quite in keeping with the present spirit of British rule. On the other hand, it is one of the greatest grievances of the poor Coorgs, that the Government does not protect them, as the Rajahs used to do, against these secret machinations, nor permit them to take the law into their own hands. It is, indeed, a difficult question.* Some definite practicable rule of action ought to be adopted. The belief in witchcraft is universal and absolute among the people. Whenever complaints arise, the accusers and the accused hold the same belief. The accused never think of denying the reality of sorcery. They only dispute the fact of their having employed it, as a murderer or thief will deny the facts laid to their charge. Faith in witchcraft belongs to the essence of the religion of these poor people, and Government, in pity for the ignorance of their subjects, ought to take some measure to afford them protection, accommodating themselves, as far as possible, to the state of popular feeling, without, on the other hand, compromising their own character. Might not such matters be left to the decision of native Panchayets, chosen by both contending parties, under the cognizance of the Superintendent? The Government might declare, that these affairs were so intimately connect-

* No believer in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament can doubt the reality of witchcraft. Cfn. Exod. 22, 18. Deut. 18, 10. 2 Chron. 33, 6. Galat. 5, 20. Acts 8, 9. Revel. 9, 21. Ch. 18, 23. Yet the pretensions of sorcery, whenever they are fairly examined, are found so mixed up with lies and cheating tricks, that they seem to vanish into air before the light of brave common sense. Besides this enlightened age thinks, that all these superstitions have been exploded for ever, and the Government of the East India Company would certainly not like to be considered a believer in witchcraft. However sorceries of all kinds are the plague of the country, and the principle hitherto adopted by Government of refusing all authoritative enquiry into complaints connected with sorcery, has given great dissatisfaction to the poor ignorant people. Sometimes the Superintendents have allowed enquiry to be made; but these have been exceptional cases.

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ed with the religious creed of the people, that it was beyond their province to interfere. Of course such Panchayets could inflict no other punishment but a religious and social one, *i. e.* exclusion from caste, for shorter or longer periods, or it may be, for ever. Such a course of procedure would be considered a great boon by the people, and would be consistent with the most open avowal on the part of the Superintendents, that they felt perfect contempt for the superstitions of the country.*

* Here is a sorcery story, which, though the truth of it cannot be vouched for in all particulars, may serve as a sample. The houses of Karneravendra Muddaya and of Nadikeriyendra Devaya at Kadiyettumurnadu have been at enmity for many many years. Muddaya held a high position, having been Subhedar in the Rajah's time, and having been promoted to the same office after an interval of some years under the Company's Government. The Nadikeriyendra people are very rich. Monappa, the head of the former generation of the family, was Karyakara (a superior Military officer) under Lingaraja, the present Ex-Rajah's father; he had a beautiful wife, to whom Lingaraja took a liking. She bore the Rajah two sons, Medaya and Devaya, who passed for Monappa's children. Through their connection with the Rajah the family prospered greatly.

A number of years ago, Medaya, the elder brother, fell sick. He sent a deputation to the Malayalam, as the custom is, to enquire from a famous astrologer, the cause of his disease. He was informed, that a powerful neighbour (his rival, Muddaya, was clearly enough described) had employed sorcery against him. At first the brothers were afraid of bringing such a charge against Muddaya. After some time, however, they did accuse their enemy before a district Panchayet. Muddaya was absolved. Medaya died. The suspicions of the family only gathered strength. Devaya, now the head of the house, exerted himself to the utmost of his power to stay the hostile charms by counter-charms. He spent 100 Rupees at Talakaveri upon some ceremony of disenchantment. He performed several great ceremonies in his own house, (Marana bali and Uchacha bali; the latter, which is offered at noon, stands in highest repute.) Besides he spent a good deal of money in sacrifices at Payawur and Beytoor, and in the district and village temples. In vain. The hostile charms prevailed. Whatever misfortune happened in the house or among the cattle, the astrologers continued to ascribe all to the same source. In the talook the Subhedar, Muddaya, was all powerful. To carry the case before the Superintendent was almost hopeless. A Jadu case would not be attended to by the Huzoor. However, circumstances changed for the better. The late head Shreshthadar, Timmaya, asked Medaya's daughter for his son, Karyappa, in 1855, and now Devaya was enabled to lodge his complaint at Mercara. Timmaya managed to remove Muddaya from Kadiyettumurnadu to Shaniversante. After his removal, Devaya's affair was brought into the Daryaft Cutcherry at Head Quarters. The Subhedar was declared "not guilty." Devaya was in great distress. Timmaya, the Naib Shreshthadar Naujappa, and others abused him for having brought a false complaint against a Subhedar. To save himself from disgrace, he gave a good sum to the Kazi, and begged hard for the good will of the principal men in the Cutcherry. The consequence was, that, though the Subhedar was acquitted, his party were, after a few days, brought in guilty upon some made up depositions, paid for by Devaya. The strongest proof, on Devaya's side, was the admission of the wife of Bolla, the Kadiyettumurnad Kaneya, that her husband had been engaged in the preparation of charms against Devaya. To this woman Devaya promised 50 Rupees and the escape of her husband, through the intercession of the head Shreshthadar, his relative, if she would save him from disgrace by a false admission of her husband's guilt. The poor creature believed the rich man, did, what was required of her, and—was turned adrift. Her husband was sent into jail. The poor woman, in despair, fought her way into the presence of the Superintendent; but the head Shreshthadar succeeded in persuading his superior, that the woman was a mali-

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The Native Service in Coorg has been a close borough since the commencement of the Company's reign. The Coorgs, who had been miserably oppressed by the Rajahs were suddenly treated as the lords of the country. With the exception of a few Brahmins, Coorgs were chosen for all the principal officers of Subhedars and Parpatigaras. Almost all the situations at Head Quarters were held by Coorgs. Coorg peons even were excused from wearing their badge of service. The Superintendents, who desired above all things to keep the country quiet, and who seem to have been haunted by a feeling of insecurity, soon fell into the habit of being guided by the Dewans. These men knew, how to turn the fortunate change of affairs to good account. They succeeded in impressing the whole population with the omnipotence of Dewans, and the insignificance of Superintendents. They would sometimes order people to be flogged in the old style, almost within sight of the Superintendent, and exact unpaid service and presents as in the times of the Rajahs, from the people in the districts. Woe to the man, who dared to apply directly to the Superintendent. He had very little chance of justice, indeed. The insolence of subordinate officials has, probably nowhere in India been carried farther, than in Coorg. Even at the present day, when people appear in the Cutcherry or on Jammabandy before the Superintendent they will make him scarcely an ordinary salam, while they bow down to the ground before three or four of his subordinates, to whom they are taught to look up as their real masters. In this state of things, bribery, of course, has greatly increased, and has sometimes been carried to extraordinary lengths. A few months ago the Head Shresthadar, who had been the factotum for many years in the Superintendent's Cutcherry, was at last convicted by the present vigorous and not to be frightened Superintendent of gross corruption, and dismissed the service. The disease, however, is not to be eradicated by one or two bold strokes. Unless the moral character of the Native service be elevated, and the people acquire a knowledge of the laws of the country, and of their rights as well as duties, and rise to greater independence of mind, those who are in power, will continue to fleece the herd. The future prosperity of Coorg, the deliverance of the people from their degrading superstitions, and from the oppression of the rich and powerful must depend upon the progress of education, and on the influence which Christian knowledge and principle will directly and indirectly gain among them.

cious complainant. By the second-thought decision of the Daryaft Cutcherry the Patel of Kadiyettunadu, Puranna, was dismissed the service, and five other men were fined ten Rupees each for participating in the conspiracy against Devaya. Devaya, however, died soon after the imprisonment of Bollu, the conjuror. Bollu himself followed his enemy after a few months. The widow of Medaya and some young children are the only survivors of the family.

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Little has hitherto been done, as will appear in the following lines; but better times are at hand.

After Report on the wild beasts killed during the year, viz. nine Elephants, six Royal Tigers, and 42 Chittas, for which rewards amounting to 336 Rs. had been paid, the Annual Report of the Superintendent, a number of years ago, proceeds as follows:

¶ 22. "There are 25 boys learning English, and 429 learning native languages, making a total of 454, shewing an increase of 8 boys in the English, and 17 in the native schools."—This is the beginning, middle and end of the Education Report.

In the succeeding year ¶ 21 says: There are 31 boys learning English, and 399 learning native languages, making a total of 430 boys, shewing an increase of six boys in the English, and a decrease of 30 boys in the native schools.

Next Report: ¶ 21 says: There are 25 boys learning English, and 401 learning native languages, making a total of 426, and shewing a decrease of six boys in the English, and an increase of two boys in the native schools.

Such were the stereotyped Education Reports, with which both Superintendents and Government appear to have been satisfied. And, indeed, they were excellent in their way. No useless expenditure of time in writing or reading them. Besides they were perfectly true, which other Education Reports do not always seem to be, and, though short, they said every thing that could be said, testifying to the number of names appearing on the different school-rolls. As for learning English in the Government school at Mercara, there were some difficulties. The school-masters, who drew a salary of 17½ Rs. could not, of course, be expected to know more than reading and writing English as well as the copyist in the Cutcherry who was better paid. If they gave the school 17½ Rs. worth of English every month, to be divided between some 15 or 16 pupils, the share of each could not be great. However that may be, after 22 years of English tuition, accorded to the youth of Coorg, Government cannot find one Coorg, who is able to write a correct letter, or to make a tolerable translation from Canarese into English, no one who has acquired any kind of knowledge human or divine, through the medium of the English language. The teaching of the native languages, Hindoosthani at Mercara, Canarese in the districts, has consisted in the reading and writing of the alphabets, getting by heart of multiplication tables, and, when the scholars had farther advanced, the reading and writing of Arjis. Education there was none, nor was it wanted. The great men among the Coorgs, the men in the Cutcherries, felt perfectly happy in their complete ignorance, being quite cunning enough to cheat the Superintendents, and to look after their own interests. What more could they require? Their only care was

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to keep every thing in statu quo, and to oppose every thing like innovation. This, happily, is an account of the past. The sanction of Government is shortly expected to a plan which will provide Coorg with half a dozen good Canarese schools in convenient localities, accessible to all the young, and with a good English school at Mercara under a well qualified European master. It will then be seen, what effect sound knowledge will have upon the mind and character of the rising generation. The land, which now waits for the school plough, is virgin soil. Let the seed be good, and gracious showers descend from on high, and the barren wilderness will soon be changed into fruitful fields and pleasant gardens.